



LANDING OF COLUMBUS.

OUR COUNTRY



PHILADELPHIA:

THOMAS, COWPERTHWAIT & Co.

HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA,

FROM THE DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY
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PREFACE.

THIS work is issued to fill a void. There is, at present, no other complete History of the United States so illustrated, and so generally fitted for popular circulation. From the discovery of America to the events of President Fillmore's administration, few, if any, occurrences of importance in the life of our country have escaped our mention; while most of its thrilling scenes and prominent characters are so depicted as to strike deep into the memory.

We claim nothing beyond having furnished a History for the people. Works of deep research and eloquent style, regarding particular periods, are numerous; but they are not in the hands of the masses—they are too elaborate for general appreciation. Some of them have too much space devoted to the discussion of questions, important to the over-curious alone; while others are of such a *documentary* character, that they become too dry for the popular palate. A few only want completeness and the illustrations to be all that can be required. For ourselves, we may say, that while we have striven to give our History an attractive dress, we have been careful to apply for our information to the most authentic and reliable sources.

The saw, "Truth is strange—stranger than fiction," will appear, to the reader of the history of the United States, to be well founded. Romance has no power to awaken interest comparable with that exercised by the wondrous events recorded in our annals. The daring voyages of Columbus and Cabot—the adventures and exploits of Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, De Soto, and the other Spanish warriors, who sought wealth and glory in the enchanted region of Florida—the settlement at Jamestown—the landing of the Pilgrims—the struggles between the white and the red men for dominion, as well as the fierce contests and subtle diplomatic contrivances which

occurred between the French, Spaniards, and English, for the same end—the gradual growth of the provinces—their opposition to tyranny in all shapes—their union—their bloody struggle with their mighty and unnatural mother—their triumph, and the establishment of the independent republican confederacy—the upward progress of the United States through the red clouds of war, and the mists of foreign, envious diplomacy, to the pure air of freedom, strength, and happiness—are events upon which imagination will delight to dwell. No romancer ever conceived as much of the grand and the beautiful, or of the dark and the groveling, as such a history can present. The theme is a noble one, worthy of the skilful pen and the brilliant pencil.

Perhaps no History has ever been more profusely illustrated than this. Every event susceptible of representation with effect in an engraving, and every personage of sufficient importance to merit remembrance, and of whom a likeness is preserved and accessible, will be found depicted in the ensuing pages, adding immeasurably to the use and beauty of the work. The labour and skill thus spent cannot but result in substantial benefit to our readers. The historical narrative thus illustrated cannot soon be forgotten.

A knowledge of the history of our country is indispensable to every American and republican. By learning how the nation has reached its present proud position, the citizen will become more patriotic; and by seeing how dearly freedom and independence have been bought, the republican will become more watchful of his liberties. The citizen of the United States need not resort to the history of the old world for noble characters, brave deeds, or glorious institutions. Let him peruse the records of the life of his own bright and happy land, and he will meet with such warriors and patriots as Washington and Wayne—such statesmen as Franklin, Madison, and Jefferson—such actions as those of “Breed’s Hill” and the “Cowpens”—and such free and progressive institutions as the Utopian dreamers might have worshipped.

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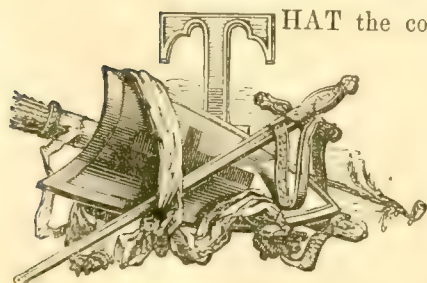
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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.



CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE NORTHMEN.



THAT the continent of America was visited by European and Asiatic vessels, long before it was effectually made known by the genius of Columbus, is an opinion which has of late years gained ground among those who have directed their attention to the subject. The Europeans who are said to have the honor of the discovery were the Northmen; those daring navigators who traversed the tempestuous seas of the North in their little vessels, and

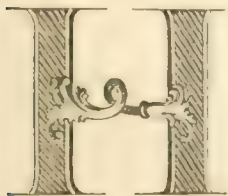
who discovered Iceland. As most historians treat this claim with respect as being supported by weighty testimony, we give the facts as recorded by the Icelandic authorities and quoted by many antiquaries.



ABOUT the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, the Normans made themselves famous by their predatory excursions. England, Scotland, Ireland, the Orkney and Shetland Islands, were objects of their depredations; and, in one of their piratical expeditions, (A. D. 861) they discovered an island, which from its lofty mountains covered with ice and snow, obtained the name of *Iceland*. In a few years after they planted a colony there, which

was continually augmented by migrations from the neighbouring countries. Within the space of thirty years (889) a new country, situated on the west, was discovered, and from its verdure during the summer months received the name of *Greenland*. This was deemed so important an acquisition, that, under the conduct of ERIC RAUDE, or REDHEAD, sometimes called Eric the Red, a Danish chief, it was soon peopled.

The emigrants to these new regions were still inflamed with the passion for adventure and discovery. An Icclander of the name HERIOLF and his son BIRON* made a voyage every year to different countries, for the sake of traffic. About the beginning of the eleventh century (1001) their ships were separated by a storm. When Biron arrived in Norway, he heard that his father was gone to Greenland, and he resolved to follow him; but another storm drove him to the *southwest*, where he discovered a flat country, free from rocks, but covered with thick woods; and an island near the coast.



HE made no longer stay at either of these places than till the storm abated; when by a northeast course he hasted to Greenland. The discovery was no sooner known there, than LEIF the son of Eric, who, like his father, had a strong desire to acquire glory by adventures, equipped a vessel, carrying twenty-five men; and, taking Biron for his pilot, sailed (1002) in search of the new country.

His course was southwest. On the first land which he saw, he found nothing but flat rocks and ice, without any verdure. He therefore gave it the name of *Helluland*, which signifies rocky. Afterward he came to

* His name is spelled by different authors BIRON, BIRON, BIOERN, and BIAERN.



Tyrker Discovering Grapes.

a level shore, without any rocks, but overgrown with woods, and the sand was remarkably white. This he named *Markland*, or woody. Two days after, he saw land again, and an island lying before the northern coast of it. Here he first landed; and thence sailing westward, round a point of land, found a creek or river into which the ship entered.



ON the banks of this river, were bushes bearing sweet berries; the air was mild, the soil fertile, and the river well stored with fish, among which were very fine salmon. At the head of the river was a lake, on the shore of which they resolved to pass the winter, and erected huts for their accommodation. One of their company, a German named Tyrker, having straggled into the woods, found *grapes*; from which, he told them that in his country, they made *wine*. From this circumstance Leif the commander of the party, called the place *Vinland dat gode*, the good wine country.

An intercourse being thus opened between Greenland and Vinland, several voyages were made, and the new country was further explored. Many islands were found near the coast, but not a human creature was seen till the third summer (1004) when three boats constructed of ribs of bone, fastened with thongs or twigs and covered with skins, each boat containing three men, made their appearance. From the diminutive size of these people the Normans denominated them *Skrælings*,* and inhumanly killed them all but one; who escaped and collected a larger number of his countrymen, to make an attack on their invaders. The Normans defended their ships with so much spirit, that the assailants were obliged to retire.



The Northmen Trading with the Indians.

After this a colony of Normans went and settled at Vinland, carrying on a barter trade with the *Skrælings* for furs; but a controversy arose in the colony, which induced some to return to Greenland. The others dispersed and mixed with the *Skrælings*.

Towards the end of the reign of Olaf the Saint (1026), an Icclander, named Gudleif, embarked for Dublin. The vessel being driven by boisterous winds far from its direct course towards the south-west, approached an unknown shore. He and the crew were soon seized by the natives and carried into the interior. Here, however, to their

* Cut sticks, chips — Dwarfs.

great surprise, they were accosted by a venerable chief in their own language, who inquired after some individuals in Iceland. He refused to



The Presents.

tell his name; but as he sent a present of a gold ring to Thurida, the sister of Snorre Gode, and a sword for her son, no doubt was entertained that he was the Scald (Bard) Biorn, who had been her lover, and who had left Iceland nearly thirty years before that time (998). The natives were described as of a red color and cruel to strangers; indeed, it required all the influence of the friendly chief to rescue Gudleif and his companions from destruction.



IN the next century (1121) Eric, Bishop of Greenland, went to Vinland, with a benevolent design to recover and convert his countrymen who had degenerated into savages. This prelate never returned to Greenland; nor was any thing more heard of Vinland for several centuries.

These facts are as consistent and as well supported by collateral evidence as many of the contemporary relations upon which historians generally rely. There is nothing improbable in the alleged voyages. The Scandinavians are known to have been the best of navigators, and their ships visited every sea, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. The voyage from Reykiavik, in Iceland, to Cape Farewell, is not longer than that from the southwestern extremity of Iceland to the eastern coast of Labrador, and it might be supposed that a daring, enterprising race of seamen, discovering and colonizing Iceland, would at least attempt to explore the seas beyond.

But, it is asked by the doubting, if North America was really dis-

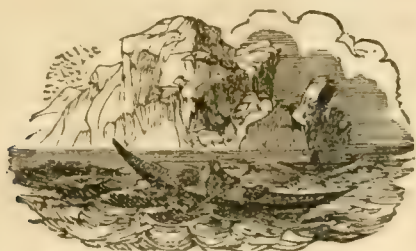
covered by the Northmen, and repeatedly visited, too, why was a country so fertile in comparison with Iceland or Norway, so suddenly abandoned? The traditions say because of the hostility of the natives; and surely this is a sufficient reason. The first Spaniards who attempted to colonize Florida met the same resistance.



UT do we find any traces of the visit of the Norwegians, in the country said to have been visited? The Jesuit missionaries inform us, that they found the cross, and a knowledge of the stars, a superior kind of worship, a more ingenious mind, among the natives of the coast said to have been colonized by the Northmen. They even assure us that many Norwegian words are to be found in the dialect of the people.

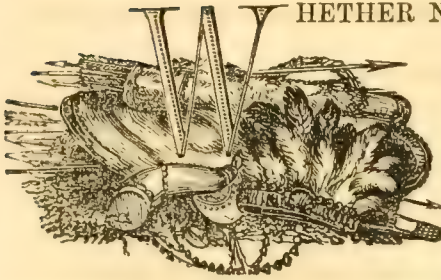
In forming a judgment of the truth of the records and traditions, we may reject some of the circumstances, but must think that the main assertion, that America was discovered and repeatedly visited by the Northmen, is as well supported as most of the accounts of ancient contemporary historians, and is, therefore, as clearly to be believed.

The researches of oriental scholars have lately brought to light the traditions of the East Indian nations, which are important, as leading to the conclusion that the Pacific coast of North America was known to them long before it was known to Europeans. These traditions speak of a country many degrees to the westward, inhabited by red men, whose habits are so described, that the application of the description to the Indian tribes of California, and the coast further north, seems inevitable. Perhaps, when China and the Chinese records are better known to us, we shall be astonished to learn that the "New World" of the European was long before visited by the Asiatics.



CHAPTER II.

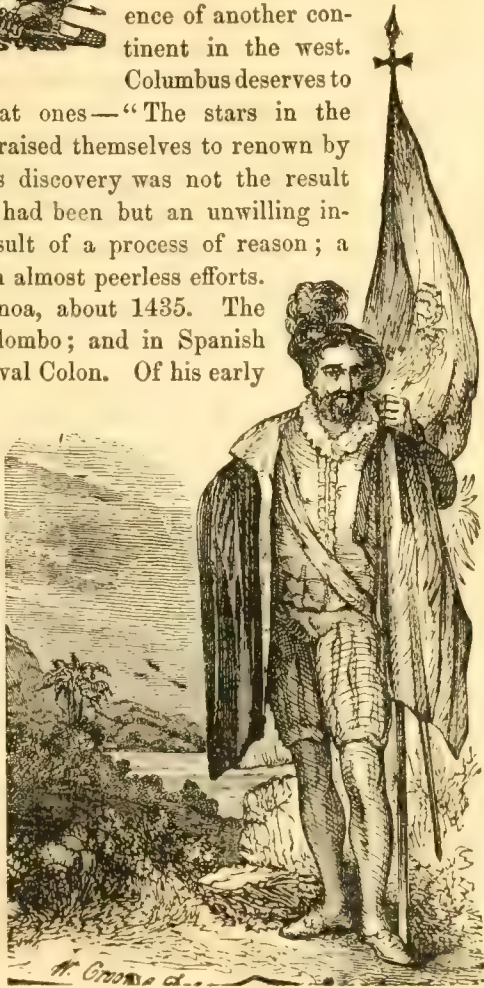
DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS.



WHETHER North America was discovered by the Northmen, or not, to the reason, the energy, the perseverance, the genius of Christopher Columbus, Europe owes her first certain knowledge of the existence of another continent in the west. Columbus deserves to

rank among those truly great ones—"The stars in the heaven of fame"—who have raised themselves to renown by their vast achievements. His discovery was not the result of accident—else, Columbus had been but an unwilling instrument. But it was the result of a process of reason; a vast conception, executed with almost peerless efforts.

Columbus was born in Genoa, about 1435. The family name in Italian is Colombo; and in Spanish history he is known as Christoval Colon. Of his early life, but little is known. He was sent to Pavia, the chief Italian seat of learning, to prosecute his studies, and although he remained at school but a short time, he made rapid progress, especially in geometry, astronomy and cosmography. He commenced his naval career at an early age; took part in a naval expedition fitted out at Genoa, by John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, in 1459, against Naples; and in 1474, was captain of several Genoese ships, in the service of Louis XI, of France.

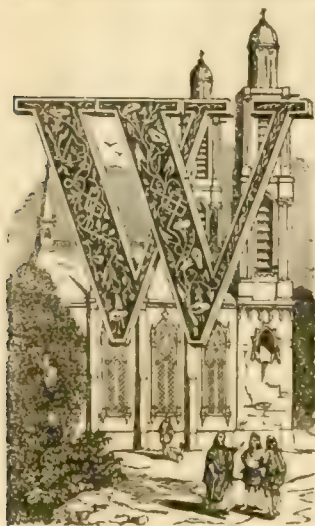


He subsequently went to Lisbon, where his brother Bartholomew found a profitable occupation in constructing sailing charts for navigators.



Columbus

At this time the government of Portugal encouraged navigation and maritime discovery. Columbus soon embarked on an arduous voyage to the north. He made several other voyages to England and to the islands possessed by Spain and Portugal in the western ocean. In consequence, he soon became the most experienced navigator of his time. He took notes of everything he saw, and kept his mind intently fixed upon the studies in which he was destined to effect so great a revolution.



WHILE a resident of Lisbon, Columbus married the daughter of Palestrello, an Italian cavalier, who had been one of the most distinguished navigators under Prince Henry of Portugal, and had colonized and governed the island of Porto Santo. By this marriage, he obtained access to the charts and papers of Palestrello, and of other experienced navigators connected with his wife's family. The passage round the Cape of Good Hope had not yet been discovered. The great object, at this time, was to discover the shortest route to the East Indies, whose wealth enriched the cities of the Mediterranean. In his conversations with the geographers and pilots whom he found in Lisbon, Columbus consulted them on the possibility of a western passage to the

countries of Cathay and Zipangu, described by Marco Polo. By this means he became acquainted with a number of facts which confirmed a theory he had already formed.

Pedro Forrea, his wife's relation, had found on the coast of Porto Santo, pieces of carved wood, evidently not cut with a knife, and which had been carried thither by strong westerly winds. Other navigators had picked up in the Atlantic, canes of an extraordinary size, and many plants not apparently belonging to the Old World. The bodies of men were found, thrown by the waves on the shores of the Azores, who had features differing essentially from those of Africans or Europeans, and who had evidently come from the west.

These facts gave additional force to the reasonings which Columbus founded on his thorough knowledge of the existing cosmographical science of his time; and he was finally induced to attempt the discovery. Not having the means of fitting out a suitable expedition at his own expense, he obtained an audience of John II., King of Portugal, and fully unfolded to that monarch his plan. He proposed, in case the king would furnish him with ships and men, to undertake a shorter and more direct route to India, than any which had yet been attempted, by sailing directly to the west, across the Atlantic. The councillors and men of learning were directed to examine the project; and the king was advised to fit out an expedition to undertake the discovery without the knowledge of its projector.



CARAVEL was despatched, with the ostensible purpose of carrying provisions to the Cape de Verd islands; but with secret orders to pursue the route laid down in the papers of Columbus. But Providence interfered on behalf of justice. The caravel stood westward from the islands for several days, and then the weather grew stormy and the pilots afraid. They put back to Lisbon, and covered their own want of courage by ridiculing the project of Columbus.

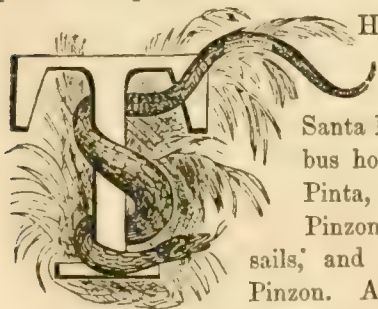
With a just indignation at this attempt to defraud him of the results of his labors, Columbus abandoned Portugal, towards the end of the year 1484, and arrived at the port of Palos, in Spain. Here he experienced the fate of most men whose projects are grand or startling. Ferdinand and Isabella were at this time engaged in a war with the Moors of Granada; and although they listened to Columbus' proposals, they were too much occupied to give him the aid necessary for carrying out his great enterprise. Wearied out by years of fruitless solicitation, he had de-



Embarkation of Columbus.

terminated to abandon the country, and had actually left the court for France, when his friends, St. Angel and Quintanilla, by their earnest and eloquent intercessions, induced Queen Isabella to recall him. The queen, now fully convinced of the importance of the enterprise, displayed her zeal for its success by offering to pledge her jewels to raise the required funds. This was not necessary, however, and arrangements were speedily made for fitting out the expedition.

On the 17th of April, 1492, were signed the articles of agreement, by which Columbus received from the sovereigns the hereditary titles of Admiral and Viceroy of all the seas, islands, and countries he should discover. He was entitled to reserve for himself one-tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and other articles of merchandise in whatever manner found, bought, bartered or gained within his admiralty, the costs being first deducted; and he was permitted to contribute an eighth part of the expense of the expedition, and to receive an eighth part of the profits.



THE vessels were prepared for the voyage, in the port of Palos. The largest, which was decked, was called the Santa Maria, and on board of this ship Columbus hoisted his flag. The second, called the Pinta, was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon. The third, called the Nina, had latine sails, and was commanded by Vicente Yanes Pinzon. About one hundred and twenty persons embarked on the expedition.

On Friday, the 3d of August, 1492, the adventurers sailed. They

directed their course to the Canary Islands, where they were delayed for some time in consequence of an injury done to the rudder of the *Pinta*. On the 6th of September, they left the Canaries; and that may be regarded as the first day of the most memorable voyage which has ever been undertaken. The winds were at first light, and little way was made; the second day, the fleet lost sight of land. The companions of Columbus, who were now advancing over the ocean, unable to conjecture the termination of their voyage, began to feel astonished at the boldness of the enterprise. Many of them shed tears and broke into loud lamentations, believing that they should never return. Columbus endeavoured to console them and inspire them with new courage.

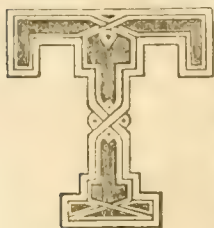


COLUMBUS had taken the precaution of keeping secret the true reckoning of the distance passed over, while he kept a false reckoning for the inspection of his companions, which made the distance considerably less; but, notwithstanding this deception, his people were now growing extremely uneasy

at the length of the voyage. The admiral endeavoured in every way to soothe their rising fears, sometimes by arguments and expostulations, sometimes by awakening fresh hopes, and pointing out new signs of land. Light breezes from the southwest springing up on the 20th of September, had a cheering effect on the people, as they proved that the wind did not always prevail in the same direction. Three days later a whale was observed, heaving up his huge form at a distance, which Columbus pointed out as an indication of the proximity of land. The prevalence of calms, however, and the great quantities of sea-weed which they encountered, retarding the course of the ships, occasioned fresh alarm. Columbus reasoned, expostulated, and promised in vain. The men were too much under the influence of terror to listen to reason. The more Columbus argued the more boisterous became their murmurs, until there came a heavy swell of the sea unaccompanied by wind. This, fortunately, dispelled the terrors occasioned by the previous dead calm.

On the 25th of September, while Columbus, with his officers, were studying a map and endeavoring to make out from it their position, they were aroused by a shout from the *Pinta*, and looking up, beheld Martin Alonzo Pinzon, mounted on the stern of his vessel, who cried with a loud

voice, "Land! land! Señor, I claim my reward!"* pointing at the same time to the south-west, where there was indeed an appearance of land, at about twenty-five leagues distance. Columbus threw himself upon his knees and returned thanks to God, and Martin Alonzo repeated the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in which he was loudly joined by the crews of the ships. They changed their course, and sailed all night in the same direction. At daylight all eyes were turned in that quarter; but the supposed land which had caused so much joy, had disappeared, and they found that they had been deceived by the appearance of clouds in the horizon. The direct course to the west was again resumed.

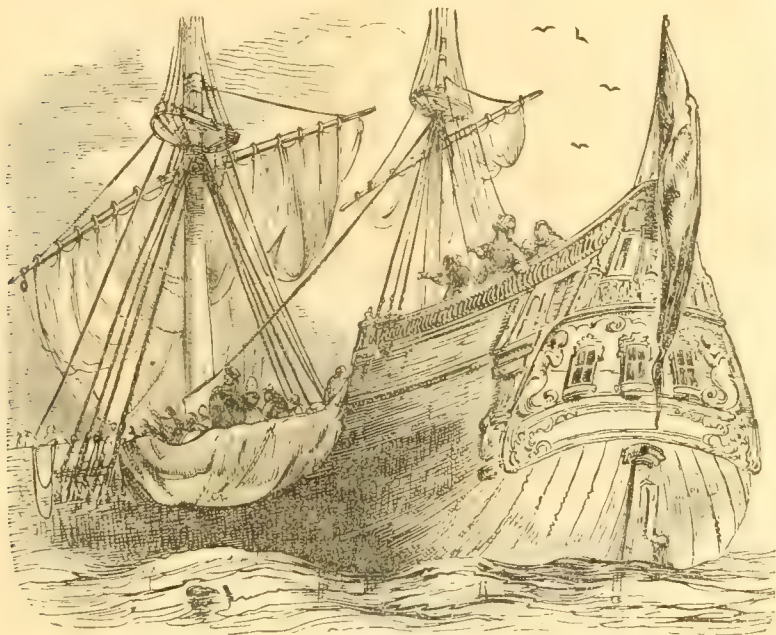


THE crews soon relapsed into their former despondency. Nevertheless, the multitude of birds which they saw continually flying about the ships, the pieces of wood which they picked up, and many other symptoms of land, prevented them from giving themselves wholly up to despair. Columbus, in the midst of so much uneasiness and dejection, remained calm and self-possessed.

On the 11th of October, the indications of land became more and more certain. A reed quite green floated by, fish, such as abound near rocks, were seen, the trunk of a bamboo, and a plank, rudely carved, were picked up by the people of the *Nina*, and those in the *Pinta* saw a branch of a tree with berries on it. They sounded at sunset and found bottom. The wind was now unequal; and this last circumstance completely satisfied the mind of Columbus that land was not far off. The crew assembled, as usual, for evening prayer. As soon as the service was over, Columbus desired the people to return thanks to God for having preserved them in so long and dangerous a voyage, and assured them that the indications of land were now too certain to be doubted. He recommended them to look out carefully during the night, for that they should surely discover land before the morning; and he promised a doublet of velvet to whomsoever should first desery it, in addition to the pension to be given by the sovereigns. About ten o'clock at night, while Columbus was sitting on the top of the castle or cabin on the high poop of his vessel, he thought he beheld a glimmering light at a distance. Fearing that his hopes might deceive him, he called Pedro Gutierrez, and inquired whether he saw a light in that direction; the latter replied in the affirmative. He then called Roderigo Sanchez, of Segovia; but before he came, it had disappeared; they saw it, nevertheless, twice afterwards, in sudden gleams,

* A pension of 30 crowns had been promised by the sovereigns to the first man who should discover land.

as if it were a torch in the bark of a fisherman, rising and sinking with the waves, or in the hands of some person on shore, borne up and down as he walked. Columbus considered this appearance as a certain sign of land, and, moreover, that the land was inhabited.



Land is covered.

AT two in the morning, a gun from the *Pinta*, which was ahead, gave the joyful signal of land. It was in the night of the 11th of October, 1492, after a voyage of thirty-five days, that the New World was discovered. The crews longed for the return of day, that they might feast their eyes on the long-desired sight. At length day broke, and they enjoyed the prospect of hills and valleys, clothed in delicious verdure. The three vessels steered towards it at sunrise. The crew of the *Pinta*, which, as usual, was in advance, commenced chanting the *Te Deum*; and all sincerely thanked Heaven for the success of their voyage. They saw, as they approached, the inhabitants issuing from the woods and running from all parts to the shore, where they stood gazing at the ships. They were all quite naked, and from their attitudes and gestures appeared to be lost in astonishment. Columbus gave the signal to anchor, and ordered the boats to be manned and armed. He entered his own boat, richly attired in scarlet, and bearing



The Landing of Columbus.

the royal standard; whilst Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and Vicente Yanez, his brother, put off in company, in their boats. As they approached the shore they were delighted with the luxuriance of the tropical vegetation with which it was adorned, with the pure, fresh atmosphere, and the crystal transparency of the sea. No sooner did Columbus land than he threw himself upon his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed by the rest, who were penetrated with the same sentiments of gratitude. Columbus then rising, drew his sword, displayed the royal standard, and took solemn possession on behalf of the Castilian sovereigns, giving the island the name of San Salvador. He then exacted from his followers the oath of obedience to him as admiral and viceroy, representing the persons of the sovereigns.



THE natives who, at their first landing, had fled to the woods, finding that there was no attempt to pursue or molest them, gradually recovered from their terror, and approached their new visitors with great awe, frequently prostrating themselves and making signs of adoration. When they had still further recovered from their fear, they approached the Spaniards, touched their beards, and examined their hands and faces, admiring their whiteness. Columbus treated them with

kindness; they supposed that the ships had sailed out of the firmament which bounded their horizon, or that they had descended from above, and that these strange beings were inhabitants of the skies.

The island which the Spaniards had discovered was called by the natives Guanahana; but it has since retained the name of San Salvador; the English call it Cat Island. It is one of the Bahama group, between Florida and Hispaniola.



WHEN the admiral returned to his vessel, some of the natives swam after him, others paddled in their canoes, and the caravel was quite surrounded with them. They were ignorant of the use of iron, and some of them, catching hold of the Spanish swords by the blades, received slight wounds. On the morrow, they came off to the fleet to exchange balls of cotton for beads, hawks' bells, and other trinkets. They had appended to their ears little plates of gold, which soon caught the eyes of the Spaniards. On being asked where they had obtained them, they always pointed towards the south. Columbus determined to go in search of the country thus indicated, always hoping speedily to arrive at Cathay and Zipangu. In pursuit of these countries, he prosecuted his researches until he discovered Cuba. The interpreters whom he had brought from San Salvador, learned here that some gold was found in Cuba, but that it was much more abundant in another country farther to the east.



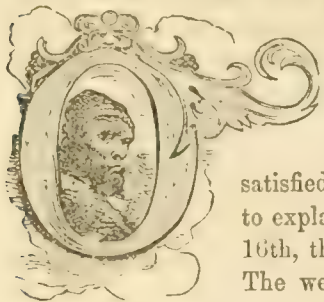
THE prospect of obtaining gold inflamed the cupidity of the Spaniards, and Alonzo Pinzon, the commander of the Pinta, which was the best sailer in the fleet, wishing to arrive first at the land where the precious metal abounded, crowded all sail, and was soon out of sight.

On the 5th of December, Columbus, with the remaining ships, sailed from the eastern point of Cuba, and soon arrived at the rich country of which he had received such a glowing description. It was called by the natives *Haiti*; Columbus gave it the name of *Hispaniola*. They anchored first at Port St. Nicholas, and shortly after at a little distance from Cape François. The natives took to flight at the appearance of the ships; but kind treatment to one of their number, who accidentally fell into the hands of the Spaniards by the upsetting of his canoe, gave them confidence; and they came in multitudes to the ships, exchanging fruits, provisions, and gold for bits of porcelain, beads, and hawks' bells. Guanacanagari, the prince of the country, or *Cacicque*, as he was called by his people, received Columbus with much kindness, and

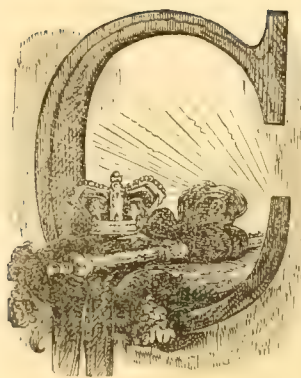
in return was treated by him with great distinction. They contracted a friendship, which continued ever afterwards undiminished. He was loaded with ornaments of gold, which, he informed the Spaniards, came from a country farther to the east, called *Cibao*. Columbus, deceived by the resemblance of the names, believed at first that it was Zipangu; but he afterwards learned that *Cibao* was the name of a mountain in the centre of the island.



HE fleet now proceeded to the east, for the purpose of approaching the gold mines of *Cibao*. On the night of the 24th of December, Columbus's vessel, the *Santa Maria*, struck upon a reef, and he was compelled to abandon her, and take refuge, with his crew, on board the *Nina*. The cacique and his people assisted the Spaniards in saving their effects, and consented to their erecting a fort with the timber of the wreck. It was named *La Navidad*, and garrisoned with thirty-eight men, the first colony in Spanish America. The admiral left provisions in the fort, articles to barter with the natives, and whatever was necessary for its defence. He then took leave of the friendly cacique, with the promise to return soon.



ON the 4th of January, 1493, Columbus set sail, proceeding to the east, in order to complete the examination of the north coast of the island, and on his way met the *Pinta*, near Monte Christo. He affected to be satisfied with the excuses made by Alonzo Pinzon, to explain his parting company. At length, on the 16th, the two ships directed their course for Spain. The weather was favourable at the commencement of the voyage; but heavy gales came on when the ships were near the Azores, and the *Pinta* was a second time lost sight of. The admiral's vessel was in such imminent danger that he despaired of ever reaching land. He was fearful that the knowledge of his discovery would perish with him; and to prevent this, he wrote a brief account of his voyage on two leaves of parchment, and put each of these leaves into a tight cask. One of these casks was thrown overboard immediately; the other was allowed to remain on deck to await the foundering of the vessel. But Providence interposed to save so valuable a life; the storm subsided. They arrived at the Azores on the 15th of February, and at Palos on the 15th of March, seven months and a half after their departure from the same port. Alonzo Pinzon arrived about the same time at a northern port in Spain, and died a few days after.



COLUMBUS'S return was a perfect triumph. He was received at Palos with enthusiastic joy. Ringing of bells and processions of magistrates welcomed him to Barcelona, where the sovereigns were at that time holding their court. He made a public entry into the city; the whole population came out to meet him; he walked in the midst of the Indians whom he had brought with him, and had dressed for the occasion in their native costume. The rich productions of the New World were borne in open

baskets before him, as he proceeded through an immense crowd to the palace, where Ferdinand and Isabella were seated on the throne, awaiting his arrival. As soon as he appeared with his train, they rose up. Columbus threw himself upon his knees; but they commanded him to be seated in their presence; "a rare honor in this proud and punctilious court." He then gave an account of his voyage, and of the discoveries he had made, and showed the various products of the New World, which he had brought, and the Indians who attended him. Ferdinand, delighted with the success of this great enterprise, confirmed to Columbus all his privileges, and permitted him to join to the arms of his own family, those of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, with the emblems of his discoveries and of the dignities resulting from them.

Such was the reception of Columbus in Spain, after his return from his glorious enterprise. The object of his life had been attained. His subsequent career was a practical illustration of the influence of envy and of the ingratitude of men. By his own genius and perseverance Columbus had achieved one of the most grand and brilliant enterprises which history has recorded. In endeavouring to obtain the means of prosecuting it, he had met with every obstacle which envy and ridicule could create. After the feat was accomplished, his glory excited the ambition and the malice of those who could not really rival him. For awhile, even the truth of the discovery was denied. This, however, innumerable proofs silenced. Then detraction insinuated that Columbus had learned it all from the books of older navigators. Finally the work was consummated by the removal of the old navigator from all his offices, and by sending him home in chains. Miltiades was victor at Marathon, yet was banished from the country he had saved. Themistocles won at Salamis; and he, too, was banished by the ungrateful Athenians. But this was the "unkindest cut of all." Columbus gave a new world to the sway of Spain, yet died in disgrace. His memory, however, is cherished by the world, while his detractors are forgotten.



Sebastian Cabot.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY VOYAGES TO THE CONTINENT.



THE glory acquired by Columbus in discovering America, roused the emulation of the navigators of France and England. The sovereigns of those kingdoms were desirous of sharing the power and wealth to be derived from discoveries in the New World, and promptly furnished the means to equip expeditions for that purpose. Now that the daring of one man had opened the way, many were ready to pursue it. But for an Englishman was the discovery of the continent reserved, and Sebastian Cabot established his reputation as a navigator second only to Columbus in skill and intrepidity.

John Cabot, an eminent Venetian navigator, had settled in England in the reign of Henry VII. Sebastian, his son, was born at Bristol, in 1477. He had just arrived at the age of manhood, when the fame of Columbus's discovery reached his ears and incited him to undertake a



Cabot Discovering the Continent.

similar expedition. King Henry gladly extended the government protection to the young Venetian, and his celebrated sire; and by a patent, dated the 5th of March, 1496, he granted them permission to go in search of unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them.

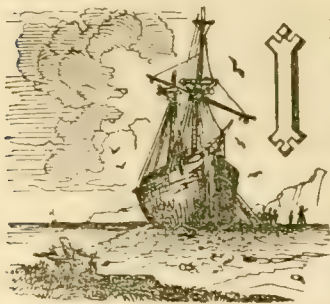
The expedition sailed from Bristol, in the spring of 1497, under the direction of Sebastian, although he was accompanied by his father. The



Amerigo Vespucci.

leading object of the enterprise was the same as that which prompted Columbus, the discovery of a western passage to India. The vessels

pursued a northwesterly course, and on the 24th of June, reached Newfoundland, and explored it up to latitude 67° . The accounts of this voyage are attended with much obscurity. But it seems that Cabot proceeded southward along the coast of the continent, as far as Florida. He was disappointed in not finding a passage to India, and in a report made to the pope's legate in Spain, he subsequently expressed his "great displeasure." But the discovery of the Continent was an achievement, the glory of which he did not then appreciate. Columbus did not reach the continent until his third voyage, May 30th, 1498, and Amerigo Vespucci did not leave Spain until May 20th, 1499. The claim of England to her North American possessions is founded upon this priority of discovery. Amerigo Vespucci appears to have been the first to perceive in these western regions a New World—a fourth quarter of the globe; and as such he early announced it. From this opinion, which he subsequently confirmed by his voyages, the continent was named, in his honor, *America*.



IN February, 1498, Henry VII. granted a new patent to the Cabots, and a second voyage was made by Sebastian, still in search of a passage to the Indies. He reached the continent in the latitude of 58° , and coasted south to Carolina. In another voyage in 1517, he sailed up Hudson's Bay, ascended even to the latitude of sixty-seven and a half degrees, and was only prevented from still further prosecuting his explorations by a mutiny among his crew.

The subsequent career of this intrepid navigator deserves to be mentioned. Slighted by Henry VII., he was invited to enter the service of Ferdinand of Spain, and afterwards received the title and emoluments of Pilot Major from Charles V., for whom he performed important services in the New World. On returning to England, he was appointed Grand Pilot by Edward VI., and in this office, he directed the commercial enterprise of that country, during the remainder of his long, active and honorable life. As a navigator, he was worthy of ranking with the greatest, and in general ability he had few superiors.

The discoveries of Cabot attracted the attention of the sovereigns of southern Europe. The Portuguese had just added to their great reputation as navigators by the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. But they aspired to rival the Spaniards and English in the exploration of the Western World. The king fitted out an expedition,



Charles V.

and gave the command of it to Gaspar Cortereal. He sailed from Lisbon in the year 1500, and steering northwest from the Azores, reached and explored the coast of Labrador, which is said to have received its name from the circumstance of his kidnapping fifty of the natives. He went



Entrance to Hudson's Bay.

on a second voyage in May, 1501, but never returned. The attention of Portugal was afterwards wholly occupied with her acquisitions in Brazil and India.

The French appreciated the advantages of an early settlement in America, and the fishermen were soon familiar with the banks of Newfoundland. In 1508, a mariner of Dieppe, named Aubert, or Hubert, sailed to Newfoundland and brought home with him a native of that



Verrazani.

country. In 1524, John Verrazani, in the service of Francis I., sailed on a voyage of discovery in a single ship, and reaching the shores of North Carolina, he coasted north to the latitude of fifty degrees, exploring on his way the harbors of Newport and New York, and trading with the natives.

In 1534, Jacques Cartier sailed from St. Malo, to examine the coast of Newfoundland. He returned in safety, and in the following year, set out on another voyage, with three large ships and a number of colonists. As he reached the Gulf northward of Anticoste on the day of St. Lawrence, he gave the name of that saint to the great body of water of the gulf and the river flowing into it. Cartier ascended the river until he reached a fertile island full of vines, which he called the Isle of Bacchus,



Cartier taking Possession of New France.

now Orleans. He was hospitably entertained by the Indians, and by the invitation of a chief, ascended the river to an island called Hochelaga. This island is now named Montreal. He returned to his ships and spent the winter at the Isle of Bacchus, where his people suffered much from the scurvy. The Indians assisted them with their rude remedies; but the climate seems to have discouraged the colonists, and they returned in the spring.



IN 1540, another expedition was sent out by the French. Francis de la Roque, lord of Roberval, in Picardy, was appointed by Francis I., viceroy and lieutenant-general for Canada, and the other countries and islands discovered by the French, with authority to plant a colony. Cartier accompanied the expedition as chief pilot and captain-general. The two commanders did not agree, and would not act in concert. Cartier with five ships, sailed first, ascended the St. Lawrence, and built a fort on the island of Orleans, where he passed the winter. But the



idea of planting a colony appeared hopeless. The natives were hostile, and provisions failed. When spring came, Cartier set sail for France. Off Newfoundland, he met Roberval, with three ships and two hundred men. The viceroy would have compelled him to return; but he escaped, in the night. Roberval spent the winter in the St. Lawrence, and then returned to France. He perished, with a numerous train of adventurers, in a subsequent voyage.

During the next fifty years, the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland were the only connecting link between Old and New France. In 1598, the Marquis de la Roche, being appointed lieutenant general of Canada, made an attempt to colonize his province by settling on the Isle of Sable. But the attempt failed, and he returned home and died of chagrin.

At length, Samuel Champlain, an experienced mariner of Bronage, obtained an outfit from some of the merchants of St. Malo and Dieppe, and founded Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, in 1608. In the spring, he joined the Algonquins and Hurons in a war against the Five Nations.

The consequences of this imprudent measure were felt by the French settlers for a century afterwards. The hatred of the Indians composing the Five Nations could not be eradicated.

Nova Scotia was brought completely into the French possession in 1605, by a settlement called Port Royal, being established by De Monts. The French colonies increased very slowly in comparison with those of the English. The climate and the general inferiority of the soil of Canada and Nova Scotia, or Acadié, were partly the causes.

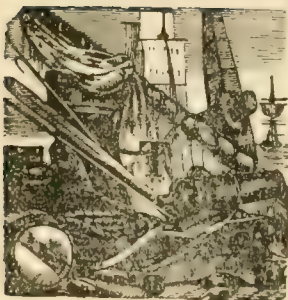




Ponce de Leon.

CHAPTER IV.

X COLONIZATION OF FLORIDA.



THE Spaniards went before all other nations in their daring enterprises in the New World. Each commander who was sent out by the government was fired with the spirit of adventure, and desirous of surpassing his contemporaries, in the discovery of countries, the acquirement of wealth and the subduing of nations. For all this, America offered a boundless field. The discovery of the country afterwards called Florida, was brought about

by circumstances of a romantic nature, which were characteristic of that age.

Juan Ponce de Leon, after distinguishing himself in the wars of Granada, had embarked with Columbus in his second voyage. He then added greatly to his reputation, and being intrusted by Ovando, the governor, with a command in the eastern part of Hispaniola, had an opportunity of observing the rich aspect of the adjacent shores of Porto

Rico. Having proposed to his superior officer to conquer it, he was allowed a body of troops to try his fortune. In this he completely succeeded, and obtained gold, not in the expected abundance, but to a considerable amount; being accused, however, of those cruelties which were much too familiar to the Spanish adventurers. His claims as governor being also considered as conflicting with those of Columbus, he withdrew, and obtained in compensation Bimini, one of the Bahamas which lay nearest to the continent.



ERE an object very different from conquest or plunder engrossed the whole soul of the warlike veteran. In an age of comparative ignorance, and after witnessing so many wonders, his mind was prepared to credit almost any extravagance. Ponce de Leon had somehow imbibed the full belief, that on one of those insular shores there existed a fountain endued with such miraculous virtue, that any man, however worn out with age, who should have once dipped himself into its waters, would rise restored to the full bloom and vigour of youth. In this delusive search, he beat about restlessly from shore to shore, landing at every point, and plunging into every stream, however shallow or muddy, in the vain hope of springing up in this blissful state of renovation. On the contrary, his eager and incessant activity under a burning sun, brought upon him, it is said, all the infirmities of a premature old age; and according to Oviedo, instead of a second youth, he arrived at a second childhood, never after displaying his former energy of thought or action.

Extraordinary exertions, even when misapplied, commonly lead to something. While the Spaniard was sailing in every direction after his miraculous fountain, he came unexpectedly, on the 27th March 1512, in sight of an extensive country, hitherto unknown. Magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs, exhibited so gay an aspect, that he named it Florida. He landed on the 8th April near the present site of St. Augustine; and notwithstanding the dangers of navigation amid the violent currents produced by the gulf-stream running among the islands, he spent a considerable time in tracing its outline, and finally rounded the southern point. Thus, though still supposing it to be an island, he ascertained that it must be both large and important.

This great discovery seems to have weaned the mind of the Spanish chief from his engrossing chimera. He repaired to Porto Rico, and thence to Spain, laid before the king the particulars of the new country, and obtained permission to conquer and rule it under the pompous title of adelantado. A considerable time, however, was consumed in prepa-



Ponce de Leon wounded.

rations; and while thus busied, he was obliged to engage in suppressing an insurrection among the Caribs. This contest was attended with reverses, by which he lost much of his reputation; and nine years elapsed before he could conduct two ships to his promised dominion. While planning a site for a colony, he was surprised by a large body of Indians; his men were completely routed, and himself severely wounded by an arrow. As these people were never able afterwards to cope in the field with the Spanish troops, this disaster may lead us to suspect that he really had lost his former military talent. Having regained the ship, he sailed to Cuba, where he soon after died of his wound.



THE fate of Ponce de Leon for a considerable time discouraged all adventures in the same region. But at length, Pamphilo de Narvaez, the valiant rival of Hernando Cortez, who had been defeated and supplanted by the conqueror of Mexico, burning to efface the memory of his disgrace, resolved to apply to Charles V. of Spain, for permission to conquer and rule the beautiful region of Florida. He obtained the title of *Adelantado*, and the opportunity he sought.



Defeat of Narvaez by Cortez.

Having equipped an armament of four barges and a brigantine, with a force of 400 men and forty-five horses, he set sail from St. Lucar, in June, 1527. While waiting at Cuba to take in supplies, the armament suffered severely from a hurricane, which compelled Narvaez to suspend operations for the winter.

On the 20th of February, 1528, the armament put to sea, and after encountering a violent tempest on the coast of Cuba, left the Havanna for the land of promise. Reaching the coast of Florida in the neighborhood of Apalachee Bay, Narvaez took possession of the country with the usual formality; but nothing was found there to sate the cupidity of the Spaniards. When the natives were questioned respecting some golden ornaments seen with them, they all pointed to Apalachee, a country situated in the interior, as the quarter whence these and other commodities were derived. Narvaez, who had no positive knowledge of the country or the adjoining seas, was disposed to yield himself up to the guidance of hope and imagination; and being at a loss what course he ought in prudence to take, resolved to press forward into the interior and invade Apalachee. The intelligent Alvaro Nunez strongly urged the danger of

commencing an arduous journey without guides or provisions, and before some secure haven had been found for the fleet. But the insinuation that he slunk from difficulties silenced his remonstrances, and made him declare his determination to follow his countryman into every extremity.



Narvaez's March from Apalachee.



ON the 1st of May, 1528, the Spaniards commenced their march into the interior. They had little more than a day's provision; when that slender stock was consumed, they were obliged to satisfy their hunger with roots and the fruit of the wild palm tree. For fifteen days they travelled without meeting with a human habitation. At the end of that time they arrived at an Indian village, where they found guides to conduct them to Apalachee. The country which they had to traverse was wild and unequal; sometimes mountainous, but more frequently overspread with deep marshes, rendered nearly impassable by the

huge trees blown down and lying across them in every direction. At length, on the 26th of June, the wearied Spaniards arrived in sight of an Indian village, which they were told was Apalachee. They found no difficulty in rendering themselves masters of the place. But they had not remained here many days, when they perceived on what a chimerical foundation all their plans were reared. In Apalachee they found nothing. The exasperated Indians lurked in the woods, and watched all their

movements: to advance was useless, if not impossible, from the difficulty of the country; and retreat was exposed to the worst ills of Indian warfare. But retreat was now necessary; and the Spaniards, relinquishing the fancied wealth of Apalachee, directed their march towards the sea-coast in the country of Ante, at present called the Bay of St. Mark. Unspeakable hardships awaited them. Nearly a third of their number perished by the arrows of the Indians; and of the remainder a large proportion labored under disease, brought on by fatigue and privation.



WHEN the Spaniards arrived at the sea-shore in this lamentable plight, it was obvious that the attempt to march along the coast in search of the fleet would probably lead to their destruction. No alternative remained but to construct vessels, and encounter at once the hazard of the sea. Their shirts were sewn together for sails, and ropes were fabricated of the fibrous bark of the palm tree. A horse was killed every third day, and its flesh distributed in small portions to the workmen and to the sick. So zealously did they labor, that in little more than six weeks they had completed five boats, capable of holding from forty to fifty men each. In these small barks they put to sea, although they were so crowded that the gunwales of their overladen boats were but a few inches above the water; yet desperation urged them on. For some weeks they endured all the miseries of want and anxiety. At an Indian village on the coast they obtained some trifling relief; but, quarrelling with the natives, they were obliged to re-embark with precipitation. In these desperate circumstances Narvaez resigned the authority which he was unable to use beneficially. As his boat was well manned he hastened forward, leaving his companions to shift for themselves in the best way they could. The boat commanded by Alvaro reached a small island after some days of extreme suffering, when the exhausted crew had hardly strength enough to crawl on shore upon their hands and feet. The Indians took pity on their wretched condition, and loaded them with fruits, fish, and whatever provisions the island afforded. A stock of these being formed, Alvaro prepared to continue his voyage; but just as the Spaniards were embarking, a wave overset the boat, which sunk with all their clothes. Three of the crew were drowned by this accident; the remainder threw themselves naked on the sand.

Of all who embarked in this expedition, but five escaped to Mexico to tell its history. Narvaez was never more heard of. The others were cast upon different parts of the coasts, and either perished by famine, sickness, or the hostility of the natives.

Among the survivors was Alvaro Nunez, who arrived in Spain in 1537. He immediately applied for a grant of territory and government in Florida, to which he was better entitled by his difficult services and enlarged experience than any other Spaniard. But he was slighted, and forestalled in his suit by a rival possessing a greater consideration at court.



Hernando de Soto, one of the most distinguished captains of Pizarro's army, had returned to Spain from the conquest of Peru with immense wealth, and all the reputation which brilliant success is sure to add to competent abilities. By his judicious liberality at court, he won the unbounded favour of the emperor, whose pecuniary difficulties made him quick to discern the merits of a wealthy subject. Soto, who had acted but a subordinate part in Peru, imagined that in a higher station he might expect the same good fortune and more conspicuous fame. He accordingly asked for and easily obtained the government of Florida—ambition rendering him blind to the lesson inculcated by the failure of Narvaez. So ample were his means, and so great his reputation, that he was able to equip an armament of ten ships, on board of which were 900 men, most of them trained to arms.

In May, 1539, Soto disembarked on the coast of Florida. But he was disappointed in all his hopes of gaining the confidence of the native chieftains: neither by kindness, nor patience, nor demonstrations of his power, could he succeed in conquering their deeply-rooted aversion to the Spanish name.



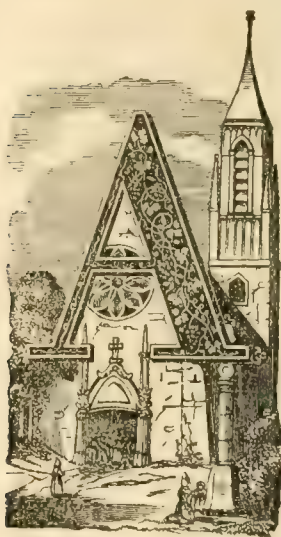
Soto discovering the Mississippi River.



AFTER many hard-fought battles with an unconquerable enemy, and many devious and toilsome marches through the country in a northwesterly direction, De Soto reached the Mississippi River, at a point near the 35th parallel of latitude. To him belongs the honor of discovering the Indian's "Father of Waters." There his toils were destined to end. He reached the junction of the Red River with the Mississippi, in the spring of 1542. There, exhausted by fatigue, chagrin and disappointment, De Soto fell ill of a fever, and died. His followers, greatly reduced in number and strength, buried his remains, and then endeavored to proceed through the savannahs and marshes of Louisiana to Mexico; but they were soon compelled to return to the Mississippi. There they constructed

rude barks, sufficiently strong to bear them to the sea. By this means, 311 men, the remnant of the grand army of conquest, reached Panuco, on the coast of Mexico, in 1543. Never was there a more "lame and impotent conclusion" to so hopeful an enterprise.

These dreadful reverses dampened the ardor of the Spaniards to conquer or colonize Florida. But Cancellor, a Dominican missionary, who undertook to visit the country with a view to conversion, was encouraged by the government. The natives, however, associated avarice and tyranny with the name of Spaniard, and Cancellor and his companions were put to death. Notwithstanding the Spaniards did not dare to set foot upon Florida, they continued to claim not only that but the whole extent of America.



NOTHER expedition of two thousand Spaniards and six hundred Indians under the command of Tristan de Luna, landed on the shore of the Bay of Pensacola, August 14th, 1559. Six days afterwards, the whole fleet was destroyed by a hurricane. The Spaniards remained in the country for some time, entered into an alliance with the Coosa Indians, and engaged in a war against the Natchez. This latter step was imprudent, and, soon after, when de Luna was superseded by Angel de Villafana, the hostility of the Indians compelled the Spaniards to return to Havanna, and they made no further attempt at a settlement for a considerable time.

Another people now appeared upon the scene, desirous of effecting that in which the Spaniards had so often failed. These were the victims of persecution—the Huguenots of France. Admiral Coligni, the Protestant champion, had become wearied with the constant struggle he was compelled to maintain in their behalf, and he formed a scheme for transatlantic settlement, by which he might afford them an asylum and extend the domain of France. He easily obtained permission from Charles IX., and two ships were placed at his disposal.

The vessels, under the command of John Ribault, a seaman of Dieppe, sailed from that port, February 15th, 1562, and reached the coast of Florida at the 30th degree of latitude. Ribault's object was to reach the mouth of the river called by Ayllon, the Jordan, now Combahee, in South Carolina; but steering in too low a latitude, the adventurers reached the St. John, near St. Augustine, in Florida proper. Here a

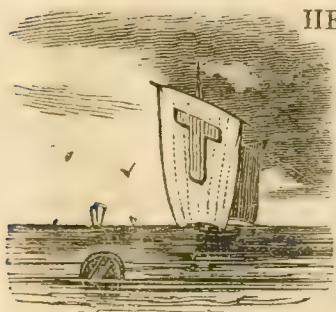


Ribault's Monument.

column bearing the arms of France, was raised as a sign of possession. Ribault then sailed along the coast to find a suitable place for forming a settlement. He discovered and gave French names to several rivers; but the names have not adhered to them. On reaching Port Royal, Ribault was so delighted with its noble harbor, the magnificent trees, and beautiful shrubs, that he chose it for the site of the intended colony. A fort was erected and called Carolina, in honor of the French king. Leaving twenty-six men, under Captain Albert, Ribault returned to France for supplies and reinforcements.

This seems an imprudent step. The establishment, in its unsettled state, stood in peculiar need of being well governed; whereas it fell into the hands of Albert, a rash and tyrannical officer, who, finding it difficult to maintain authority, where all thought themselves nearly equal, enforced it in the most violent manner. He addressed them in opprobrious language; hanged one of them with his own hand, and threatened others with the same fate. At length they rose in mutiny, put him to death, and appointed a new commander, Nicolas Barre, who restored tranquillity.

Ribault, meantime, in consequence of the breaking out of the great civil war, was unable to make good his expectations and promises. After long waiting for him, the colonists were seized with an extreme desire to return to their native country; and, having no ship, they, like the companions of Narvaez and Moscoso, resolved to build one for themselves. The country afforded somewhat better materials, and they constructed a brigantine fit for the passage; but in their impatience, they laid in a slender stock of provisions, which, during the delay of a tedious calm, was entirely consumed. The last extremities of famine were suffered; and one had been actually sacrificed to preserve the rest, when an English vessel appeared and received them on board.



THE project, though seemingly abandoned, was still cherished by Coligni; and the assassination of the Duke of Guise having been followed by a peace, during which the court endeavored to soothe the Huguenots, he obtained permission to attempt it on an enlarged scale. In 1564, he succeeded in fitting out three vessels, abundantly supplied, and gave the command to René Laudonniere, an able officer who had ac-

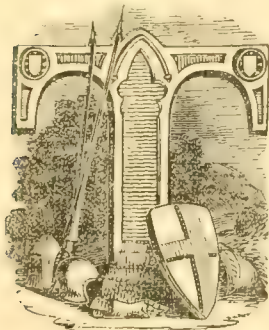
companied Ribault. Taking a circuitous route by the Canaries and the West Indies, he made for Florida, which he chose to term New France; and at Ribault's first station on the river St. John (named May from the month of its discovery), the party resolved to stop and settle. The fort of La Carolina was restored, and expeditions sent up the river, where small quantities of gold and silver were seen; reports being also received as to the mountainous country in the interior, where these metals abounded. The hopes thus kindled were quite illusory, and diverted attention from the solid labors of agriculture. Alarming symptoms of insubordination appeared; many of the party, notwithstanding their religious profession, were of a reckless character, and had gone out with the most chimerical hopes of suddenly realizing a large fortune. Seeing no such prospect, they formed the criminal resolution of seeking it by piracy. They confined their commander, and extorted from him, by threats of immediate death, a commission to follow this unlawful vocation; while, by rifling his stores, they obtained materials for its prosecution. After various fortune, they were successful in capturing a vessel, richly laden, and having the governor of Jamaica on board. Hoping for a large ransom, they sailed to the island, and unguardedly allowed him to send messengers to his wife; through whom he conveyed a secret intimation, in consequence of which an armed force surrounded the pirates, captured the larger of their vessels, while the other escaped by cutting her cables. Those on board the latter being reduced to extremity from want of food, were obliged to return to the settlement, where Laudonniere condemned four of the ring-leaders to be executed.

That chief meantime continued to make incursions to the interior, and entered into various transactions with the natives in the vain hope of arriving at some region rich in gold and silver. Neglecting to establish themselves on the solid basis of agriculture, the settlers depended for food on the Indians, whose own stock was scanty. They were therefore obliged to undertake long journeys, without obtaining a full supply; and

the natives, seeing them thus straitened, raised the price, disdainfully telling them to eat their goods, if they did not choose to give them for grain and fish. Amid these sufferings, and no prospect of realizing their fond dreams of wealth, they were seized, as was usual, with the ardent desire of returning home, and shrunk not from the laborious task of constructing vessels for that purpose. Amid their painful labour, they were cheered by a visit from Sir John Hawkins, who gave them a liberal supply of provisions. They did not, however, intermit their task, and on the 28th of August, 1565, were on the point of sailing, when several ships were descried approaching; which proved to be a new expedition, under Ribault, sent to supersede Laudonniere, of whose severity complaints had been made. He brought a numerous reinforcement, with ample supplies, which induced the colonists to remain; but they were soon exposed to a dreadful calamity.



Sir John Hawkins.

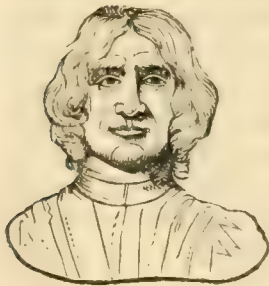


THE desire of conquering Florida, which had never become extinct in Spain, now called forth a new adventurer in the person of Don Pedro Menendez, who, having served with distinction and accumulated wealth both in Holland and America, had there also learned the lessons of cruel bigotry. He became amenable to the sentence of a military tribunal, which, however, on account of his previous reputation, was leniently executed; and to restore his honor, he undertook to equip, at his own expense, an expedition to Florida, of which he was appointed governor. While his preparations were in progress, Philip II., having received intelligence of the Huguenot settlement, pointed out to him, as a still more glorious task, that of rooting out the heretics from Spanish America; and to enable him to accomplish this object, 300 troops were added to his armament. Menendez sailed from San Lucar with eleven ships and 1000 men; and such was the enthusiasm kindled for this "holy war," that on reaching the Canaries the number had swelled to 2600. Notwithstanding some severe losses by shipwreck, he reached the coast of Florida, where falling in with three French vessels, and being questioned as to his intentions, he replied, with a fiery zeal, untempered by prudence, that he was come to extirpate the Protestants out of the country. The French hereupon cut their cables, and regained the port with all speed;

but Menendez having reconnoitred their position, and considering an immediate landing impracticable, repaired to the neighboring river of St. Augustine. He there founded a settlement, considered by Mr. Bancroft the oldest town now in the United States, and forthwith prepared for hostile operations.



RIBAUT, on learning the arrival of this formidable enemy, thought it most advisable to become the assailant without delay, before they could fortify their position. This conduct has been censured, but perhaps too much with reference to the fatal event. Leaving Laudonniere with eighty-five men in the fort, he sailed on the 8th of September, and arrived on the 10th at the mouth of the St. Augustine; but was there overtaken by a tremendous storm, which drove him far out to sea. Menendez, concluding that this expedition must have comprised the flower of the French troops, and that those left in the fort were few in number, hastily formed the resolution to attack them. Selecting 500 of his best men, he led them across a wild country, intersected by broad streams, swamps and forests, encouraging them to proceed by an appeal to all the sentiments of honor and religion. On the fourth evening the place was descried, but the night was spent in the neighborhood, amid a dreadful tempest, which, while it inflicted severe suffering, also lulled the enemy's suspicions. At daybreak the three gates of the fort were seen open, and only a single Frenchman outside, who was lured into the camp, and killed.



Menendez.

Menendez then ordered his followers to rush forward, and enter before any discovery could be made. But a soldier, chancing to be on the rampart, gave the alarm; though before Laudonniere could be roused, the enemy were in the fort, and had commenced an indiscriminate massacre. That chief, with several companions, leaped from the wall, ran into the woods, and, after wandering some time, found a little bark, in which, under severe want and imminent perils, they made their way to Bristol. Spanish writers assert, that after the slaughter had continued some time, an order was issued to spare the women and children, and that, while two hundred perished, seventy were saved.

Ribault meanwhile, after being driven out to sea, saw his vessels completely wrecked among the rocks in the Bahama Channel. He escaped on shore with nearly all his men; but their condition was most deplorable,

and in endeavoring to reach their settlement by a march of 300 miles through a barren country, the most extreme hardships were endured. At length, on the ninth day, they beheld the river, and the fort on the opposite side; but what was their dismay to see on the ramparts Spanish colors flying! Their leader made a solemn pause before he could resolve to place any trust in men known to be imbued with the most ferocious bigotry. Seeing no other hope, he sent two of the party to represent that their sovereigns were at peace; that, agreeably to instructions, they had strictly avoided interfering with any of their settlements; they asked only food, and a vessel to convey them home. Their reception is very differently reported. According to the French it was most kind, and ample pledges of safety were given. The Spaniards, on the contrary, allege that Menendez acquainted them with his object, and the bloody treatment he had given to their countrymen; but added, that if they would lay down their arms, and place themselves at his mercy, he would do with them whatever God in his grace might suggest. We cannot however believe that without some more positive pledge, Ribault would have agreed to surrender. Having delivered their arms, his men were conveyed across the river by thirty at a time. They were dismayed to find themselves bound two and two together, with their hands behind their backs; but this, they were assured, was only a temporary precaution. At length they were drawn up in front of the castle, when the Spanish chief with his sword drew a line around them on the sand, and on a signal given, the soldiers commenced the work of slaughter, with every excess of cruelty and indignity; the military band playing the whole time to drown the cries for mercy and the shrieks of the dying. Ribault, amid vain remonstrances, was struck in the back and fell, covered with wounds. When the work of blood was finished, the assassins suspended to a tree a number of the mangled limbs, attaching the inscription, "Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics and enemies of God."

When this horrible tragedy became known in France, the Huguenots raised the cry for vengeance. Charles IX., allied in enmity to the Protestants with Philip of Spain, made only formal remonstrances and accepted an apology. But an instrument of vengeance was soon found. This was Dominique de Gourgues, a daring warrior, who had fought successfully against the Turks and Spaniards, by the latter of whom he had been taken prisoner and cruelly treated. On hearing of the murder of his countrymen, he resolved to devote his whole energies to revenge their death, and his own wrongs.

He equipped three vessels, and selected 230 men who had often fought and conquered with him, and sailed on the 22d of August, 1567. He

carefully concealed his destination until he reached the western point of Cuba, and then obtained the unanimous consent of his followers to the work he meditated.



Charles IX.

De Gourgues, in sailing along the coast of Florida, passed imprudently near San Matheo, of which he was warned by his squadron, who had found themselves saluted as Spaniards; whereupon he hastened to another river fifteen leagues distant, and landed as secretly as possible. Finding the natives as usual imbued with deadly hostility towards the subjects of Philip, he engaged their co-operation; and learning that the enemy had built two small forts, he made a rapid march and spent the night at a short distance from them. In the morning, he was alarmed to see the whole garrison in motion on the ramparts; but they had assembled from some accidental cause, and soon withdrew. The French then advanced through a thick wood, which brought them almost close to one of the smaller forts. On emerging from the forest they were seen, the alarm was given, and two guns fired; but, rushing forward with wild impetuosity, they scaled the ramparts, an Indian chief being foremost. The garrison, seized with terror, ran out in every direction, and were nearly all killed or taken. Those in the next station followed their example and soon shared their fate; but the main fortress was still untouched, and defended by troops far more numerous than the assailants. A small party, however, having rashly sallied out, were surrounded and nearly cut off; whereupon the whole body, struck with the general panic, at once abandoned their stronghold, and sought safety in the woods. Being eagerly pursued, most of them were taken; and De Gourgues had given strict orders to bring in as many alive as possible. He then led them all together to the fatal tree on

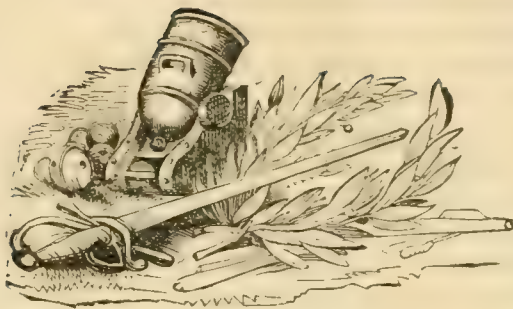


De Gourgues.

which the remains of his slaughtered countrymen yet hung, and having upbraided them in the strongest terms for their treachery and cruelty, he hanged them all; suspending a number of their bodies on the same trunk, and substituting the following inscription:—"Not because they are Spaniards, but because they are traitors, robbers, and murderers." Had this execution been confined to a few of the ringleaders, it might have been held as a just retribution; but being inflicted on so large a scale, it almost rivalled the atrocity which it was meant to avenge.

De Gourgues had not come with any intention of settlement. Embarking, therefore, with whatever was valuable in the forts, he sailed for Rochelle, and was received in that Protestant capital with the loudest acclamations. His reception at Bordeaux was equally flattering; but it was very different at Paris, where Charles showed no little inclination to transmit his head to Philip, who loudly demanded it. Steps were even taken for bringing him to trial; but they were found so excessively unpopular, that it was deemed expedient to withdraw them, and allow him to retire into Normandy.





CHAPTER V.

ENGLISH EXPEDITIONS TO NORTH AMERICA.



ALTHOUGH North America was claimed by the French and English, the Spaniards were the only Europeans who had succeeded in getting into actual possession of any part of it. In the reign of Henry VIII., the English undertook several voyages, with the object of discovering a northwest passage to India.

In 1536, a voyage of discovery to the northwest parts of America was projected by a person named Hore, of London — “a man of goodly stature, great courage and given to the study of cosmographie.” Of one hundred and twenty persons who accompanied him, thirty were members of the Inns of Court and Chancery. The voyage was extremely disastrous. After their arrival in Newfoundland, they suffered so much from famine, that they were driven to cannibalism. At length, a French ship arrived on the coast, and the adventurers captured it by stratagem and returned home. The Frenchmen were indemnified by Henry VIII., who pardoned the violence of necessity.

— When Sebastian Cabot was appointed “Grand Pilot of England,” by Edward VI., he awakened the ambition and enlarged the views of the English. By his advice, and under his direction, a voyage was undertaken in 1553, for the discovery of a northeast passage to Cathay, or

India. Three ships were fitted out, and placed under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby. Richard Chancellor was appointed pilot-major. The expedition received every mark of royal favor before it started from Greenwich. But the result was as disastrous as the beginning was brilliant. Sir Hugh Willoughby with the whole of two ships' companies perished miserably on the barren and uninhabited part of the eastern coast of Lapland, not far from the harbor of Kegor. Richard Chancellor, in the other vessel was more fortunate. He reached Archangel, travelled to Moscow, and opened the commercial intercourse which has since continued between Russia and England.

The next voyage was for the purpose of discovering a northwest passage to Cathay. Martin Frobisher, a mariner of great courage, skill, and experience, conceived that the voyage was not only feasible, but of easy execution; and "as it was the only thing of the world that was left yet undone whereby a notable mind



Henry VIII.



Loss of Sir Hugh Willoughby's Squadron.

might be made famous and fortunate," he persisted for 15 years in striving

to procure the equipment of the expedition which was the constant object of his hopes and speculations.



Queen Elizabeth.



Frobisher.

In 1576, by the patronage of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Frobisher was enabled to fit out two vessels—one of 35, and the other of 30 tons. As the vessels passed Greenwich, where the court then resided, Queen Elizabeth gave the adventurers an encouraging farewell by waving her hand to them from the window. On the 11th of July, Frobisher reached the southern part of Greenland, which he supposed to be the Friezeland of Zeno. The floating ice compelled him to steer southwest till he reached the coast of Labrador. Sailing northward, he entered a strait afterwards called Lumley's Inlet. The Esquimaux excited the wonder of the voyagers; and Frobisher took one of them, and soon after sailed for England, which he reached on the 2d of October. He had then obtained the fame he sought.

One of Frobisher's seamen brought home with him a stone as a memorial of his visit to those distant lands. But his wife, throwing it into the fire, "it glistened with a bright marquesset of gold." This accident was soon noised abroad, and the gold-liners of London, being called upon to assay the stone, reported that it contained a considerable quantity of gold. Here was an additional lure to adventurers. The queen now openly favored the enterprise; and in 1577, Frobisher again set sail, with three ships. He steered for the strait where his previous voyage had terminated and sought the spot where the supposed gold ore had been picked up, but could not find on the whole island a piece "as big as a walnut." On the neighboring islands, however, the ore was found in large quantities. As gold was the real object of most of the adventurers, they secured about two hundred tons of the glittering ore, and sailed for England, where the vessels arrived separately, having been dispersed by a storm.



HE queen was delighted with the results of the voyage, and resolved to establish a colony in the new country, to which she gave the name of *Meta Incognita*. A fleet of fifteen ships was equipped, and one hundred persons appointed to form a settlement, and remain there the whole year, with three ships. The remainder were to bring back cargoes of gold ore. Frobisher was appointed

admiral in general of the expedition, and before he sailed, received as a mark of approbation, a gold chain from the queen.

The fleet sailed on the 31st of May, 1578, and in three weeks reached Friezeland. It then proceeded towards Frobisher's straits. Distresses and vexations of every kind thwarted the attempt to fix a colony. Storms dispersed the fleet. Ice choked up the strait; and one small bark, on board of which was the house intended for the settlers, was crushed by the icebergs. At length, after enduring extreme hardships, it was resolved to return and postpone the settlement until the next year. The storms pursued the fleet on its homeward passage, but the vessels all arrived at various ports before October.

Frobisher's zeal in the pursuit of northwestern discoveries is supposed to have been fostered by the writings of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a gentleman of brilliant talents and romantic temper. After Frobisher's failure, Sir Humphrey Gilbert resolved to undertake a voyage for the same purposes. In 1578, he obtained a patent, authorizing him to make western

discoveries, and take possession of lands unsettled by Christian princes or their subjects.

In 1583, a fleet of five ships was equipped with every thing necessary for founding a colony. About 260 men, including shipwrights, masons, smiths, and carpenters, besides "mineral men and refiners," embarked in the expedition. The fleet reached Newfoundland on the 30th of July. Gilbert took possession of the harbor of St. John's and the countries in the vicinity, and then, with three ships, proceeded on a voyage of discovery to the southward. One of these vessels was wrecked soon after, and of one hundred men on board, only twelve escaped. Depressed in spirit, Sir Humphrey determined to return to England. But his little bark was encountered by a furious storm, and foundered. Gilbert may be regarded as the father of the western colonization of the English; and his sad fate excites commiseration. He was a chief ornament of a golden age.



Sir Walter Raleigh.

The successor of Gilbert in his colonial projects, was his half-brother, the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh. He easily procured, in 1584, a renewal of the patents in terms quite as ample. Two ships were equipped, and being too much engaged in court intrigues to conduct the expedition himself, he intrusted it to the command of Captains Philips and Barlow. Proceeding by the circuitous route of the Canaries and West India islands, they approached the coast of Florida. They were delighted with the odor

which was wafted from the land long before it was in sight. Sailing along the coast about forty leagues, they came to a river, where they landed and took possession of the country in the name of the queen and their employers. This was an island on the coast of North Carolina, called Wocoken. The Indians were friendly, and a large number of their chiefs visited the adventurers. A pewter dish caught the fancy of the principal sachem, and the English obtained twenty deer-skins for it. The sachem made a hole in the rim, and suspended it from his neck as a breastplate, intimating by signs that it would protect him from the arrows of his enemies. For a copper kettle, he gave fifty valuable skins; but no offers could induce the English to sell them swords or other arms. Philips and Barlow returned to England in September, taking with them two chiefs, Manteo and Wanchese. They represented that the country was a perfect paradise, and the queen, charmed with the description, gave it the name of *Virginia*.



The Indian's Breastplate.

A second expedition was fitted out under the direction of Raleigh, with the object of colonizing the new country. Seven vessels and one hundred and eight men were placed under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, surnamed "the Brave." This fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, 1585, and after touching at the Canary islands and Porto Rico, arrived at Wocoken in June. Here the admiral's ship was wrecked, but he and his crew saved.

Ralph Lane, a brave but imprudent officer, accompanied the expedition as governor of the colony. Several distinguished men, among whom



Grenville destroying the Indian Village.

were the famous navigator Cavendish, and Hariot the mathematician, were also on board the vessels. The admiral, attended by several of his

officers, and a guard of soldiers, went over to the continent on the 11th of July, and came to the town of Secotan, where they were hospitably entertained by the natives. At one of the Indian towns a silver cup was stolen, and its restoration being delayed, Grenville ordered the village to be burned and the standing corn to be destroyed. This was a hasty and extreme measure, and its consequences were destined to be severely felt by the colonists.

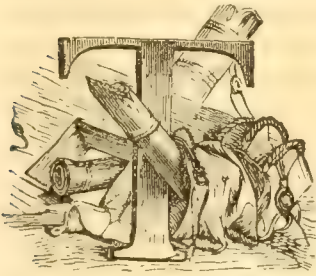
In August, Grenville, who had merely undertaken to conduct the naval armament, returned to England. The colonists seem to have arrived with extravagant expectations and without a fixed plan. The plough was the last resource. Lane, by means of a captive chief, received glowing accounts of a country in the interior, abounding in gems of the rarest kind, and resolved to explore it. He advanced to the north as far as Cape Henry, without meeting any opposition from the natives; but on making known his intention to proceed to the westward, up the river Albemarle, Wingina, the powerful king of the country, became alarmed, and notified the neighboring princes, that the English designed to make a conquest of the whole country. Orders were forthwith despatched to the surrounding tribes to destroy all their corn and provisions, and retire with their wives and children from the banks of the Albemarle, that the English might find no subsistence.

Wingina, however, concealed his scheme, and encouraged the English to prosecute their explorations, by representing that there was plenty of gold in the mountains at the head of the Albemarle. By this stratagem it was hoped the adventurers would be famished before they could get back to Roanoke.

Lane took little provision with him. As he advanced he found the whole country abandoned, and observed that the natives gave notice of his approach by making signal-fires, and fled with all their movable effects. After rowing up the river for four days, the party was reduced to great straits, and were compelled to return to Roanoke, where they arrived on Easter-day, 1586. Here they found Wingina and his Indians, who still professed friendship for the English, but immediately entered into a conspiracy to destroy them.

Their plan was to surprise and set fire to the town while the people were chiefly scattered about in hunting parties, and to overpower the several detachments by superior numbers. This conspiracy was discovered to Lane, by Skyes, the son of Menatanon, an Indian prince with whom the commander was on terms of intimacy. Lane resolved to anticipate Wingina; and on the last of May, being admitted to a conference with

him and an assemblage of his chiefs, he gave a signal to his men, who fell upon the Indians and put them all to death.



THE immediate danger was thus averted; but the enmity of the natives was henceforth unappeasable, and the strangers began seriously to ponder their situation. Of their golden dreams they saw no prospect or chance of fulfilment, while absolute want stared them in the face; the supplies promised at Easter had not arrived in June; and they were in momentary dread of

perishing either by famine or the arrows of the savages. At this desperate juncture, a fleet of twenty-three vessels was seen in the offing; and after some alarm lest it should prove a hostile squadron, the joyful announcement was made, of its being that of Sir Francis Drake, returning from his victorious expedition against the Spanish main. That gallant officer readily agreed to give them a store of provisions, a sloop of seventy tons, and other small craft, with which they might either explore the coasts or return to England; the latter, it is probable, being the real object. A violent storm, however, destroyed these vessels, thus defeating the arrangement; and Lane, upon the earnest entreaty of the settlers, contented himself with obtaining a place on board the fleet, by which he and his adventurers might be conveyed home.



THE conclusion that Raleigh had deserted them was quite unfounded. A few days after this hasty departure, there arrived a brig of one hundred tons, provided with every thing needful for their wants; but to the utter amazement of the crew, there were no colonists to supply. After sailing about some time, and satisfying themselves of the fact, they too returned to Europe. This was another hasty step; for a fortnight had not elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared, bringing three well-appointed ships, laden with every means of supporting and enlarging the colony. His dismay may be conceived when neither the vessel previously

despatched, nor one Englishman, could be found within those savage precincts. He therefore left merely fifteen men to erect a fort, and keep a certain hold of the country till farther reinforcements could be sent out.

These failures and disasters could not discourage Raleigh. In the beginning of the year 1587, he fitted out three ships, with one hundred and fifty men, besides mariners, under the command of Captain John White, whom he appointed governor, with twelve assistants, incorporating them by the name of "The Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh, in Virginia." This fleet sailed from Portsmouth, on the 28th of April, 1587, and after touching at Santa Cruz, reached Cape Fear on the 16th of July, and Cape Hatteras on the 22d. A party of men was sent on shore at Roanoke to search for the fifteen men left by Grenville, but could find no signs of them except the bones of one man, supposed to have been killed by the natives. At the north end of the island a fort was found, which had been erected by Lane, and the houses of the colonists were still standing, but somewhat dilapidated.



ALEIGH had directed Governor White to settle on Chesapeake Bay; but this was opposed by Ferdinando, the Spanish pilot, to whose care the fleet had been committed, under pretence that it was too late in the year to look out for another port. It was therefore resolved to remain at Roanoke. Soon after landing, one of the men, straggling a mile or two from the fort, was murdered by a party of Indians.

A number of the colonists, led by Captain Stafford, visited the island of Croatan, with Manteo, the Indian interpreter, whose relatives dwelt there; and they were kindly welcomed by the natives. On the 13th of August, Manteo was baptized and constituted "Lord of the Island of Roanoke, and of the opposite continent of Desamongapeak, as Sir Walter Raleigh had ordered;" and on the 18th of the same month, Mrs. Eleanor Dare, wife of Ananias Dare, one of the Court of Assistants, and daughter of Governor Dare, gave birth to a daughter who was baptized Virginia. She was the first child born of European parents on American soil. When the governor subsequently went to England, she remained with her parents and died in the land of her birth.

In the meantime, Governor White had provoked the hostility of the Indians by attacking a party belonging to a friendly tribe, and all hope of conciliatory arrangements was lost. As winter approached, and the vessel was about to return to Europe, the colonists began seriously to consider their situation. Foreseeing that they would have to depend upon what they could raise for supplies, they earnestly entreated White to

accompany the vessel and exert himself to bring them aid. After much objection he consented. But he arrived in England at the time when the expected Spanish invasion engrossed the attention of the nation. No assistance could be obtained then.

Raleigh's schemes for colonization had already cost him forty thousand pounds, and had yielded no profit. Engaged in other enterprises, he was under the necessity of assigning a portion of the rights conferred by his patent, to Sir Thomas Smith and several other gentlemen, among whom was Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, the author of a collection of voyages and travels, which stimulated the spirit of adventure, and has served as reliable authority to subsequent historians. This company carried on a petty trade with the natives, but made no attempt at colonization.

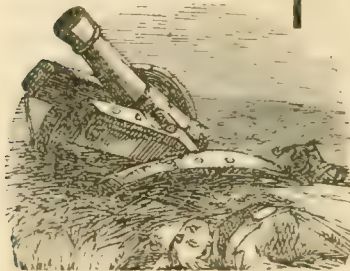


IN the beginning of 1590, Governor White obtained leave for three small ships which had been ordered to cruise in the West Indies, to visit Roanoke, with supplies and reinforcements. These vessels arrived at the island in the middle of August. They found only the letters CROATAN cut repeatedly upon the trees and beams of the deserted houses. The governor persuaded the captains to proceed towards Croatan; but the weather growing tempestuous, and the ships losing most of their anchors and cables, they sailed directly for England, leaving the fate of the colony uncertain. No trace has ever been found to determine surely what became of the settlers.

Such was the termination of the efforts of Sir Walter Raleigh to establish a colony in America. After the lavish expenditure of money, labor, and even of life, not an Englishman, known to the nation at home, remained on the soil of North America. The spirit of adventure was for a time depressed, but soon rose again. In March, 1602, a small vessel with thirty-two men, under the command of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, sailed from Plymouth, and, sailing directly across the Atlantic, reached the northern part of Massachusetts on the 14th of May. The adventurers then proceeded southward, and reached a bold promontory, which was named Cape Cod, from the great quantity of fish caught in the vicinity. After passing some dangerous spots, named Tucker's Terror, Point Care, and other promontories, they reached Martha's Vineyard. Having landed, they were pleased with its aspect, yet sailed on till they

entered Buzzard's Bay, adjoining Rhode Island, which, appearing one of the stateliest sounds ever seen, received the name of Gosnold's Hope.

Elizabeth's Island, within its circuit, was chosen as a desirable place of settlement. The soil was clothed with noble trees, and with under-wood, which, among other valuable plants, including sassafras, was then esteemed a medicine of sovereign virtue. Some pulse being sown, grew in a fortnight to half a foot. They debarked on the mainland, which appeared "the goodliest they ever saw, replenished with fair fields." Having erected a fort, and collected a cargo chiefly of sassafras, they prepared to return; but at this crisis the intending colonists were struck with panic at the idea of being left with only a small stock of provisions on this remote and savage shore, not without a fear that the vessel might never return, and, like former settlers, they might be abandoned to their fate. Their companions, too, would thus escape all responsibility for their share of the cargo. Under these apprehensions they abandoned the idea of remaining, and went on board with the rest.



THIS expedition revived the favorable impression of the American continent. In the next year (1603), Hakluyt prevailed upon some merchants of Bristol to equip two small vessels; and Raleigh, who still held the patent extending over all this coast, readily gave his consent, signed and sealed. Two ships were placed under the command of Martin

Pring, who followed in the track of Gos-

nold, but did not attempt a settlement, on account of the hostile attitude of the natives. He confirmed the accounts of his predecessor.

In 1605, the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel equipped a ship called the Archangel, and sent her to New England, under the command of George Weymouth. He explored the coast from the Penobscot to the Hudson. Not far from the mouth of the latter river, he entered a good harbor, which, as it was entered on Whitsunday, was called Pentecost Harbor. Here he carried on a profitable trade with the Indians, getting forty beaver-skins for the value of five shillings in knives and other cutlery. The Indians came on board the ship fearlessly, and Weymouth treacherously kidnapped five of their number, and ultimately carried them away. He sailed for England on the 16th of June, and arrived there on the 16th of July. As a commercial adventure this expedition was completely successful.

A century had now elapsed since the discovery of the continent by

Cabot, and yet England had effected no settlement on its shores. The toils and dangers endured by successive adventurers had only served to keep the claim of England alive. The character and true resources of the country had become a great deal better known, and thus the nation was prepared to witness and assist a new attempt which would be more successful. Most of the expeditions had failed to effect a settlement, for the same causes which afterwards threatened the existence of the Virginia colony—want of prompt aid in men and supplies from home, and the blunders and quarrels of the commanders.



Ancient English Ship.



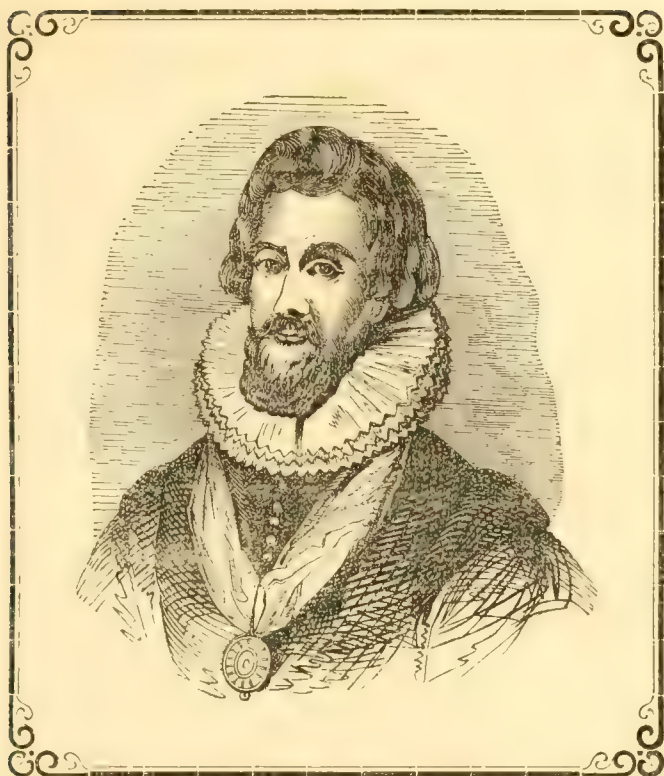
Captain John Smith.

CHAPTER VI.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA.



WHEN James I. succeeded to the British throne, Raleigh was deprived of his patent by attainder. The king encouraged the spirit of enterprise, and there was now some prospect of effecting something substantial. An association was formed by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Winfield, Popham, with other men of rank, and eminent merchants, for the purpose of colonizing the vast region claimed by England in North America. The adventurers were divided into two companies; the one from London for the southern, the other from Bristol and the west, for the northern part of Virginia. The former were allowed to choose any spot between the 34th and 41st degrees of latitude; the latter between the 38th and 45th. Three degrees were thus common between both; but collision was prevented by enacting that wherever one had fixed its seat, the other should fix theirs at least one hundred miles distant. Within this range the Associations obtained full property in all the lands and resources of every kind, with the exception of one-fifth of the gold and one fifteenth of the copper. The king lodged the government in two councils, one resident in



James I.

England and the other in the colony, and claimed the right of appointing both; but having exercised it in regard to the first, he allowed them to nominate the Virginia members. He also prepared a code of "orders and instructions," in which the colonists and their posterity were declared English subjects, yet were invested with no political rights, not even trial by jury, unless in capital charges; minor offences were punished arbitrarily by the council. The English church was exclusively established. Strict and laudable injunctions were given for the mild and equitable treatment of the natives.

The London company immediately applied themselves to the formation of a settlement. Three vessels, none exceeding one hundred tons, were fitted out. These were put under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, who sailed on the 19th of December, 1606. Newport had with him one hundred and five men, destined to remain in America. Among these were several persons of distinction; particularly George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, Bartholomew Gosnold, the

navigator, and Captain John Smith, distinguished as a daring warrior. The fleet sailed by the circuitous route of the West Indies, on account of the lateness of the season. After a voyage of four months, the adventurers were driven into the Chesapeake Bay by a tempest. Cape Henry was discovered and named in honor of the Prince of Wales. After coasting about for some time, the vessels entered a river called Powhatan by the natives; and seeing that the region to which they had been driven possessed many advantages not to be found at Roanoke, the English resolved to make this the place of their abode. Both the settlement and the river received the name of the king, and Jamestown is therefore the oldest English location in America.



UT the arrangements had been injudicious. King James, with a ridiculous caprice, had caused the names and instructions of the council to be enclosed in a box, not to be opened until after the arrival in Virginia; and thus the crew in going out knew not whom to obey. The energy of Smith, with his frank and manly bearing, soon led them to recognise him as their commander. This excited the envy and malice of others higher in rank, who charged him with having a design to usurp the government and become king. On these baseless charges, Smith was arrested and confined during the remainder of the voyage, and for some time longer, so that his services were lost to the colony when most wanted.

Having landed, the packet was opened and the names of the council proclaimed. Smith was among the number. The council elected a president, and then excluded him whose superior abilities excited envy. Smith demanded a trial, was honorably acquitted, and took his seat in the council. He afterwards accompanied Newport up the river as high as the great falls, where they visited Powhatan, a sort of emperor over all the surrounding tribes. He received the strangers well, and reproved his people for murmuring at it.

In June, Newport sailed for England. The brilliant hopes which the colonists had conceived now quickly vanished. The supplies of provisions began to fail, and the tilling of the soil was a laborious resort which they had not expected. Unwholesome food and a new climate soon caused disease to show itself, and before September, nearly half their number were carried off by it. Among these was Bartholomew Gosnold, the projector of the settlement. The distress of the colonists was increased by dissensions. Charges of embezzling the public stores were preferred

against President Wingfield, and he was detected in attempting to escape from the colony in a pinnace. He was deposed and his place filled by Ratcliffe, who, fortunately, left everything to the control of Smith, which was what the colonists desired.



Food was the most important want, Smith, with a party, proceeded down the river in search of it. The natives treated them with derision; and unable to succeed by fair means, the English fired a volley, which caused them to seek the shelter of the woods. Landing at a village, he found food in abundance, but prevented his people from encumbering themselves, foreseeing the return of the Indians. The red men returned in

considerable force; but another volley from the English brought them to sue for peace. Smith then obtained a sufficient quantity of provisions, and returned to Jamestown. The drooping spirits of the colonists were revived, and gratitude to their preserver took the place of jealousy.

Captain Smith's name will be for ever associated with the foundation of civilization in America. He was descended from a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and was born to a competent fortune. Of a naturally restless spirit, he yielded to his love of adventure and passed through a variety of military service, gaining much fame for skill and daring. Amid the general sickness in the colony, his health was perfect and his temper buoyant. Having, in his rambles, discovered the great river Chickamine, he determined to explore it to its source. He ascended first in his barge, then in a canoe, and twenty miles on foot, attended only by his Indian guides. But three hundred natives who had traced his steps surprised and dispersed his party, and then came suddenly upon himself. He made most valiant efforts for safety; and fastening with his garters a native ally to his person, presented him to the enemy as a buckler. Then he ran to the canoe, which he would have reached, if he had not suddenly sunk in a morass, where he was forced to surrender or perish with cold.

Although Smith had reason to think his last hour had come, his self-control did not desert him. He asked for the chief, showed his compassion, and strove to explain the use of it. The Indians were awed, as if in the presence of a superior being, and on a signal from their chief, they laid down their weapons and led Smith, under strict guard, to their capital. There they threatened him with torture and death, if he did not consent to betray the colony into their hands. But it was vain. At



Smith saved by showing the Compass.

length, being brought into the presence of Powhatan, his doom was sealed. The instruments of death were prepared, and Smith had become resigned to his fate, when he was saved by the intercession of Pocahontas, the king's daughter, who threw her arms around him and declared she would die with him, if he was not spared. Humanity prevailed over cruelty, and Smith was re-

served for further services and adventures. Soon afterwards, he was sent back to Jamestown, with the promise of peace, and arrived just as the remaining thirty-eight settlers were preparing to leave the country.



Pocahontas rescuing Captain Smith.

By the most determined action, Smith succeeded in inducing them to stay. Pocahontas had sent provisions, which relieved their present wants, and the accounts of plenty among the Indians revived their hopes. Peace and friendship were restored between the two races, and everything looked promising under the rule of the man, whose merit was his only title to office.

In this state of things, Newport arrived, with two vessels, one hundred and twenty men and a supply of provisions, seed and agricultural implements. The Company, however, now impatiently endured their expenses, and began to look for some return. Gold was viewed as the main source of wealth, and many of the new-comers had been selected on account of their skill in its discovery. Naturally desirous to satisfy their employers, they thought they perceived in a certain glittering yellow earth, the precious ore. Henceforth all sober industry was thrown aside. Gold was the only object, and digging, refining and washing it, the only toil. Smith's remonstrances were of no avail, until long after the skilful examination of gold-refiners had proved the glittering ore to be worthless. In June, 1608, Newport's vessels returned to England; one, laden with this worthless dross, and the other, with cedar-wood.



Smith exploring Chesapeake Bay.

Prompted by his adventurous spirit, Smith now resolved to explore the Chesapeake Bay, to ascertain the qualities and resources of its territories, and promote an intercourse with the more remote tribes. This was an arduous and dangerous expedition. Accompanied by Dr. Russell and a few followers, he performed, in an open boat, two voyages of discovery, occupying more than four months, and embracing above three thousand miles of exploration. He visited every inlet and bay on both sides of the Chesapeake, from Cape Charles to the Susquehanna River, and carefully examined the territories into which he penetrated. He brought back an ample and accurate account of his researches, and his map has been made

the groundwork of all succeeding ones. By his wisdom and courage, Smith inspired the Indians with an exalted opinion of himself and nation.



THE return of Smith revived the spirits of the colonists, whose golden dreams had been dispelled during his absence. He was immediately elected president of the council, and began, with his usual activity, to improve the buildings, strengthen the forts, and train the men to military exercises, but he was interrupted by the arrival of Newport, with a fresh colony of about seventy persons, including two females. The Company, having spent at least £2000 in the equip-

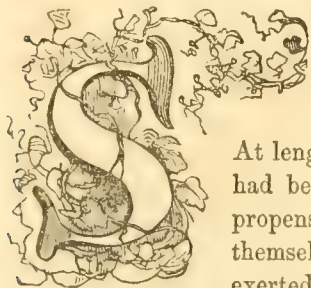
ment, expressed an earnest desire and expectation of being somewhat reimbursed. They recommended two objects to be attained by the colonists—the discovery of the South Sea, and mining of gold. In order to gain the favor of Powhatan, they sent him presents, and materials for his coronation. The Indian king submitted with reluctance to the coronation; but assured the English that their ideas of a salt water beyond the mountains were erroneous. The South Sea chimera was not relinquished, however, until Newport and a small party had ascended the river, and had a taste of the toils and dangers of the expedition. They returned to Jamestown, oppressed “with famine, toil and discontent.”



SMITH'S administration was not acceptable to the patentees in England. The disappointment of their high expectations made them ready to throw the blame upon any one but themselves. On the 23d of May, 1609, a new charter was granted to the Company, which gave them more extensive powers. James was induced to waive those high claims of sovereignty, before so strictly reserved. He allowed the council in England to be chosen by the proprietors, with power to nominate a governor. The episcopal church was exclusively established, and all emigrants required to take the oath of supremacy.

The exertions of the patentees and the general enthusiasm kindled throughout the nation, enabled the Company to equip nine vessels, which were to take out five hundred emigrants. Lord Delaware, a true nobleman, was appointed governor for life; and as he could not depart immediately, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were to rule till his arrival in the colony. The fleet sailed on the 15th of May, 1609, and

seven of the vessels arrived at Jamestown on the 16th of August; the other two, having both of the temporary governors on board, were thrown upon the Bermudas during a violent storm.



SMITH, in their absence, justly claimed the authority of governor. But, in consequence of the bad character of most of the newcomers, total anarchy reigned for some time.

At length, Smith was invited to assume that which had been denied to him—thus showing the natural propensity of men to establish a government for themselves, if none is imposed upon them. Smith exerted himself to locate advantageously the emigrants, of whom two parties, of one hundred and twenty each, were settled at Nansemond, and at the falls of James River. Both, however, mismanaged their affairs, quarrelled with the Indians, and lost a number of their men. In returning from the latter place, Smith was severely wounded by the bursting of a bag of gunpowder, and when, in extreme torture, he arrived at home, he was told of plots formed against his life. Unable to struggle against so many difficulties, he returned to England, and never again visited the colony which was so much indebted to him, and yet so ungrateful. Posterity has done his memory justice. His commanding spirit, and the romantic incidents of his life, excite the interest of every reader of American history.





CHAPTER VII.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE LONDON COMPANY.

AT the time Captain Smith left the colony, it was inhabited by five hundred persons, amply supplied with arms, provisions, cattle and implements of agriculture. These stores would have been sufficient under an efficient government. But the command was now entrusted to Mr. George Percy, a man of worth, but without the energy of Smith. The colony soon fell a victim to the demon anarchy. The provisions were quickly exhausted, and the Indians, whose hostility had only been awed by the known valor of Smith, now harassed the colonists by continual attacks, and all was commotion in consequence. To complete their misery, famine prevailed; and six months after Smith's departure, there only remained sixty persons alive at Jamestown. This period is known as "The Starving Time."

In this situation, the colonists were found by Newport and his colleagues, who arrived from the Bermudas in May, 1610, and they all determined to abandon the settlement. They embarked, and reached the mouth of the James river, where they met Lord Delaware, who had arrived with a considerable number of new settlers, a supply of provisions, and means

of defence and cultivation. He induced the dispirited ones to return to Jamestown, and a brighter prospect seemed before them.

Lord Delaware was well qualified for the position to which he had been appointed. His high rank prevented the jealousy of the ambitious. His dignified manners, attention to business and his firm will secured the respect of the colonists and the friendship of the Indians.

Order being established, Somers was sent to the Bermudas for provisions, and Gates to England to report to the Company. But Lord Delaware was suddenly taken sick and compelled to return to England for the recovery of his health. He left Percy in command, and the same relaxation of discipline followed as had marked the former government of that gentleman. Fortunately, Sir Thomas Dale arrived, with men and supplies, and took the government into his hands. He introduced martial law; a measure rendered necessary to quell the lawless spirits which had caused the disorder.



Arrival of Gates.

In August, Sir Thomas Gates arrived with six vessels, containing men and supplies for the colony. He succeeded Dale in the government, and continued to enforce martial law. On account of the increase in the number of the colonists, a subordinate settlement was formed further up the river, and called Henrico, in honor of the Prince of Wales.

A new charter was granted to the London Company in March, 1612. By this instrument, the dominions of the Company were enlarged and their authority over the colonists increased. Lotteries for their benefit were established in England, but soon abolished, when the House of Commons represented them as a public evil.

In this year (1612), an event occurred, which was attended with happy



Capture of Pocahontas.

results to the colony, although it was brought about by an act of treachery. This was the marriage of Pocahontas. A scarcity prevailing in Jamestown, Captain Argall was despatched to the Potomac for a cargo of corn. Here he enticed Pocahontas on board his vessel, hoping to induce Powhatan to ransom her with a large quantity of provisions. Despite the tears and entreaties of the young maiden, he conveyed her to Jamestown. Powhatan was indignant at this act of treachery, and rejected all idea of ransom; but offered, if his daughter was restored, to forgive the injury, and supply the wants of the colonists. During her residence in the settlement, Pocahontas had made such an impression on Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank among the settlers, that he offered her his hand, and solicited the consent of Powhatan to the marriage. The old king acquiesced, and the ceremony was performed with great pomp. This event had a favorable effect upon the Indians, and a treaty was concluded with the Chickahomnies, who, to be called Englishmen, agreed to assist the colonists in war and peace.

The subsequent fate of Pocahontas, the early and true friend of the English, will not be unimportant to those interested in the history of the colonists. Soon after her marriage, she accompanied her husband to England. Her reception is thus described by Salmon:



ING James's queen and court paid her the same honors that were due to a European lady of the same quality, after they were informed by Captain Smith what services she had done the English nation, and particularly how she had saved the captain's life, when his head was upon the block. But it seems before this princess married Mr. Rolfe, she had been given to understand that Captain Smith was dead; for he was the first man she had set her affections upon, and I make no doubt he had promised to marry her when he was in her father's court; for when he came to wait upon her, on her arrival in England, she appeared surprised, turned away from him with the utmost scorn and resentment, and it was some hours before she would be prevailed with to

speak to him. She could not believe any man would have deceived her, for whom she had done so much and run so many hazards; and when she did vouchsafe to hear his excuses, she still reproached him with ingratitude. In all her behaviour, 'tis said, she behaved herself with great decency and suitable to her quality, and mighty expectations there were of the future services she would have done the English, upon her return to her own country; but she was taken ill at Gravesend, as she was about to embark for Virginia, and died in that town, a very devout Christian, 'tis said, leaving only one son, named Thomas Rolfe, whose posterity now flourish in Virginia, and enjoy lands descended to them as heirs of the Princess Pacahunta."

Hitherto, there had existed in the settlement a community of property. The evil consequences of this system had been made apparent. There was no incentive for individual exertion—the idle faring as well as the industrious. It was thus calculated that twenty men were required for what could easily have been done by three. Now in the first instance, a spot of ground and a month in the year were allowed to each; and, finally, private property being completely established, fifty acres were granted to such as were able to stock and cultivate them.

The company had been disappointed in their anticipations of the wealth to be derived from Virginia. They had tried the search of gold, iron, and precious stones, the raising of silk and wines, and the felling of woods; but in all, their scheme brought but little profit. Wealth suddenly flowed from another source. On the wild-meadows and river-banks grew

a weed of pungent taste and odor, called tobacco. Though at first offensive, it was found to possess irresistible attractions, for smoking, chewing, &c. Raleigh first rendered it fashionable at court, and it quickly spread to all classes and to other nations. King James conceived such a hatred to the use of this weed, that he wrote a book on the subject, called a "Counterblast to Tobacco." But the custom could not be prevented by the opposition of king or parliament, and as well might they have opposed the drinking of alcohol.



Tobacco Plant.

The colonists pursued the culture of tobacco with the utmost diligence, planting it even in the streets of Jamestown. The consequences might have been disastrous, if Sir Thomas Dale had not interfered to regulate the distance between the corn and the tobacco crops.

In 1616, Dale returned to England, leaving the government in the hands of Mr. George Yeardley; who, at the end of one year, gave place to Captain Argall, a successful naval commander. Lord Delaware had died during a voyage to America. The measures of Argall caused much dis-

content, and were undoubtedly tyrannical. Besieged with complaints, the Company displaced him and appointed Yeardley, who arrived in Virginia in April, 1619.

It seems that the Company began to favor liberal opinions. Agreeably to orders, Yeardley convened a colonial Assembly in June, 1619. This was the first which had assembled in America. The body consisted of a governor, council and two burgesses, elected by each of the eleven boroughs. They met at Jamestown, and the laws they enacted were sent to England for the sanction of the Company. The latter subsequently appointed a council to aid in the government, and by this measure thought to gain more complete control over the colony—giving it the semblance of freedom, without the substance. The representative constitution, however, gave the colonists a greater idea of their own importance, and its results were beneficial.

In 1620, a Dutch vessel from the coast of Guinea, sailing up the James River, sold a part of its cargo of negroes to the planters; and as it was found that the negroes could bear the climate better than the

English, and their labor was cheaper, the number was increased by subsequent importations. Thus was slavery planted in America. During the civil war in the time of Charles I., it was a common practice to ship the prisoners to America, and there sell their service for a term of years, to the highest bidder. The condition of these whites was but little better than that of the black slaves.

Few women had hitherto crossed the Atlantic; and, therefore, the planters being mostly unmarried, did not regard Virginia as their home. Seeing the evils resulting from such a state of things, the Company sent over ninety young women, of agreeable appearance and respectable character, and in the next year sixty more. They were soon disposed of to the young planters, the price at first being one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, and afterwards one hundred and fifty. From the number of emigrants that arrived, the limits of the settlement were extended more than fifty miles along the river. In the midst of prosperity the colony sustained a sudden and dreadful calamity.

Since the marriage of Pocahontas, the natives and English had lived on terms of friendship. But Powhatan was now dead; and his successor, Opekankanough, an active, brave and cautious prince, had always cherished a hatred to the white race — looking upon them as invaders of his country. He planned their destruction, and engaged all the neighboring Indians in the scheme. Never was a conspiracy better arranged and concealed until the moment for action. Opekankanough renewed the treaty made by Powhatan, and adopted every means to lull the suspicions of the colonists.



Powhatan.

An event now occurred, which sharpened the ferocity of the savages. There was in one of the tribes, a man named Nemattanow, renowned as a warrior and thought by the Indians to be invulnerable. Nemattanow was supposed to have murdered a planter named Butler; and was shot by those who attempted to arrest him for the crime. Finding death's hand was upon him, he begged his captors to grant him two requests:— First, never to reveal that he had



Opekankanough.

been slain by a bullet, and second, to bury him among the English. His death, however, soon became known, and grief and resentment filled the Indians. Opekankanough skilfully took advantage of this event, and made it aid his purpose. He brought about a general agreement among the savages to unite in one powerful effort to expel or destroy the strangers, and thus regain the inheritance which had already been so materially lessened, and which seemed now to be passing entirely away.

At length the day was fixed, on which all the settlements were to be attacked. Stations were assigned to each troop of assassins, and, that they might not excite suspicion, some carried presents to the colonists; others spent the evening before the massacre at the houses of the English; and the rest, under various pretences, assembled near the detached settlements. Although the fatal hour was fast drawing near, yet not an unguarded look of exultation, not a rash expression of hate, had occurred to disclose their designs. The universal destruction of the colony was prevented by nothing but the previous conversion of an Indian to Christianity. On the night before the massacre, this Indian was let into the secret by his brother, who had made known to him the command of the king for all to share in the exploit that would enrich their race with revenge, spoil, and glory. But, as soon as his brother was gone, instead of complying with his wishes, the convert communicated the intelligence to the Englishman with whom he lived. This planter hastened with the



Disclosure of the Intended Massacre.

tidings to Jamestown, and the alarm was carried thence to the nearest settlers; but it came too late to be more generally available.

On the 22d of March, 1622, while the English were busy at their usual occupations, the Indians, with their own arms, or any edge-tools of which they could lay hold, fell upon them with a fury which could not be resisted. In the course of an hour, about three hundred and fifty persons were killed. The remainder were only saved by prompt and vigorous measures



The Great Massacre.

of defence. Exaggerated reports of the numbers who fell in this massacre were carried to England, and for a while emigration was checked.



WAR was resolved upon, and a war of extermination could alone sate the eager desire for revenge which filled the colonists. The Indians were unequal to the struggle they had provoked. They had procured arms and gunpowder, but they wanted the discipline and skill to contend with civilized enemies. Hence, by degrees, they were driven to the westward or exterminated.

This massacre was particularly disastrous to the Company, in England. It was now a large body divided into factions, continually at war. James, irritated because the liberal party had the majority in the company, eagerly seized upon the occasion to vent his spleen. Having ordered a supply of arms and provisions for the colonists, he directed an inquiry to be made into the affairs of the company. All the charters, books and papers of the corporation were seized, and letters from the colony intercepted.

The commissioners did not communicate any of their proceedings to the company, who first learned the tenor of the report in which they were so deeply interested, from an order of the king and privy council, signifying to them that the misfortunes of the colony had arisen from the misgovernment of the Company in London, and that for the purpose of repairing them, the king had resolved to revoke the old charter and issue a new one, which should commit the government to fewer hands. At the same time to quiet the minds of the colonists, it was declared that private property should be respected, and that grants of land should remain inviolate. The company were required to surrender their privileges instantly, and were assured, if they did not submit voluntarily, the king would effect his purpose by legal process.

To this tyrannical proceeding, the company would not submit; and no threats or promises could swerve them from their resolution. Incensed at their boldness, James directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the Company, in order to try the validity of their charter in the Court of King's Bench. To collect additional proof, he despatched envoys to the colony, to inspect its condition and organize a party in his favor.

But the Virginians were attached to their established government, and so expressed themselves in a petition to the king. James was determined to break up the power of the company; and he at length succeeded. He issued a proclamation, suppressing their courts and committing the ad-

ministration of colonial affairs to certain of his privy councillors in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith and a few other persons. Thus fell the Virginia Colonization Company, after having expended upwards of £150,000 without any considerable return. Their dissolution was effected by a king whose power was then absolute—whose will was law. Such were the acts which brought about the revolution, and the death of Charles I.

King James now issued a special commission, reappointing Sir Thomas Wyatt governor, with twelve councillors. The colonial assembly is not mentioned in this instrument; but it was continued as a matter of usage. The king seemed to favor the commercial interests of the colony in his proclamation, renewing the former prohibition of the culture of tobacco in England, and giving the exclusive trade in the article to Virginia and the Somers Islands. He also designed composing a code of laws for the government of the colony; but his death in the next year frustrated his intention. Thus ended a reign distinguished for the establishment of the British empire in America. James encouraged and promoted the growth of the colony, but his arbitrary acts in regard to those who had given their time and wealth to the support of it must receive condemnation.





Charles I.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA, CONTINUED UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF THE
FRENCH WAR, IN 1756.



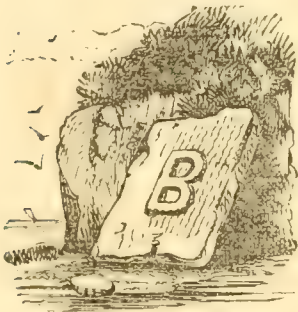
ING CHARLES I. had been educated in the maxims of his father, and when he ascended the throne, gave evidence of his design to maintain them as far as he was able. He declared that the government of Virginia should depend immediately upon himself; and his first act was to prohibit the planters from selling their tobacco to any but his agents. Thus the Virginians saw their legislature superseded by a council responsible to the king alone; all the profits of their industry engrossed, and their staple commodity monopolized by their sovereign.

On the death of Wyatt, Sir George Yeardley was appointed governor. He died in 1627, and during the two following years, the council elected



Arrest of Harvey.

West and Pott as temporary governors. In 1629, Sir John Harvey arrived and became the ruler. He is generally represented as a haughty, rapacious and cruel man; and though this has been denied, the fact of his being arrested by the colonists and sent to England, with two commissioners to state their grievances, is good evidence that he was not the best of governors. Instead of redressing their wrongs, Charles reinstated Harvey, and returning to Virginia, the governor became more tyrannical than ever. This provoked complaints so loud and vehement that there was a prospect, if Harvey's government continued, of the revolt or ruin of the colony.



UT a deliverance was at hand. Charles saw the signs of a storm approaching, which was destined to overwhelm him. He became anxious, therefore, to conciliate the colonists. Harvey was recalled and Sir Francis Wyatt appointed governor. The latter held the office two years and then yielded it to Sir William Berkeley, who assumed the government in February, 1642.

Berkeley appears to have been a true cavalier; faithful to the king and the Episcopal church under all circumstances. He was extreme in some of his measures, particularly in his opposition to the culture of tobacco. His appointment gave the colonists great satisfaction; and his influence insured the loyalty of the Virginians when the civil war broke out between the Cavaliers and Roundheads.

But a new calamity was impending over the colony. Opekananough was still alive and retained all his hatred of the English. The peace he had concluded with them in 1632, was a mere truce to mature a terrible



Opekankanough reproving Sir William Berkeley.

design. For nine years after, he was engaged in secretly banding the Indians together for the extermination of the now powerful English. The storm burst upon the colonists with the sudden force of a gust in summer. On the 18th of April, 1644, the Indians fell upon the English in the moment of their security. Five hundred persons were killed, and a large number carried into captivity. Whole villages, with all the corn, household utensils and farming implements were given to the flames. The blow was a severe one; but the colony was too deeply rooted in the soil of Virginia to be exterminated at that time.

All who were able to bear arms were embodied as militia for the general defence; and a chosen body, comprising every twentieth man, marched under the command of the governor, into the enemy's country. Opekankanough had now grown so old and decrepit that he was not able to walk alone, but was carried about by his men. His flesh was macerated, his sinews slackened, and his eyelids so heavy that he could only see, when they were lifted up by his servants. In this condition, he was surprised and captured by Governor Berkeley, with a party of horse. He was

conveyed to Jamestown, and treated with all possible respect; it being the desire of Berkeley to send him to England.

Opekankanough maintained his proud spirit even when so old and in captivity. One day, hearing the noise of the tread of people about him, he caused his eyelids to be lifted, and finding that a crowd of persons had been let in to see him, he called, in indignation, for the governor. When he came, Opekankanough told him that had it been his fortune to take Sir William Berkeley prisoner, he should not meanly have exposed him as a show to the people.

Berkeley could not preserve his captive's life above a fortnight; for one of his soldiers, resenting the calamities the colony had suffered through this prince's exertions, basely shot him through the back and killed him. After his death, the Indians speedily submitted, and tranquillity was so effectually restored to the province, that, two months after the massacre, Berkeley set sail for England, leaving Richard Kemp, as his substitute. After his return, in 1646, a treaty was concluded with the Indians, by which they made a large cession of territory.



CONSIDERABLE interval of tranquillity now elapsed, of which we shall take advantage to exhibit a view of the state and progress of the colony. The population had increased to twenty thousand persons. Jamestown was the principal settlement. But several others, situated further up the James river, were rapidly growing in importance. The colony was divided into eight counties. The governor appointed lieutenants for each county; the sheriffs were chosen by the inhabitants. The laws of England, so far as regarded personal rights, the rights of property and the punishment of crime, were in force in the colony. The assembly claimed no authority to legislate on such subjects. That body found sufficient employment in framing such laws as the particular necessity of the colony demanded. A large number of the colonists were persons of criminal or doubtful character. Hence, arose a state of society unusual in a new colony. The poorer gentry and the younger children of high families came from England, and obtaining considerable grants of land, lived "as great lords" in the transatlantic region. Thus an ultra aristocratic character was given to the colony, and royalty found it faithful. The commerce of Virginia was now in a flourishing state. Twelve ships were engaged in the trade with England, twelve with Holland, and seven with New England. Though wheat was raised in considerable quantities, tobacco continued to be the principal article of trade.



Death of Charles I.

In the meantime, the great struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament was going on in England. The high church and monarchy men of Virginia sympathized with the king, and when he was beheaded by the order of the victorious Parliament, they immediately proclaimed his exiled son, and announced their determination to maintain his cause and resist the authority of Parliament.

The able statesmen of the Long Parliament, flushed with their triumph, were not likely to allow an infant colony to brave their power. An edict was passed, declaring that the Virginians were subject to the authority of the Parliament, and should be reduced to submission by force, if they did not admit that authority. To enforce this declaration, Sir George Ayseue, a distinguished naval commander, was sent out with a strong fleet, having a body of troops on board. For the settlement of the civil government five commissioners were nominated, two of whom, Bennet and Clayborne, belonged to Virginia, but had distinguished themselves by opposing the ruling party.

In March, 1652, Ayseue anchored in Chesapeake Bay, when the colonists, listening to the dictates of prudence, opened a negotiation with the invaders. The terms agreed upon were liberal. The Virginians obtained a complete amnesty: they were promised a trade as free as that of England, and confirmed in all their political rights. They were even permitted to elect their own governor. But as Bennet, a republican who



Restoration of Charles II.

had shortly before been banished by the monarchists, was the unanimous choice, it seems to prove that the election was influenced by the cannon of Ayscue's fleet.


In 1652, Parliament passed an act restricting the trade of the colonies to the mother country. This was certainly a breach of the terms of the capitulation, allowing them a trade as free as that of England. But the restriction was not enforced with any great rigor.

Bennet retired from the government early in 1655; and the assembly supplied his place by Edward Diggs. Early in 1658, Diggs was succeeded by Samuel Matthews, an old and hospitable planter. The assembly took advantage of the prevalence of liberal ideas to extend its own functions. They excluded the governor and council from their sittings, enlarged the elective franchise so as to extend to all freemen, and compelled the governor to yield the right of dissolving them. They thus centered in themselves the whole power of the state. Finally, they threw open their commerce to all the world. For all practical purposes, Virginia was now a republic.

When the death of Cromwell was announced, the assembly without hesitation acknowledged his son, Richard. When his abdication was forced by the army, the assembly recalled Sir William Berkeley, the cavalier governor. The news of the restoration of Charles II. caused great exultation in Virginia, and the monarchical party soon had a complete ascendancy in the colony.

Having received a new commission from Charles, Berkeley issued writs convoking an assembly in the name of the king. A general revision of

the laws followed, and aristocratic elements were introduced into every department of the civil and ecclesiastical government. Suffrage was confined to freeholders and housekeepers. The governor and assembly were paid at exorbitant rates, and intolerant religious laws were enacted. The assembly which brought about this state of things remained in office ten years.

T had been observed with concern, during the commonwealth, that the English merchants, for several years past, had usually freighted the Hollanders' shipping, for bringing home their own merchandise, because their freight was lower than that of the English ships. For the same reason the Dutch ships were made use of for importing American products from the English colonies into England. This system, of course, operated to the disadvantage of the English commercial marine. The government, therefore, not unnaturally, turned its attention to the most effectual mode of retaining the colonies in dependence on the parent state, and of securing to it the benefits of its increasing commerce. It was with these views that the Long Parliament had enacted, "that no merchandise, either of Asia, Africa, or America, including also the English plantations there, should be imported into England in any but English-built ships, and belonging to English or English plantation subjects, navigated also by an English commander, and three-fourths of the sailors to be Englishmen; excepting such merchandise as should be imported directly from the original place of their growth or manufacture, in Europe solely; and that no fish should thenceforward be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported thence to foreign parts, nor even from one of their own home ports, but what should be caught by their own fishers only."

The first house of commons after the restoration, instead of granting the colonies that relief which they expected from the restraints on their commerce imposed by Cromwell, not only adopted all his ideas concerning this branch of legislation, but extended them further. Thus arose the navigation act, the most important and memorable of any in the statute book, with respect to the history of English commerce. By these several and successive regulations, the plan of securing to England a monopoly of the commerce with its colonies, and of shutting up every other channel into which it might be diverted, was perfected, and reduced into complete system. On one side of the Atlantic, these laws have been extolled as an admirable stroke of policy, aiding greatly in increasing the commerce and power of England. On the other, they have been condemned as short-sighted and oppressive. Such a system undoubtedly

tended to alienate the feelings of the colonists; since it was so clearly to their interest to have their commerce free from all restrictions.

The Navigation Act was not the only cause which interrupted the success of the colony. The Indians began to commit depredations on the frontiers, and the settlers violently retaliated. Six chiefs sent by the Indians to treat for peace, were put to death. Berkeley expressed his indignation at this outrage, at which the colonists seemed much offended. After the war had raged some time, the Indians again made pacific overtures, but without success. The governor seconded their efforts, and thus lost the popularity he so had long enjoyed.



HE discontented needed but a leader to make their power felt, and in all such cases a leader is soon found. Nathaniel Bacon, the son of a respectable family in Suffolk, England, had removed to Virginia and formed a border plantation on the upper part of James River. Daring, eloquent, and artful, he had acquired great influence and a seat in council. He sympathized with his suffering countrymen, and a farm of his own being attacked, he resolved to

take up arms without the permission of Berkeley; and, rallying round him those inspired by similar sentiments, he was soon at the head of five hundred men. The government denounced this armament as rebellious, and issued a mandate to disperse. But at the same time, the popular party arose in the lower provinces, and the union of the two interests proved too strong for the government. The assembly was dissolved, and a new one, with more liberal views, elected. All arbitrary taxation was abolished, and universal suffrage restored. Bacon had been made prisoner, but was set at liberty and promised a commission; but this was ultimately refused.

Withdrawing secretly, Bacon assembled five or six hundred men, and became master of the seat of government. Berkeley strenuously resisted, and even bared his breast to his adversary. But Bacon declared he only wished a commission to protect the people from the savages. The assembly hastily made out the commission and prevailed upon the governor to sign it. Bacon then marched to the frontier.

As soon, however, as force was removed, Berkeley published a proclamation, reversing all the proceedings of the assembly, and declaring Bacon a traitor. A civil war ensued. The daring popular leader marched back to Jamestown, where he was strongly reinforced. Mutual



Signing of Bacon's Commission.

outrages were perpetrated by both parties. Berkeley assembled a small force of his friends, but soon abandoned Jamestown and fled to Accomac. Bacon now acted as ruler of Virginia, and declaring the governor to have abdicated, summoned an assembly, and determined to resist all attempts to restore Berkeley to power.



JAMESTOWN was burnt, in order to prevent its being occupied by an English force. Nothing remained, but to cross the river and attack the dispirited remnant of Berkeley's force. Suddenly, Bacon sickened and died; and there being no one capable of filling his place, the insurgents dispersed. A brief negotiation was held with the royalist governor, and a general pardon was promised to all who laid down their arms. This was accepted, and thus terminated "Bacon's Rebellion." Historians differ in their opinions of the merits of this affair. It appears by the facts recorded, that Bacon was at first only desirous of protecting the settlers from the cruelties of the Indians. This was laudable. When the governor neglected giving them protection, the necessity of the case demanded that his authority should be superseded. That there was much of the demagogue in the character of Bacon, is probable; but that there was justice and reason in his early operations, is certain.

The governor, whose feelings seem throughout the whole transaction to

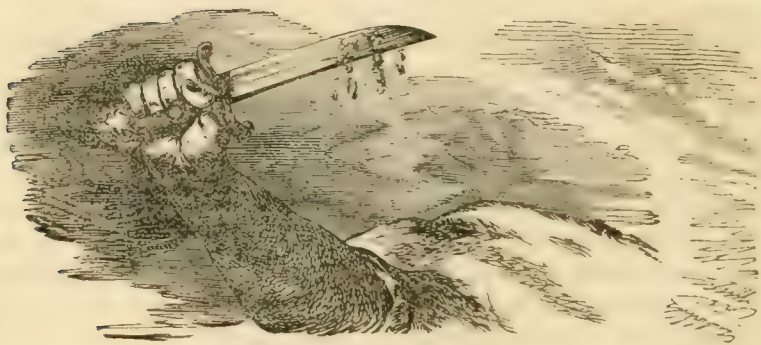
have been greatly excited, acted now with excessive rigor. Twenty persons were hanged, and it is supposed that a greater number would have endured the same punishment, had not the assembly presented an address entreating "that he would spill no more blood." One of the deputies said, "had we let him alone, he would have hanged half the country." Charles II., whose disposition was not cruel, exclaimed, "the old fool has taken away more lives than I for the murder of my father," and issued a proclamation censuring this conduct as derogatory to his clemency. Sir William was recalled, and his place temporarily supplied by Colonel Jeffereys, who, with two others, constituted a commission of inquiry. They seem to have made it very searching, with even a friendly disposition towards the people. The different counties were invited to produce statements of grievances, and the records of the assembly were forced from their clerk,—a measure against which they strongly remonstrated. A report was drawn up, in which, while the conduct of the insurgents was strongly condemned, that of the government and several members of the council was also censured. These reflections against Berkeley are supposed to have hastened his death, which took place before he had an interview with the king. The assembly then felt a revival of their old attachment. They passed a vote, declaring, that he had been an excellent governor, and recommended a grant to Lady Berkeley of £500. Jeffereys, during his short administration, had the satisfaction of putting an end, on satisfactory terms, to the Indian war.

On the death of Jefferey in 1678, Sir Henry Chichely succeeded to the government. During his administration the colonists enjoyed some repose. In 1680, Lord Culpepper was appointed governor for life. He was avaricious and unpopular. Penalties were enacted against those who should defame the administration, and other measures adopted, tending to make the government oppressive and despotic. This produced its natural effect—a rebellion, which was quelled only by the prudence and rigor of Chichely. The complaints of the colonists reached Charles II., and when Culpepper arrived in England, his commission was submitted to the decision of a jury of Middlesex, who declared it forfeited.

Lord Effingham succeeded Culpepper, and proved equally tyrannical. Gain was his principal object, and that he sought by the meanest ways. He established a Court of Chancery, with exorbitant fees; ordered that no printing-press should be used in the colony; and rigorously enforced the navigation act. The colonists were loud and constant in their complaints; but were not attended to until the revolution of 1688 had given the throne of England to William and Mary. Effingham then went to England and submitted to a trial. He was continued in office, but on

condition of governing by a deputy, and Colonel Nicholson was appointed. This officer became popular with the colonists, because he favored liberal measures, and encouraged learning.

In 1692, Sir Edmond Andross was appointed governor, and in the same year, the sovereigns granted a charter for the "College of William and Mary in Virginia." From this period to the commencement of the French War in 1756, there is little to interest in the history of Virginia. The colony continued to increase in population, wealth and importance. The government was vested in deputies appointed by the nominal governor, in England, and in an assembly elected by the colonists. Tobacco continued to be the principal article of cultivation and export. Virginia was a planting country. The means of subsistence were easily obtained from a fertile soil; but manufactures were neglected. On the whole, the colony was prosperous, and the people generally enjoyed the blessings of peace and plenty.





The Indians teaching the Colonists of Maryland to hunt the Deer.

CHAPTER IX.

COLONIZATION OF MARYLAND.



THE Virginia Company had assigned to them a region of vast extent, including the heads of the great bays of Delaware and Chesapeake. This grant, however, was forfeited by the dissolution of the London Company. in the time of James I.

Sir George Calvert had been secretary of state under that monarch; but being converted to the Roman Catholic religion, he was excluded from office; and thenceforth he devoted himself to colonial enterprise. Having obtained a liberal grant in Newfoundland, he vainly strove to make a permanent settlement in that cold and sterile region. He then went to Virginia, to negotiate arrangements for a colony; but the system of religious exclusion there in force, induced his speedy departure. Calvert possessed royal influence sufficient to obtain the grant of an extensive region, from the southern bank of the Potomac to the 40th degree of latitude, thus including the upper part of Chesapeake Bay and the whole of Delaware Bay. In compliment to the queen of Charles I., Calvert called this region, Maryland. He was now created Lord Baltimore, and enjoyed great favor at court.



George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore

Having obtained the grant of the country, he resolved to settle it; making it not only an asylum of civil liberty, but a shelter for the persecuted of every denomination of Christians. Before he had completed his arrangements, death closed his useful career. Cecil, his son, inherited his father's title and liberal views, and determined to carry out his designs. In his father's name he completed and executed the charter. By this instrument, Lord Baltimore was created absolute proprietary of Maryland, saving the allegiance due to the crown; he was empowered, with the consent of the freemen, to make laws for the province and to execute the acts of assembly; by consent of the people, he might impose all just and proper subsidies; on the part of the king it was covenanted that neither his majesty nor his successors should impose any taxes upon the colonists, their goods or commodities. For the population of the new colony, license was given to his majesty's subjects, without distinction of sect or party, to emigrate thither, and they were declared to be entitled to all the rights of Englishmen, born in the realm.



IN November 1633, Leonard Calvert set sail with the first emigrants, consisting of about two hundred persons, including a son of Sir Thomas Gerard, one of Sir Thomas Wiseman, and two of Lady Wintour. In February he touched at Point Comfort in Virginia, where his arrival was by no means acceptable; nevertheless Sir John Harvey, in obedience to the express orders of Charles, gave him a courteous reception.

Early in March he entered the Potomac, to the people on the shores of which the sight of so large a vessel was quite new, and caused the utmost astonishment. The report was, that a canoe was approaching as big as an island, with men standing in it thick as trees in a forest; and they thought with amazement how enormous must have been the trunk out of which it had been hollowed. A piece of ordnance, resounding for the first time on the shores of this mighty river, caused the whole country to tremble. The intercourse, however, appears to have been judiciously conducted, and was, on the whole, very amicable. Calvert sailed up to Piscataqua, an Indian settlement nearly opposite the present site of Mount Vernon, where the chief received him with kindness, saying, "he would not bid him go, neither would he bid him stay; he might use his own discretion." On reflection, he considered the place too far up the river, and therefore the vessel was moved down to a tributary named then St. George's, and now St. Mary's. Ascending it four leagues, he came



Settlement of St. Mary's.

to a considerable Indian town, named Yoacomoco; and being hospitably received, as well as pleased with the situation, he determined to fix his colony there. The werowannce accepted an invitation on board, and Sir John Harvey having just arrived from Virginia, the chief was led down to the cabin, and seated at dinner between the two governors. An alarm having spread among the people on shore that he was detained as a prisoner, they made the banks echo with shouts of alarm; the Indian attendants durst not go to them, but when he himself appeared on deck, they were satisfied. He became so much attached to the English as to declare, that if they should kill him he would not wish his death avenged, being sure that he must have deserved his fate. Amid these dispositions, it was not difficult to negotiate the formation of a settlement. For hatchets, hoes, knives, cloth, and other articles of probably very small original cost, the strangers not only obtained a large tract of land, but were allowed by the inhabitants to occupy immediately half of their village, with the corn growing adjacent to it, and, at the end of harvest, were to receive the whole. Thus the adventurers were at once comfortably established, without those severe hardships which usually attend an infant settlement.

The Indians and the English lived together at St. Mary's, each community occupying half the town. The natives displayed the most friendly disposition, instructing the English in the best modes of procuring game,



Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore.

and supplying them with provisions from their own stores. The women and children even became domesticated in the white families. Several powerful chiefs from the interior came to pay their respects to the governor, and gave earnest assurance of their desire for peace. A friendly visit was also received from Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia.

The settlement advanced rapidly. Emigrants, induced by the liberal grants of land promised by Lord Baltimore, continued to arrive. The proprietary made an outlay of £40,000 in the two first years. This he hoped would be returned by the quit-rents required of the colonists.

The first difficulty encountered by Lord Baltimore after the colony had been planted was of rather a serious nature. Captain William Clayborne, a man of large property and holding high offices under the Virginia government had opened a considerable trade in furs and other articles on the upper part of the Chesapeake, and even established a settlement on Kent Island, where he expended upwards of £6000. Baltimore forthwith called upon him to yield up all these establishments, as lying within the range of his patent. Clayborne refused, and referred the

claim to the council of Virginia, who sustained him. The influence of Lord Baltimore was powerful at home. But the English Star Chamber refused to interfere in the dispute. The proprietor then resolved to effect his purpose by every means in his power.



MEANTIME (in 1635), an assembly consisting of the whole body of freemen, had been convened at St. Mary's, and a body of laws was enacted. But these the proprietary rejected, on the ground, that, under the charter, the initiative in legislation belonged to him. He soon sent over a set of statutes drawn up by himself, to be laid before a second assembly; but that body declined to admit the initiative claimed, or to sanction the proposed laws. These lovers of self-government then substituted a code of laws, creditable to their good sense. This assembly passed an act of attainder against Clayborne; and immediately a hostile armament was fitted out, and the Longtail, a merchant-vessel belonging to him, was captured after a contest in which the captain and several of the crew were killed. This was followed by other encounters, and at length the Isle of Kent was assaulted, at night, and the principal planters either made prisoners or forced to seek safety in flight,. Thus was Clayborne completely driven out of Maryland. The decision of the English government would have prevented the trouble growing out of the rival claims. But that government was too much occupied with troubles at home.

In 1639, a third assembly was convened, by which the statutes were much enlarged and improved. This assembly was composed partly of deputies from the several hundreds into which the colony had been divided, and partly of individuals specially summoned by the governor. An act was passed "Establishing the House of Assembly," which confirmed the constitution of that body as above described. This constitution was maintained, with some trifling alterations, as long as Maryland continued a colony. The right of the governor to summon an unlimited number of individuals specially, secured a concurrence of the assembly in almost any measure he desired. Slavery was early established in the colony.

In 1642, an Indian war broke out, of which Clayborne was supposed to have been the instigator. It afflicted the colony for several years, but peace was at length restored, and the assembly strove to prevent Indian troubles in future, by providing that no lands should be obtained from them without the consent of the proprietary; that it should be a capital offence to supply them with ardent spirits, ammunition or fire-arms; and

the same penalty was adjudged to those who should kidnap or sell friendly Indians. The observance of these laws secured tranquillity for several years.

Scarcely was peace concluded, when a rebellion broke out in Maryland. Clayborne, it appears, was the chief agent, though the object of the rebels was to obtain certain political rights which they conceived were unjustly withheld. Calvert, unprepared for this event, fled into Virginia, whereupon the insurgents seized the government, and held power until August of the next year, when the revolt was suppressed. By an act of assembly, passed in 1649, all but a few of the most prominent offenders were pardoned; and by the same assembly, an act of religious toleration was passed. This act, however, abridged the freedom of speech, and declared that blasphemy against God should be punished with death.

THE assembly of 1650, revised the constitution; and from that year, the two houses of the legislature held their sessions separately. Those who were called to the assembly by special writ formed the upper house; and the burgesses, the lower house. All bills receiving the sanction of both houses and the governor became laws. The assembly recognised Lord Baltimore as proprietary of the province, but enacted a law, prohibiting the imposition of taxes without the consent of the freemen.

A short period of tranquillity was now enjoyed by the colonists. But the great civil struggle in England opened the way for discord in Maryland. By the invitation of Lord Baltimore, large numbers of protestants had settled in his colony, and at the time the parliament became completely victorious in England, the Catholics of Maryland found themselves outnumbered by the Protestants. The latter had settled the territory north of the Patuxent, and formed a new country named Anne Arundel.

When Maryland was declared to be dependent on England, by the Long Parliament, five commissioners were appointed to reduce and govern it. Among the commissioners were Bennett and Clayborne, the deadliest foes of Lord Baltimore. Their influence was greatly increased soon after, by the first being named governor, and the latter secretary, of Virginia. The commissioners proceeded to Maryland, and after two months' discussion, concluded to continue Stone in the office of governor, but removed most of the other officers. Baltimore complained to the House of Commons of this transaction, and a committee of inquiry was appointed, who decided

in favor of the commissioners. But in the beginning of 1654, Baltimore's exertions at home seem to have secured him Cromwell's favor, for Stone was directed to overthrow everything that had been done by the republican commissioners.



ENNETT and Clayborne resolved to depose Stone, and placing themselves at the head of a strong body of armed Protestants, forced that officer to yield his authority into their hands. The Protestants did not use their power with moderation. In June, 1654, they strove to deprive the Catholics of the elective franchise.

This gave rise to the most violent struggle yet waged between Englishmen on this side of the Atlantic. Stone rallied around him all who were favorable to the Baltimore government, and advanced with an overwhelming force upon the adverse party at Providence, in Anne Arundel. All attempts at negotiation failed, and the Protestants resolved to fight.

On the evening of the 24th March, the alarm was given, and the Catholic armament, with drums beating and colors flying, was seen entering the broad estuary of the Severn. The seamen eagerly asked permission to fire, but Heamans restrained them till he could hail the advancing foe, and endeavor to persuade them to desist. As they paid no regard to him, he gave the word, and when the balls began to play, they retreated, exclaiming, "round-headed rogues!" and ran into a creek, where they disembarked. Next morning, they were seen marching along the coast, two hundred and fifty strong, while the Protestants, only one hundred and seven in number, having chosen probably an advantageous position, determined to make their final stand. Heamans lent them a pair of colours, and though he did not leave his ship, afforded, doubtless, all the aid in his power. They profess, however, not to have attacked, but left still an opening for amicable adjustment; but the assailants having poured in a fire, which wounded several, the signal was given to close. The two parties rushed upon each other, with the cry on one side of "God is our strength;" on the other "Hey for St. Mary." The contest was brisk, but short. Victory soon decided so completely in favor of the Protestants, that the whole opposite army, with the exception of five, were either killed or taken. Stone himself, with his principal officers, were among the captives. All the boats, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors, who boast also of an extensive capture of beads, reliques, and other "trash in which they trusted." The conquerors are accused of a cruel intention to put to death the governor, with some of the leading men, who were saved by the humane interposition of the females; but the authors on their side make no mention of such a design. Heamans de-

scribes "the religious, humble, and holy rejoicing which followed," as the most interesting scene he had ever witnessed.

Thus triumphant, Bennett and Clayborne took the government into their own hands. A new assembly was convened, which acknowledged Cromwell's authority and abolished the institutions of the proprietary.

The colony remained in a state of disorder for two years, when the commissioners surrendered the administration into the hands of Josiah Fendall, who succeeded in establishing the authority of the proprietary throughout the colony, on condition of carrying the most liberal measures.

In March, 1660, news arrived that Charles II. had been restored to the throne of his father. The assembly then met and declared that no authority should be recognised in Maryland except their own and the king's. But Baltimore succeeded in gaining the favor of the Stuart king, as he had that of the man who had deposed his royal father; and was reinstated in all his chartered privileges. He sent out Philip Calvert, his brother, to assume the government; and Fendall, who had become popular, was deposed, tried and convicted of high treason, and would have been put to death, had not the fear of his influence with the people prevented it. He was fined and declared incapable of holding any office in the colony.



NOTWITHSTANDING the disorders to which the province had been a prey, it had continued to increase in population and wealth, and at the time of the Restoration contained 12,000 inhabitants. We have but scanty details of the internal administration of affairs after Lord Baltimore was restored to power. By some it is asserted that it was marked by religious toleration and an earnest desire for the peace and happiness of the whole body of the people. According to others, the Protestants suffered from domineering tyranny and covert prosecutions. A large proportion of the population were of the laboring class, and there was an opulent aristocracy, as in Virginia. A considerable number of felons had been sent over from England, who were bound to service for a term of years.

The commercial monopoly, and the duties on the produce of the colonists were the source of much discontent in Maryland, as in Virginia. In 1666, the assembly passed an act for the naturalization of aliens. Lord Baltimore died in 1676, having lived to see his colony prosperous, and reaped the harvest for which he had incurred such a great expense of time and money. He was succeeded by his son, Charles Calvert, who had governed the colony for a number of years with considerable success.



Interview between William Penn and Lord Calvert.

By the assembly convened this year, an attempt was made to stop the progress of an evil which had for some time existed in the colony: namely, the transportation thither of felons from England. In spite of the law passed by that body, however, the evil increased, and shortly before the revolution, three hundred and fifty were annually landed in the province.

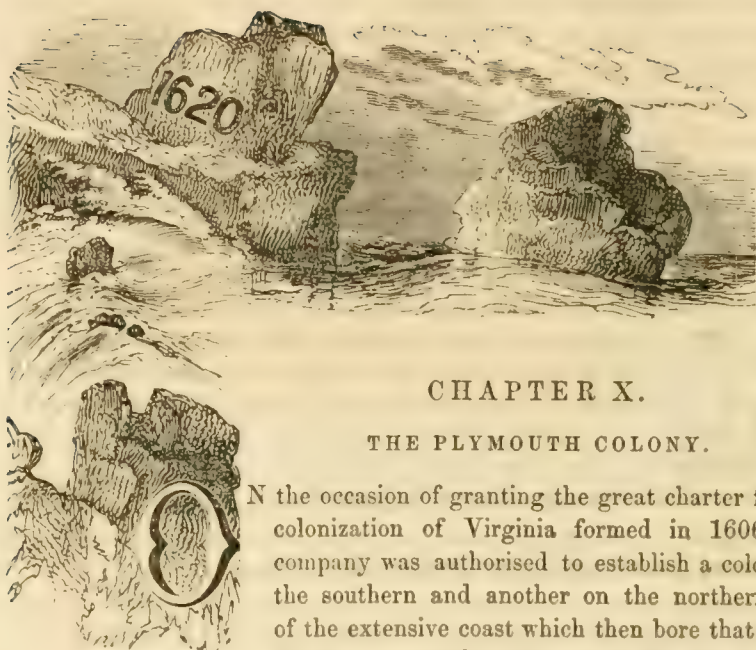
In the following year, William Penn arrived in America, when an interview occurred between him and Lord Baltimore, with the hope of making an amicable adjustment of the boundaries of the respective territories. But this was found impossible. Penn, by his interest at court, afterwards caused it to be decreed that the disputed district should be divided into two equal parts, one of which was to be given to Lord Baltimore and the other to himself. The part thus taken from Maryland now forms the State of Delaware.

The peace of the colony continued unbroken until the news of the dethronement of James II. was received. Then the flames of discord between the Catholics and Protestants broke forth afresh. A "Protestant Association" was formed by John Coode, an associate of Fendall, and William and Mary were proclaimed throughout the province. The government then fell into the hands of the Protestants, who held it for the succeeding three years.

William III. now took the patent from the proprietary, and appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor, in the king's name. He was succeeded by Colonel Nicholson, who, on the whole, gave satisfaction. Under the successive administrations of Blackeston, Seymour, Corbet and Hunt, the province remained tranquil. In 1716, George I. restored the proprietary to his rights and he and his successors enjoyed them till the revolution swept away all proprietary rights and established the government of the occupants of the soil.

The colony continued to flourish, received a large accession of Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, and enjoyed tranquillity. The capital was changed from St. Mary's to Annapolis, in 1699; but it was not until many years after, that Maryland contained any considerable towns. In consequence of the long-continued religious dissensions, but little encouragement was given to the institutions of learning. Upon the whole colonial history of Maryland we may observe, that the Baltimore family displayed considerable liberality and untiring energy in establishing the colony, and in its government; but the constant complaints of the Protestants, and the animosity exhibited by the rival sects of Christians prove that the proprietary's rule was not as tolerant or as efficient as is generally supposed, or as might have been expected from the declarations and promises of Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore.





CHAPTER X.

THE PLYMOUTH COLONY.

ON the occasion of granting the great charter for the colonization of Virginia formed in 1606, one company was authorised to establish a colony on the southern and another on the northern part of the extensive coast which then bore that name.

We have narrated the fortunes of the first of these, or the London Company. The latter company had many powerful supporters, among whom were Sir John Popham and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, governor of Plymouth. In August, 1606, they had fitted out a vessel of fifty-five tons, with a crew of 29 Englishmen and two savages, under the command of Captain Chalons. Proceeding by the West India route, near the coast of Hispaniola, the vessel was captured by the Spaniards, and the crew sent to Spain.

Another party, sent out with supplies for Chalons, were dismayed at not finding any trace of him or his companions. Their reports of the aspect of the country, however, excited the adventurers to new efforts. In 1607, two ships, containing 100 men, under Captain Popham and a brother of Sir John Gilbert were sent out by the company. The crews landed near the mouth of the Kennebec and built a fort; but the winter proved so cold and other circumstances so dispirited the colonists, that they returned home in the spring.

A powerful impulse was given to colonization when Captain Smith, unable to find employment in Virginia, directed all the powers of his

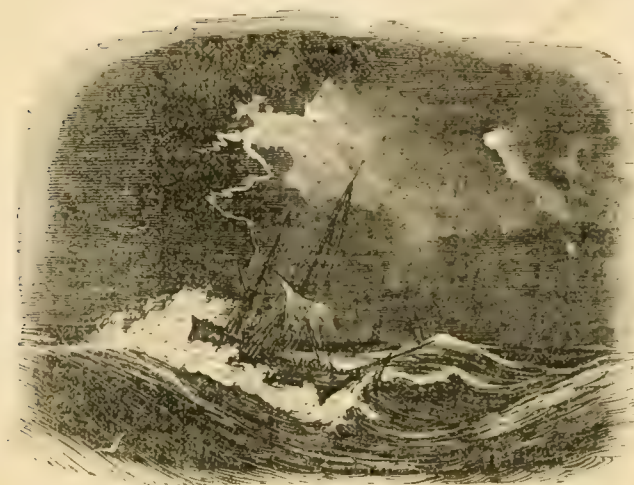
mind to this new object. In 1614, he prevailed upon four merchants of London to furnish him with two traders and fifteen men, to form a settlement in America. Smith did not succeed in making a settlement, but surveyed the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, and carried on a profitable trade with the Indians. Unfortunately, cupidity induced Thomas Hunt, the commander of one of the ships, to kidnap thirty of the natives, whom he carried to Malaga and sold as slaves. The consequence was, that Captain Hobson, who arrived soon after, without any knowledge of the crime, was killed, with several of his crew; and much trouble was experienced in assuaging the resentment thus kindled.



N 1615, a small body of emigrants, under command of Smith, sailed for America; but was overtaken by a violent storm which obliged them to return. Another attempt was more disastrous; the vessel was captured by French pirates, who carried the crew to Rochelle, from whence Smith escaped to England. Other efforts to establish a colony were made by Captains Darmer and Rocraft; but they failed.

Meanwhile Smith strained every nerve to inspire his countrymen with a zeal for colonization. Another company was formed, and Smith was appointed admiral of the country. But the powers granted to the company were so extensive as to call forth the censure of the House of Commons, and the ridicule of foreign nations; and emigration was repressed. New England, however, was destined to be permanently settled by an entirely different association of persons.

A large number of the English people had embraced the doctrines taught by John Calvin, of Geneva. Queen Elizabeth, hostile to the sect, claimed the right of putting them down by main force. Under the sanction of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, the most severe laws were enacted against them, and a constant persecution followed. But the number of the puritans increased, and they boldly sought to reform the Church of England. Another section of the dissenters withdrew from the church altogether and formed a separate communion; these were called Brownists. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, a congregation was formed, under two respectable clergymen, named Robinson and Brewster. This congregation found itself so harassed by the measures of James I. that it was forced to take refuge in Holland, where toleration was sanctioned by law. There they remained eleven years, when, becoming discontented with their situation, they turned their eyes to the transatlantic region, as a place where they might form a society founded on their favorite plan of church-government.

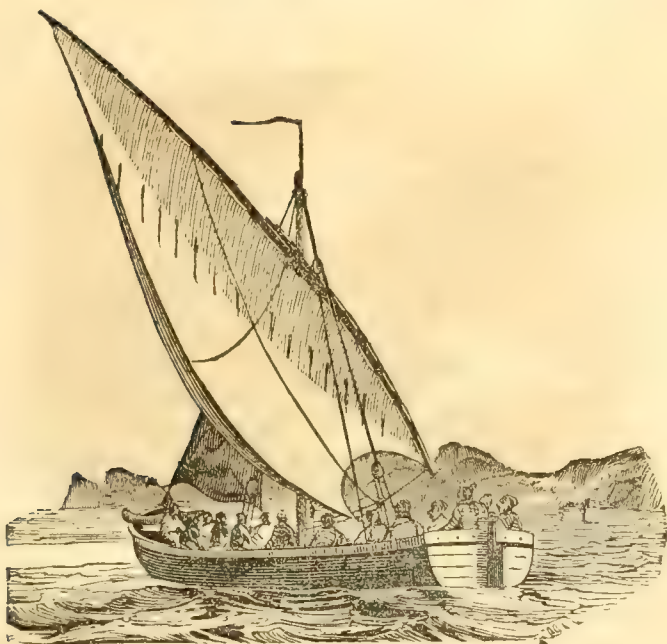


Voyage of the Mayflower.

With this view, the exiles applied to the Virginia company. Smith tendered his services; but the subordination he required of the puritans did not suit their free spirits, and he was rejected. Several London merchants advanced the sum necessary for the expenses of the expedition, to be repaid out of the proceeds of the industry of the adventurers. With the means thus procured, the emigrants purchased one vessel of 60, and hired another of 180 tons. These vessels met at Southampton, and thence proceeded on their western voyage; but the smaller vessel was obliged to put back to Dartmouth for repairs. After other delays, the pilgrims finally set sail in one vessel, the Mayflower, on the 6th of September, 1620. They numbered 102 persons.



THE voyage was long and tempestuous; and the captain, either through ignorance or treachery, instead of conveying them to Hudson's River, whither they expected to go, carried them as far north as Cape Cod, where they arrived on the 11th of November. This part of the country was not included in the patent they had obtained in England, and to supply the want of a more formal title, they composed and signed a written constitution of government, recognizing the authority of the English crown, and expressing their own combination into a body politic, and their determination to enact all just and necessary



Exploring Party.

laws, and to honor them by due obedience. They then elected John Carver governor for one year.



THE selection of a spot for a settlement was attended with considerable delay and difficulty. On the 11th of November, some men were sent on shore to obtain wood and make discoveries. They returned at night, without having met with any person or habitation. On the 15th, Captain Miles Standish, with 16 armed men, landed for the purpose of making explorations. He observed

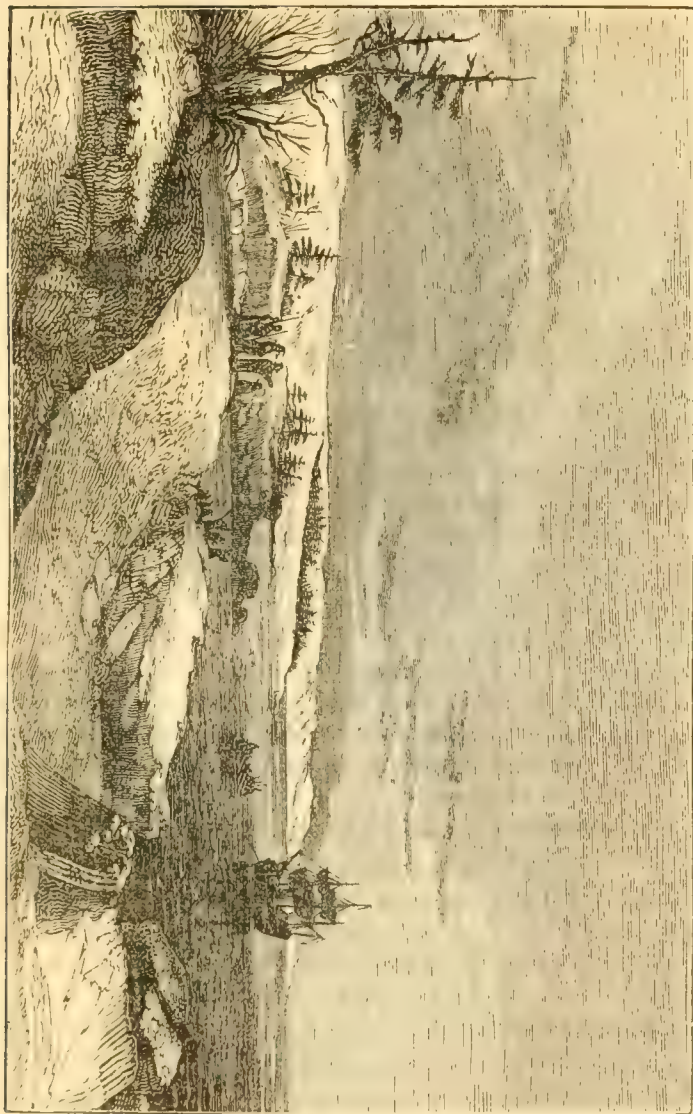
and followed some Indians, but did not overtake them. Soon after the party came upon four bushels of seed-corn, secured in a sort of cellar. These they appropriated, without any "compunctious visitings," and this discovery afterwards proved the means of preserving the colony from famine. During the absence of this party, the wife of William White gave birth to a son, who, from the circumstances attending his birth, was named Peregrine.



ON the 6th of December, Carver, Bradford, Winslow and some seamen, embarked in a shallop and sailed round the bay, in search of a place for a settlement. On landing, they were saluted with a shower of Indian arrows; but a discharge of musketry speedily dispersed the assailants. A storm came on. The shallop lost its rudder, and was nearly shipwrecked. Reaching an island on the 9th, they reposed themselves and kept the Christian Sabbath with the usual solemnities. The next day a harbor was found, which they deemed commodious, and the surrounding country was pleasant and well watered. They returned with the agreeable intelligence to their friends, and the ship was brought into this harbor on the 15th. The 18th and 19th were passed in exploring the land; and on the 20th, after imploring the Divine guidance and protection, the people landed and commenced the settlement. This day is still celebrated by the descendants of the pilgrims as the anniversary of New England's birth.

They gave the town the name of Plymouth, in remembrance of the hospitalities they had received at the last port in England from which they had sailed. Their first operations consisted in measuring out the land to the different families, laying a platform for their ordnance, and erecting habitations. The hardships endured by the people in exploring the bay and effecting a landing, sowed the seeds of a fatal disease. Their provisions were scanty, the winter severe and the Indians hostile. Before spring, Governor Carver and more than one half of the colonists died. Carver was succeeded by William Bradford, who governed the colony for many years. By the constitution adopted, the whole body of freemen in the colony formed the legislature, and the governor and a council of five, elected annually, the executive.

The emigrants had seen the natives only in the short hostile encounter, but afterwards learned that a severe pestilence had thinned their numbers. The crime of Hunt also had filled the country with horror and dread of the strangers. To their surprise, on the 16th of March, 1621, a savage almost naked, in the most confident manner, walked through the village, and addressed those he met in broken English. They crowded round him, and on their eager inquiry, learned that his name was Samoset; that he belonged to the Wampanoags, a somewhat distant tribe; and that their immediate neighbours were the people of Massassoit and the Nausites, the latter of whom had been the assailants in the late conflict. They treated him liberally with strong waters and food, presented him with a greatcoat, knife, and ornaments, and begged him to return with some of his countrymen. After a brief absence, he reappeared with "five proper men,"



Landing of the Pilgrims.



The Treaty with Massasoit.

presenting the usual grotesque attire and ferocious aspect. They all heartily danced and sung. A few days later he brought Squanto, whose restoration to his native country, as we have already narrated, had rendered him extremely friendly to our name. Being ready to act as interpreter and mediator, he opened a communication with Massasoit: and on the 22d of March, that great sagamore, with Quadequina his brother, and sixty men, were announced as in the vicinity. Difficulties were felt as to the meeting from want of mutual confidence; however, Squanto having brought an invitation to parley, Edward Winslow went with presents, and was kindly received. The governor, then, after obtaining some Indians as hostages, marched out at the head of six musketeers, kissed hands with the great chief, and presented a bottle of strong waters, of which he drank somewhat too copiously. A treaty was concluded, both of abstinence from mutual injury, and protection against others; and it was long faithfully observed.

Two of the settlers now accepted an invitation to visit his residence. After a laborious journey of fifteen miles through trackless woods, they were received with great courtesy, but found a total deficiency of victuals,

of which it seems the king's absence had prevented any supplies. At night they were honored by sharing the royal couch, which consisted of a large board, covered with a thin mat. At the other end lay his majesty and the queen; and they had soon the additional company of two chiefs, who, with a large colony of fleas and other insects, and the uncouth songs with which their bedfellows lulled themselves to rest, rendered their slumbers very brief. Next day, two large bream were spread on the table; but "forty expected a share." Though strongly urged, they declined to partake any longer of these hospitalities.



Squanto.

It was discovered, however, that Squanto was completely abusing their confidence; telling his countrymen that but for him the English would kill the Indians; and that they kept the plague locked up in their storehouse, which only his intercession prevented from being let loose. On this being known, the utmost pains were taken, and successfully, to undeceive the people. In February, 1622, the settlers had completely enclosed their town, forming four bulwarks and three gates. They were some time after alarmed by hearing that Massassoit, now at the point of death, was likely to be succeeded by his son Coubatant, whose disposition was far from friendly. Edward Winslow hastened to the spot, and found the magicians busy at their incantations, and six or eight women chafing him amidst hideous yells. The chief, already blind, cried out: "Oh, Winsnow, I shall never see thee again!" That gentleman, however, by suitable medicines, gave present relief, and in a few days effected a cure. Even the heir-apparent, being promised similar aid in case of need, became greatly reconciled to them.

Captain Miles Standish continued to be the military commander of the colonists, and by his activity, courage, and prudence, aided greatly in preserving peace with the Indians. Coubatant, Massassoit's heir, being suspected of hostility to the colonists, Standish, with 14 men, marched against his village, and although Coubatant escaped, so frightened the Indians that nine chiefs soon afterwards came to Plymouth and entered into a treaty with the English. The town was fortified, and Standish,

by his skilful dispositions, prepared it for a vigorous defence in case of an attack from the natives.



Canonicus's Challenge.

The Narragansetts were the enemies of Massassoit's people. Their chief, Canonicus, sent a bundle of arrows, tied up with a rattlesnake skin, to the governor, in token of hostility. Bradford filled the skin with powder and shot, and sent it back in defiance: the sachem was intimidated, and gladly consented to a treaty with the colonists. The Indians sent the significant token back to Plymouth.

In the meantime, Weston, one of the London merchants, had founded a settlement at Wessagusset, which was named Weymouth. But the settlers behaved so ill to the Indians, that they entered into a confederacy to cut off all the English. This was revealed by Massassoit to his friends at Plymouth, who succeeded in saving themselves and their rivals, though the latter were obliged to relinquish their settlement,

some returning home and others joining the first colony.

The progress of Plymouth was rapid. In 1634, it contained one hundred and eighty persons. The London merchants complained loudly that they had expended much, and had not the slightest prospect of receiving a return. After a great deal of discussion, it was determined that the colonists should now supply themselves with everything, and for past services should, during nine years, pay £200 annually. Eight adventurers, on receiving a monopoly of the trade for six years, undertook to meet this engagement; so that the settlers were now established in the full property of their lands.

The portion of Mr. Robinson's congregation, which had remained in Holland, after the death of their pastor, were desirous to join their brethren in New Plymouth. As the expense of their removal was the main difficulty to be overcome, this was defrayed by the settlers, and the emigration was accomplished in 1627.

In 1630, the Plymouth colony obtained a new patent, by which their territory was much enlarged and a tract of land obtained on Kennebec

River. The number of inhabitants at this time was about three hundred. This was a small number, compared with the early population of the Virginia colony, but considering the difficulties encountered, it must be regarded as an indication of the flourishing state of the Plymouth colony. King James could never be persuaded to recognize their government; and this, no doubt, impeded the progress of emigration.

The establishment on the Kennebec was an important acquisition for the purposes of trade. The commerce of the colonists was also extended by an amicable intercourse with the Dutch settlers on Hudson's River. This colony continued to prosper under the influence of peace and industry until its permanency could not be doubted. It formed the nucleus of all the others which were planted in New England, and the general character of the settlers was essentially that of the colonists of Plymouth—firm and brave, industrious and frugal, pious, but intolerant.





CHAPTER XI.

COLONIZATION OF MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE.



THE English Plymouth Company had received the grant of vast territories in New England; but all their efforts to derive profit from them proved abortive. They were particularly anxious to stop the active trade and fishery carried on in defiance of their privileges. Francis West was appointed admiral, and Robert Gorges lieutenant-general of New England, with strict injunctions to restrain interlopers.

Sir Ferdinand Gorges, obtaining the grant of a large portion of what is now called New Hampshire, employed Captain Mason, a brave and active man, to colonize it. In 1623, a number of emigrants were sent over, who settled at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and further up the river at a place called by the Indians Cocheco, and by the colonists, Dover. Trade and fishing seem to have engaged the attention of these emigrants, and consequently, their progress was very slow. About the same time, settlements were made upon the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers, by the crews of vessels sent out for fish and timber. A colony was planted at the mouth of the Kennebec River in 1630, under the direction of Richard Vines. In the following year, a tract, comprehending the peninsula on which Portland is built, was conveyed by the Company, to two merchants, who erected a trading-house on an island



Gorges and Mason dividing their Territories

near Portland harbor, and thus promoted the settlement of the neighboring coast. The colonists were principally from the southwest of England, and being accompanied by a clergyman of the established church, they found little favor with the Puritans of Massachusetts.

In 1635, Gorges obtained from the Company a separate title to that portion of their former grant which lies east of the Piscataqua, while Mason was confirmed in possession of the western part. Gorges called his territory New Somersetshire, and Mason gave his portion the name of New Hampshire. Mason died soon after, and left his affairs in so disordered a state that his family derived little benefit from his proprietorship, and the colonists were left to take care of themselves.

Gorges took immediate measures to organize a government for all the settlements within the limits of his patent. Captain William Gorges, and seven commissioners, were appointed as the legislative, judicial and executive power. They met at Saco, in Maine, and transacted a considerable amount of business. But they did not give satisfaction, and in the next year, the proprietor gave authority to Governor Winthrop and others of Massachusetts to govern the province. But this order was disregarded by those to whom it was addressed, and not long after, Gorges was created Lord Palatine. He appointed a board of councillors, changed the name of the province to Maine, and, in 1640, convened a general court at Saco. In the next year, Thomas Gorges was appointed governor.

Previous to the date of Mason's patent for New Hampshire, some emigrants from Massachusetts founded Exeter. In 1641, New Hampshire

was brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and permitted to send two representatives to the general court at Boston; thus ceasing to be a separate province in six years from its first settlement.

Sir Ferdinand Gorges, the original patentee of the greater part of New England, died in 1645, leaving his estate to his son, John Gorges. Mr. Vines was appointed governor of Maine. During his brief administration, Colonel Alexander revived a title to a large portion of the province, which had been granted by the Plymouth Company, in 1630, under the name of the "Plough Patent." After a two years' discussion of the claim, Rigby's right was recognized and Lygonia became a province, under a separate government.

The royal commissioners sent out, after the Restoration, to inspect affairs in New England, visited Maine in 1665, and declared the province to be under the protection of the king. But the government of Massachusetts had, in the meantime, extended its authority over both Maine and Lygonia, and maintained it until 1677, when the legal proprietor was restored to his rights for a short period. His title was subsequently purchased by the Massachusetts government for £1250. A dependent government was then organized in Maine, which existed until 1760, when the territory was constituted a county, with the name of Yorkshire. About one third of the present State of Maine was included in the patent of Gorges. The settlement at Pemaquid—now Bristol—was for a long time the only important post east of the Kennebec. West of that river, there was a number of thriving towns, whose population were principally engaged in the fishery and in the lumber trade.

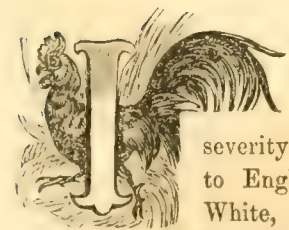




John Winthrop.

CHAPTER XII.

COLONIZATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.



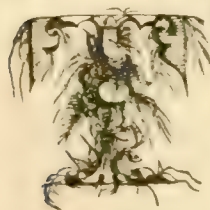
IN 1625, Roger Conant, a zealous non-conformist, formed a settlement near Cape Anne; but the settlers suffered so much from want and the severity of the climate, that they determined to return to England. They were deterred, however, by John White, a non-conformist minister of Dorchester in England, who promised to aid them, and obtain a patent. By his exertions, a company was formed in England, which obtained from the Plymouth company an extensive tract, including all the coast between the rivers Charles and Merrimac, and across to the Pacific Ocean. They even obtained a charter under the title of the "Company of the Massachusetts Bay." Upon the delicate subject of religion, the

governor of the projected colony was empowered to give the oath of supremacy; there was no other mention of the subject.



ON the 1st of May, 1629, six vessels, having on board about two hundred persons, including Skelton, Higginson and Bright, and others of note, sailed from the Isle of Wight. During the voyage, the seamen were surprised and edified by the new scene which their ships presented—prayer and exposition of the Bible two or three times a day; the Sabbath entirely spent in preaching and catechising and repeated and solemn fasts for the success of the voyage. The adventurers arrived on the 24th of June, and found only eight or ten hovels, which, with others scattered along the coast, contained about one hundred settlers. A site, already marked out, had its name changed from Nahumkeik to Salem; while a large party removed to Mishawum, which they called Charlestown.

The formation of a church was deemed the most important object by the newly-arrived colonists, and accordingly, a religious society was constituted, which enjoined the strictest observance of the commandments and teaching of the Bible, and excluded from the government all who did not subscribe to the general faith. John Endicott was chosen governor. Two brothers, named Browne, refusing to subscribe to the constitution, endeavored to establish another church similar in its forms to the Church of England. Endicott summoned them before a general assembly of the people, who, after hearing both parties, decided that the brothers were unfit to remain in the colony, and they were accordingly, banished. The Brownes went to England, complained to the company of the intolerance of the colonists, but did not succeed in producing any practical effect.



THE Massachusetts Company now determined to send out large reinforcements to the colony, and in this they were aided by the persecution of Archbishop Laud, the bigoted adviser of Charles I. In the spring of 1630, an expedition, consisting of seventeen vessels and nearly 1500 settlers, respectable for their intelligence as well as rank in society, left England for the new country. Among the emigrants was John Winthrop, who had been elected governor, and Thomas Dudley, his deputy. The charter of the company was carried with them.

The vessels arrived at Salem during June and July; but being dissatisfied with its situation, the voyagers explored the coasts in search of a better. Winthrop and a portion of the colonists established themselves on the peninsula of Trimountain, and founded Boston. Others settled at various



Settlement of Boston.

places in the vicinity, founding Dorchester, Roxbury, Medford, Watertown, Lynn and Cambridge. Each settlement at once assumed the authority of a town, but admitted the supremacy of Governor Winthrop and his court of assistants.



THE first court of assistants held its sessions at Charlestown. The first General Court met at Boston soon after Winthrop settled there. In consequence of the removal of the Company's charter to New England, the colony became almost an independent republic, in which the officers were elected by the whole body of the freemen.

The colonists suffered severely from the hardships incident to a new settlement in a colder climate than that to which they had been used. Before December, two hundred of their number died. Among these was the Lady Arabella Johnson, who had left the abodes of luxury and comfort in England to leave a memorial of her virtues and misfortunes in the American wilderness; her husband, one of the chief patrons of the colony, soon followed her.

As soon as the severity of winter had abated, the court met and proceeded to frame laws for the government of the domestic affairs of the colony; and in May, 1631, that body ordered that in future no person



Death of Lady Arbella Johnson.

should be admitted a freeman, or entitled to a share in the government, unless a member of some of the churches within the province. This measure has been severely censured by historians, and certainly showed that the Puritans had not learned the wisdom and justice of toleration from their own misfortunes. A fierce spirit of intolerance was, however, the religious characteristic of that age.

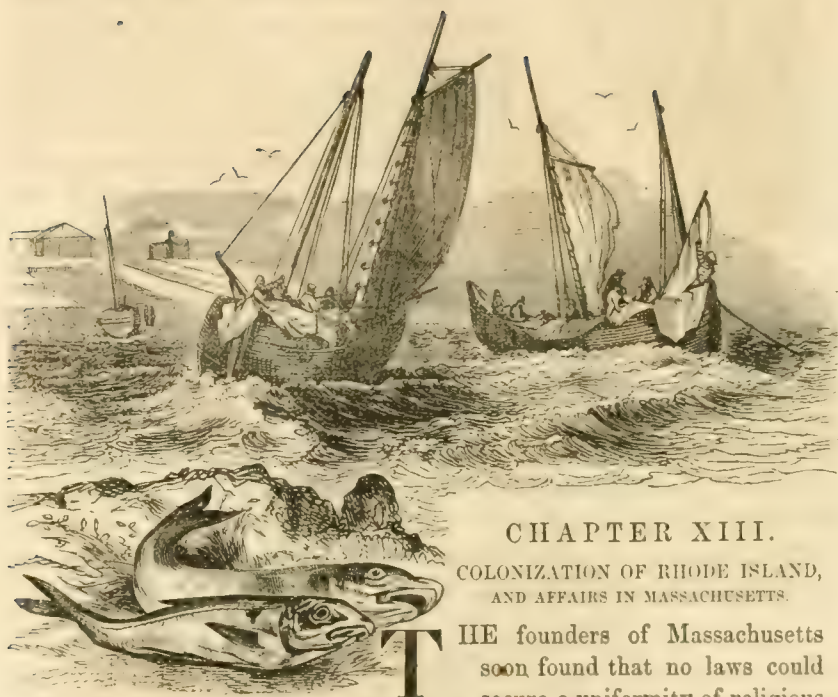
In 1632, the sachems of the Mohegans, Nipmucks, Narragansetts, Pequods and other tribes visited the colony, were hospitably entertained by the governor, and entered into treaties of friendship with the English. During the summer of 1633, two hundred emigrants arrived from England. Among the number, were Elliott, Mayhew, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Dr. Increase Mather.

The small-pox had prevailed in the neighborhood of the English settlements to a considerable extent, destroying the natives and leaving their lands desolate; and as several of the vacant Indian stations were well chosen, the colonists eagerly took possession of them. This produced a greater dispersion of the population than suited the condition of an infant colony, and it led to innovation in the government, totally altering its nature and constitution. When a general court was to be held in 1634, instead of attending in person, as the charter prescribed, the freemen

elected representatives in their different districts, authorizing them to appear in their name, with full power to deliberate and decide on all points that fell under the cognizance of the general court. This court asserted their right to a greater share in the government than they had formerly possessed, and provided that the whole body of freemen should assemble but once a year for the election of magistrates, while the deputies from the several districts were to assemble in general court four times a year. They also provided against arbitrary taxation, by enacting that the disposing of land and raising of money should be done only by the representatives of the people.



Costume of the Time of Charles II.



CHAPTER XIII.

COLONIZATION OF RHODE ISLAND,
AND AFFAIRS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

THE founders of Massachusetts soon found that no laws could secure a uniformity of religious opinion; but continued to enforce the laws which they had enacted, looking upon heresy as the most dangerous enemy of society. Among the emigrants of 1630 was Roger Williams, a Puritan minister, who officiated for some time as a pastor in New Plymouth, and, subsequently, in Salem. His bold assertion of the liberty of conscience had early attracted the notice of the leading men of the colony, and excited the hostility of a majority of the people. His doctrines are thus stated by the colonial historian, Grahame:—

“He maintained that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for Christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate: that it was not lawful to take an oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to reject: that King Charles had unjustly usurped the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the colonial patent was utterly invalid: that *the civil magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men; and that anything short of unlimited toleration for all religious systems was detestable persecution.*”



THESE were startling doctrines for that age, and Williams was bold and persevering in the assertion of these logical and liberal opinions, and, in consequence, he became separated from his pastoral charge. A few admirers clung to him in his retirement; and when he demanded the use of the cross on the British flag, the fiery Endicott cut the *Popish emblem*, as he styled it, from the national standard. A conference was at length held, but without producing any amicable settlement of the controversy; and sentence of banishment

was pronounced against Williams. This sentence was so unpopular at Salem, that a large number of the people were preparing to follow him they regarded as a martyr. But they were persuaded to give up their intention. As Williams continued to disseminate his doctrines, the government determined to ship him to England; but on learning that a warrant had been issued against him, he collected a few followers and set out to seek a refuge in the bleak and vast wilderness.



Banishment of Roger Williams.



Roger Williams entertained by Canonicus and Miantonomoh.

In the midst of winter, without any shelter but the hollow of a tree, Williams and his followers proceeded to form a settlement at Seekonk; but they were informed that that place was within the jurisdiction of Plymouth, and were accordingly obliged to leave it. In the hour of their sufferings, the pilgrims experienced the friendship and hospitality of Canonicus and Miantonomoh, the sachems of the Narragansetts. They assured Williams that he should not want for land, and directed him where to form a settlement. He proceeded down the Seekonk River and established himself near its mouth. There he and his followers began a settlement which they called Providence. In 1638, a deed from Canonicus and Miantonomoh confirmed Williams in possession of the land. Thus was Rhode Island founded.

During the summer of the same year, twenty ships arrived at Massachusetts, bringing about 3000 new settlers. Among them were Hugh Peters, the chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell, and Sir Henry Vane, son of a privy counsellor at the English court. Peters became minister of Salem, where he remained until 1641, when he returned to England to transact some business for the colony, and never again visited America. He was a zealous Puritan and a warm advocate of popular rights.

Sir Henry Vane acted so conspicuous a part during the civil troubles of England before and after the death of Charles I., that a short sketch of his character will not be considered superfluous. When he came to the colony, he was little more than 24 years old. Of a patrician family,



Sir Henry Vane.

he had early embraced the doctrines of the Puritans, but in his ideas of civil and religious liberty he went beyond them. Although of an extremely sensitive constitution, he possessed the most complete mastery over himself, and this united with a profound insight into human nature, enabled him to control the minds of others. He pursued his purposes, not with a fiery zeal and blind impetuosity, but with a calm foresight and a deliberate, steady energy. Such was his influence among the colonists, that he was elected governor of Massachusetts the next year after his arrival. The highest hopes were entertained of his administration. But Vane was a century beyond the majority in his ideas, and his administration lasted but one year.

In July, 1639, Governor Vane started on a tour through the towns on the northern and eastern parts of the bay. He was received with enthusiasm, although there was a large party hostile to his views of religious liberty. In nothing was his wisdom and benevolence displayed in a more striking manner, than his conciliatory course towards the Indians. He entertained the principal sachems at his residence in Boston, and procured a treaty of amity from them.



URING Vane's administration, Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, a very remarkable woman, arrived from England, and became a member of the Boston church. It was the fortune of this woman to kindle the flames of religious

strife once more in the colony. She possessed a keen and comprehensive mind, large information, and much energy; but her zeal often led her into saying and doing that which her judgment could not have sanctioned. She instituted weekly religious meetings for females, at which she presided; and so attractive did they become, that all the ladies in the place attended, and thus Mrs. Hutchinson exercised a vast influence in the colony. The animosity of the clergymen and magistrates was aroused. Not satisfied with proceeding against her as a disturber of the peace of the community, they charged her with the blackest depravity, and demanded that she should be punished as a heretic.

Vane gallantly interfered, and a violent religious controversy followed. John Cotton joined the cause of Mrs. Hutchinson, while Winthrop and Wilson became the leaders of the opposition. At length, the annual election came round. Vane and Winthrop were the candidates of the opposing parties. After an exciting contest, Winthrop was elected, and the intolerant party triumphed. The people of Boston elected Vane and his most zealous friends to represent them in the general court. The

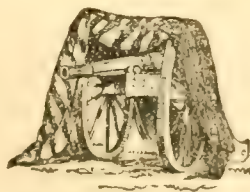
Winthrop party pronounced the election void. But the spirited Bostonians returned the same men at another election.



HE Winthrop party now determined to gain their end by main force. A law was passed prohibiting strangers from residing in the colony, without permission of the assistant magistrates, or one of the standing council. Vane pronounced this law an enormous violation of the rights of the colonists. A controversy followed between Vane and Winthrop, in which the former maintained the principles for which he afterwards died upon the scaffold. Winthrop proved the stronger, and Vane left the colony for England, leaving behind him a character which even his religious enemies admired and respected.

Before the departure of Vane, a general synod of the clergy passed sentence of banishment upon Mrs. Hutchinson, her brother, Mr. Wheelwright, and Mr. Aspinwall, and thus the contest known as the Antinomian controversy was brought to a close. Wheelwright and his followers proceeded to New Hampshire, and founded Exeter. Another party joined Roger Williams, who procured from the Indians the fertile isle, called Rhode Island, for the new settlers. Mrs. Hutchinson removed to Rhode Island, and several years after, to East Chester, in the New Netherlands. There her house was attacked by the Indians, and this remarkable woman, and all her family except one child, fell victims to the ferocity of the savages.

Through the exertions of Sir Henry Vane, Rhode Island obtained a charter, from the government of England. The settlers had their written constitution, guaranteeing them all those civil and religious rights, which were dear to their hearts and conducive to the general happiness. The legislative and executive power was vested in a governor, called a judge, after the practice of the Israelites, and a council of assistants. Coddington was the first judge. The colonization of Rhode Island is a remarkable event, as being the first instance in which true liberty of conscience was enjoyed peaceably by the English colonists.





Emigration of Mr. Hooker and his Party.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONIZATION OF CONNECTICUT.



URING the early emigration to Massachusetts, Lords Brooke, and Say and Seal, English noblemen, obtained from the Earl of Warwick, an assignment of a grant which he had received from the Plymouth council, for lands on the Connecticut River, and they had so far proceeded in their design as to send out an agent to take possession of the territory and build a fort. But, happily for America, their projects were not carried out; as they intended to introduce an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy in their province.

The first settlements on the Connecticut River were established by the Dutch. They had obtained a patent from their government for all the land they should discover, including the region upon the Connecticut River, then unknown to the English. They traded with the Indians for several years, and purchased land and erected a fort at Hartford, before the English came into the country.

In 1634, a number of the inhabitants of Cambridge, with the Rev. Mr. Hooker at their head, applied to the general court of Massachusetts for permission to remove to the banks of the Connecticut. The court was divided on the subject, and permission was not given until May, 1636. In the mean time, a party of emigrants proceeded to Pyquag, on the banks of the Connecticut, and building a few huts, passed the winter there.

When permission to remove was received, Mr. Hooker's company set about their preparations. They were to remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, however, in the new settlement, this being the condition of the grant of permission. About the middle of October, 1636, the party, numbering sixty persons, men, women and children, accompanied by their cattle, swine, and other property, proceeded on a long journey, during which they bore severe hardships and conquered many difficulties, with a firm and persevering spirit. On reaching the Connecticut, the company divided, and founded several towns, among which are Hartford and Windsor.



UNFORTUNATELY for the settlers, the winter began much earlier than usual, and was very severe. Provisions became scanty, and several parties that set out to procure some, would have perished but for the kindness of the Indians. Those who remained in Connecticut during the winter suffered every hardship, living in rude huts, and feeding upon malt and acorns. In the spring, Mr.

Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred other persons set out from Cambridge, and after a journey of two weeks, through a wilderness, reached the banks of the Connecticut.

The Indians about the Connecticut had discovered a hostile disposition from the first settlement. The Pequods were the most formidable tribe of New England, numbering from seven hundred to a thousand warriors, long accustomed to victory. Their principal forts were at Groton, where their great prince Sassacus resided, and at Stonington on the Mystic River.

The Pequods were endeavoring to form a league with the Narragansetts and Mohegans for the utter extirpation of the whites. Information of this design had been given to the governor of Massachusetts by Roger Williams; but not content with this measure of precaution, the intrepid founder of Rhode Island embarked himself alone in a small canoe and proceeded directly to the house of the sachem of the Narragansetts. Here he met the emissaries of the Pequods, and it was not without days and nights of earnest solicitation, and, and at the imminent peril of his



Massacre of the Pequods

life, that he finally succeeded in detaching the Narragansetts from the league. Their example was followed by the Mohegans, and thus the Pequods were left to contend single-handed with their civilized adversaries.

Meanwhile the repeated injuries inflicted by the Pequods, and the actual murder of about thirty of the settlers, determined the general court of Connecticut to proceed to active hostilities; and on the 1st of May, 1637, they resolved to raise ninety men, who were placed under the command of Captain Mason. This force, accompanied by sixty friendly Indians, under Uncas, a Mohegan sachem, sailed on the 19th for Narragansett Bay. On the 22d, they repaired to the court of Canonicus, the patriarch of the tribe, and were received with Indian solemnity. The fiery Miantonomoh offered to join them. They here heard of the arrival of the Massachusetts troops at Providence, but it was determined to push on without them. On the next day, the allies marched to Nahantick, bordering on the Pequot country. Here a large body of friendly Indians joined them, and proceeding along the Mystic river, the army encamped two miles from the Pequot fort, just before nightfall. The Pequods, believing the English were afraid to attack them, were passing the night in rejoicing, till weary with singing and dancing, they sought repose. The English surprised the fort just before the break of day. The barking of a watch-dog roused the slumbering savages, who rushed from their

wigwams to meet a dauntless foe. The Pequods fought bravely, and would, probably, have made their escape, had not Mason set fire to their dwellings, and thus forced them from their lurking-places into open light, to be a mark for the English muskets. The victory was complete, but the conquerors were in a dangerous situation. Several of their number were killed, and one-fourth wounded. The remainder, exhausted with fatigue, destitute of provisions, and ill-provided with ammunition, were exposed to the rage of a fresh body of savages, but a few miles distant, who would be exasperated on hearing of the destruction of their brethren. Fortunately, at the time of this perplexity, their vessels were seen steering into the harbor; and being received on board, the troops reached their homes in less than a month from the day that the court resolved on war.

The troops from Massachusetts and Connecticut arrived in time to hunt out a number of the fugitives, burn their remaining villages, and lay waste their corn-fields. Sassacus fled towards the Hudson, with a party of his chief sachems; but he was surprised by the Mohawks, and with his warriors put to death. Mononotto alone escaped. A scanty remnant of the Pequods were enslaved by the English, or mingled with the Mohicans and Narragansetts;—and thus was a nation destroyed.



N 1637, Eaton and Davenport, with some strict Puritans, settled New Haven. These colonists at first acknowledged the authority of Massachusetts; but as they were out of the limits of that colony's patent, they convened an assembly early in 1639, and established a constitution of independent powers. In the same year, the colony at Hartford framed a constitution similar to that of New Haven. These colonies remained distinct and at variance until 1661.

All these settlements had been made without any concert with the proprietors in England, who had obtained the land by assignment from the original company. But in 1644, the colonies purchased their rights. The legality of this transaction has been doubted, though it was never contested.

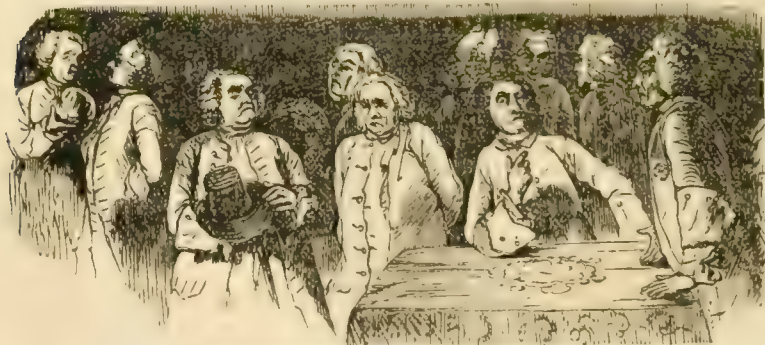
The people of Connecticut had been at enmity with the Dutch colonists from their earliest settlement. The war declared by Great Britain against the United Provinces, opened the way for hostilities between the colonists of the two nations. But no serious contest took place, and the Dutch maintained their ground until the arrival of the news of peace between the two nations.

Soon after the Restoration, through the address of Mr. Winthrop, the son of the governor of Massachusetts, Connecticut obtained a charter

granting the most ample privileges, and establishing a popular government. It was obtained on the 20th of April 1662, and continued to be the fundamental law of Connecticut for 158 years; the colony of New Haven was included in it, but the inhabitants refused the charter, until the Duke of York obtained the grant of the lands from the Connecticut River to the Delaware Bay, when they agreed to the charter to escape his government.

The younger Winthrop was elected governor of Connecticut soon after it received the charter, and he devoted himself to the welfare of the colony. Intolerance never prevailed in Connecticut, and consequently her people were free from constant trouble. In 1680, the population amounted to more than 10,000 persons. These were divided among 26 towns, which could boast of 21 churches. There were only about thirty slaves; paupers were few, neither beggars nor vagabonds were permitted. A small trade was carried on chiefly with Boston and New York. The property of the whole corporation was reckoned at about £110,000.

James II., soon after ascending the English throne, determined to cancel all the American charters; and he was not disposed to spare so liberal a one as that of Connecticut. Three successive writs of *quo warranto* were issued; and the colonists, after craving delay, submitted to the royal commands. James sent Sir Edmund Andros to accept the charter and submission of the people of Connecticut. He assumed the administration and demanded the charter. But it was carefully contrived that he should not get it. While the governor and assembly were debating the affair in the evening, the lights were extinguished, and when they were re-lighted the charter had vanished. It is said to have been taken by Captain Wadsworth, and concealed in the hollow of a tree. Thus was the liberty of Connecticut preserved. Andros retained the government for nearly two years, and was deposed upon the accession of William and Mary.



The Charter of Connecticut missed by Andros's Agents



Oliver Cromwell.

CHAPTER XV.

NEW ENGLAND DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.



THE design of forming a union of the New England colonies had been entertained in 1637, immediately after the Pequod war; but in consequence of the demand by Connecticut that each colony should have the right of a negative on the proceedings of the confederacy, had been delayed. The benefits of a union, however, had become so apparent that, in 1643, the measure was finally consummated. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, entered into a league of perpetual confederation, under the title of the United Colonies of New England. It was agreed, that each colony should remain a separate and distinct municipal association, and retain exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; that in every war, offensive or defensive, each of the confederate colonies should furnish its quota of men, money and provisions, at a rate in proportion to the population of the respective communities; that a council, composed of two commissioners from each colony should be annually convoked and em-



Union of the New England Colonies.

powered to deliberate and decide on all points of common concern to the confederacy; every colony renounced the right of protecting fugitive debtors or criminals from the legal process of the particular community which they had wronged and deserted. Rhode Island was not included in this confederacy, as she refused to become incorporated with New Plymouth.

The main object of the confederacy was security against the Indians, who were becoming weaker by contentions among themselves. The Narragansetts, under their chief Miantonomoh, fell suddenly upon the Mohegans, the allies of the English; but they were defeated, and their chief was taken prisoner. His captor, Uncas, conducted him to Hartford, where "the elders," condemned him to die. Uncas then conducted his prisoner beyond the jurisdiction of Connecticut and put him to death.

When the great struggle between Charles I. and the Long Parliament commenced, the people of New England, notwithstanding their Puritan opinions maintained a neutral position. Massachusetts declared herself a "perfect republic," and her agent in England denied the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies, unless they were represented in that body. A few years after, a practice, considered indicative of sovereignty, was adopted, on account of the increasing trade of the colonists with the West Indies, and the uncertain state of things in England. This was the coinage of silver money in Boston. The coin was stamped with the

name of New England on one side, and of Massachusetts on the other; the latter side also bore the impression of a tree, as a symbol of vigor and increase. The practice gave no offence to the English government, and was continued during the protectorate of Cromwell and twenty years of the reign of Charles II.

In 1646, the dissenters from Congregationalism, the established religion of Massachusetts, petitioned the general court for leave to impeach Governor Winthrop, before the whole body of his fellow-citizens, on a charge of having punished some of their number for interfering at elections. He was tried and acquitted. The petitioners were reprimanded for their alleged attempt to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony, and they appealed to England; but failed to gain redress. Winthrop continued to hold the office of governor during the remainder of his life.



AFTER royalty was abolished in England, the Long Parliament sent a mandate to the government of Massachusetts, requiring the surrender of its charter and the acceptance of a new one from the existing authority in England. The demand was evaded. The general court, instead of surrendering the charter, transmitted a petition to Parliament setting forth, that, as such a thing was not done in the king's time, it was not able to discern the need of such an in-

junction. The intercession of Cromwell was solicited, and, as on other occasions, his favor was shown to the colonists. They retained their charter.

Cromwell's ascendancy was highly beneficial to the New England colonies. Immediately after his elevation, Rhode Island resumed the form of government which the Parliament had suspended; Connecticut and New Haven were afforded the means of defence against the Dutch colonists of New York; all the New England provinces were exempted from the operation of the parliamentary ordinance against trade with foreign nations.

The rulers of New England were now for a considerable period exempt from any troubles except those springing from the succession of new sects, and their persevering attempts to suppress them.

It was no doubt a severe trial to the ministers, who appear really to have been, as they describe themselves, "faithful, watchful, and painful, serving their flocks daily with prayers and tears, with their most studied sermons and writings," to see ignorant half-crazed enthusiasts enjoy the whole popular favor and render the churches almost empty. The next whom they had to encounter were the anabaptists, a German sect who,

after passing into England, had crossed the Atlantic. The question between infant and adult baptism might certainly have been coolly debated and with much indulgence; but the extravagancies of John of Munster and King Matthias had created such a prejudice against them, that even Jeremy Taylor excluded them from that liberty of prophesying which he zealously claimed for other sects. Indeed, they seem to have attached an undue importance to their peculiar views, holding those who had received the rite in their infancy as still unbaptized and pagan. Obadiah Holmes first formed a small congregation in the Plymouth territory, which rapidly spread, and seems generally to have absorbed the former classes of the movement. A sister of Mrs. Hutchinson embraced it, and made a convert of Williams, who, at an advanced age, was baptized anew. Its rise at Boston was at first obscurely indicated by the retirement of numbers from church before the rite was administered, who repaired to private meetings and secret rebaptism. The rulers had recourse to fines and even whipping; and, finding that these were endured with courage and constancy, they proceeded to inflict banishment. The leaders having been thus driven into the general receptacle at Rhode Island, the others sunk at least into a state of silence.



UT the tranquillity thereby obtained was of short duration; and it was followed by a schism which much more strongly agitated the colony, and involved it in deeper reproach. There had arisen a sect, who, from certain irregular bodily movements, received the derisive name of Quakers. They seem to have proceeded to the utmost extremes, rejecting all human learning as well as ordinances, and placing their whole dependence on the direct agency of the Spirit. Williams, as we have seen, regarded this as the only source of religious instruction; but, believing it to be withheld, he placed the world in a state of entire spiritual darkness. This was completely remedied under the Quaker system; where every word and every action were understood to be guided by supernatural impulses. When these were so largely vouchsafed to the gifted prophets, there seemed no reason why, like those of the Old Testament, they should not be intrusted with messages and mandates to kings and cities, commanding obedience, announcing judgments, and indicating the means of averting them. The words conveying these orders being full in their minds, and occurring with peculiar force perhaps at midnight or in the solitude of the fields, were readily mistaken for divine communications. In executing such commissions, no regard was paid to human dignities, or to the rules and usages of society; hence they were branded as mad, though their writings are generally in a sober and reasoning tone.



WHEN the Quakers were sent to different quarters of the world, it was natural that America should be included. The New England rulers, having heard of their proceedings with horror, and knowing the inflammable character of their own congregations, prepared to meet them with the most rigorous exclusion, and certainly without regard either to the forms or substance of law. In July, 1656, when Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived from Barbadoes, an officer was instantly sent on board, who conveyed them to prison, and seized all their books and papers, some of which were burned by the common executioner. They were denied pen, ink, paper, and candle, and a window which opened to the street was boarded up. After some weeks' confinement, the captain who brought them was obliged to take them away at his own expense, and give bond in £100 to land them in Europe. Mary was soon after honored by a message to the Grand Turk, from whom she met a far different reception.



THE rulers, having held the two prophetesses in such rigorous seclusion, hoped that all danger of contamination was prevented; but they were soon somewhat disconcerted upon receiving a remonstrance, tenderly entreating them to beware, lest they should be found fighting against God. The writer, who proved an old church member, was immediately fined and banished. England, however, sent out a continued succession, who found in Rhode Island a secure point upon which they could retreat, and whence they could advance. The narrative given by Captain Fowler of the voyage in which he took out Dorothy Waugh, exhibits the enthusiastic hopes with which some of these persons were filled. He describes them as "the servants of the Lord, coming with a mighty hand and outstretched arm." At a critical period of the passage, a mighty voice was heard: "the seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea." Very different was their reception at Boston, where fine, the lash, imprisonment, and finally death, awaited them. It ought, however, to be kept in mind that the magistrates merely intended to inflict banishment, which, in their actual circumstances, amounted only to exclusion. The former sectaries had submitted to this sentence, and the district had been cleared of them; but not so the Quakers, who had no sooner been thrust out than they reappeared, proclaiming their doctrines with the same loud and enthusiastic zeal. The extreme punishments, therefore, were inflicted, not on account of their opinions, but for returning from banishment. On the other hand, the prophets declared themselves to be

perfectly disposed to obey all lawful authority; but it rested in no respect with them whether they should or should not return; wherever the Lord sent them, they must go. They were told they should at least request permission to come within the bounds of a foreign jurisdiction; but they asked, "could the Lord of heaven and earth not send a message to the people of Boston without first asking their leave?" These messages, it must be owned, were by no means courteous. The town now named, which not without reason esteemed herself somewhat eminent for enlightened and true religion, was addressed as one of the guilty cities of old, on which fire might be expected to descend from heaven. John Rous wrote: "Boston is a withered leaf, the sap of the vine is departed from it; your profession is become barren; ye are departed from the Lord. How is thy beauty faded, thou that wast famous among the nations!" Elizabeth Horton ran through the streets during the night calling out, "that the Lord was coming forth with fire and sword to plead with Boston." The irreverent and opprobrious language applied to the most distinguished persons, even when seated on the tribunals, is particularly objected to, and seemingly not without reason, even judging by their own representations. Katherine Scott, sister to Mrs. Hutchinson, called out in court, "you take too much upon you, magistrates, more than ever God gave you;" and, at another time,—"the Lord open your blind eyes and soften your hard hearts. Alas for your blindness, that diabolical spirit that worketh in you!" Doubtless they pleaded their high commission as authorizing such language; but this was wholly disallowed by the opposite party. The female votaries, too, always the most fervid, displayed their zeal sometimes in a manner not quite becoming their sex. Several, to make their testimony effectual, considered it needful to lay aside their clothes. One began a march through Salem, another entered the church in this condition. We cannot certainly blame the magistrates for causing these prophetesses to be seized and committed to the house of correction; but we must not conceal our conviction that many of the proceedings against them were very little conformable either to English law or to natural justice. The severest punishments were inflicted simply for owning themselves to be those whom the world called Quakers, though they denied all ground for the use of the term, or the reproaches associated with it. They were punished for blasphemies, heresies, and diabolical opinions; yet no instances of these were specified, nor opportunity of explanation afforded. All the proof of these dreadful charges, received however as amply sufficient, was, that they said "thou and thee," and wore their hats. A party being under examination, one of whom used the word *thee*, the magistrate exclaimed, "We need no more, we see you

are Quakers." Some others having demanded how they were known as such, were answered, "We know you by your hats and your company." A party being indicted for having met and uttered blasphemies, they acknowledged meeting, but demanded proof of the blasphemy; to which Major-general Denison thought it enough to answer, "if ye meet together and say any thing, we may conclude ye speak blasphemy."



IN spite of every exertion, the heresy spread, and seems to have absorbed many votaries of the previous sects. The watchful eye of the ministers soon observed the churches thinned, especially of their female auditors, and received the unwelcome explanation of a private meeting, held on the principles of the new teachers. Heavy fines were imposed on all who resorted thither, or who even absented themselves from the congregational assemblies; on men who attended, but did not bring their wives along with them. Those who, in any way, harbored or encouraged Quakers incurred similar penalties, by which many citizens are said to have been ruined. But the principal operations were against the prophets themselves, who incessantly poured in from Rhode Island, and were no sooner banished with every kind of ignominy, than they instantly reappeared. This was met by a series of punishments on an ascending scale,—imprisonment, whipping, confiscation, branding with hot iron, cutting off the ears. The following schedule of the number of times, during the year 1697, that each infliction was borne by several of the leading characters, gives a striking picture of indomitable perseverance, both in persecuting and enduring:—

	Imprisoned.	Banished.	Whipt.	Clothes sold.	Branded.	Ears cut off.
Dorothy Waugh	3	3	1	1	0	0
William Brand	4	4	2	0	1	0
John Copeland	7	7	3	0	0	1
Christopher Holden	5	5	2	0	0	1

These severities, as their repetition implies, were wholly ineffectual for subduing the resolution of the sufferers, or driving them out of the colony. They had also the most inauspicious influence among the people, on whom the view of great things done and suffered acts more powerfully than the strongest arguments. Every sentence publicly executed produced, it is said, a fresh body of converts. The rulers, finding the heresy continually grow under the means employed to suppress it, instead of trying a milder course, resolved on the most extreme severities. There remained now no penalty untried but death; this was proposed in the general court, and,

after much opposition, carried, though only by a single voice. The sentence, as already observed, was not for being Quakers, but for returning from banishment, repeatedly, defyingly, and in a manner which precluded all hope of their not persevering. It was declared more desirable to have them absent and alive, than present and dead; but there was no option. Full warning was given. Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, and Mary Dyar, being found in the colony, were banished, receiving due notice of the doom which they would incur by returning. Having, however, received a fresh message to deliver at Boston, they deliberately resolved "to look their bloody laws in the face," and lay down their lives for the testimony. A distinguished Quakeress was moved to come, for the purpose of wrapping in linen the dead bodies of the martyrs; while several arrived from New York and other places to witness their death. "All these," says Bishope, "came in the moving and power of the Lord." They were speedily thrown into prison, and the professors brought to trial. Being asked for their defence, they declared that they acted in obedience to a divine call,—describing how it was made, and their obligation to obey it. Sentence was pronounced and inflicted on Stevenson and Robinson, who endured it with unshaken fortitude. Mary Dyar, when on the ladder, was pardoned and sent to Rhode Island, with a strict injunction not to return; but this being, as usual, disregarded, she, too, afterwards suffered. William Leddra, being likewise found in the colony, was offered life on condition of promising not to return; but declaring, as usual, a total want of power to engage for himself, he was brought to the scaffold.

On the trial of William Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another Quaker named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrate with shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody and soon after brought to trial. When summoned to plead to the indictment, he desired to know by what law the court was authorized to put him upon trial for his life. The last enactment against the Quakers was cited to him. He then asked who empowered the provincial authorities to make that law, and whether it was not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England. The governor replied that an existing law of England provided that Jesuits should be hanged. Christison rejoined that he was not accused of being a Jesuit, but a Quaker. His plea, however, was overruled, and the jury found him guilty. When sentence of death was pronounced, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by the persecution of the Quakers, and said that where one person was put to death, five came into his place, ready to suffer the same fate for their principles.



Trial of Wenlock Christison.

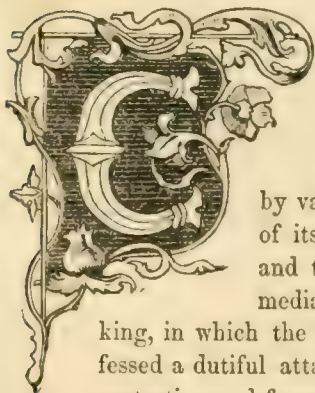
The able defence and magnanimous bearing of Christison produced such an effect upon the people that the magistrates were forced to interpose and commute his punishment to banishment. Afterwards, only the lighter, but still disgraceful, penalties were inflicted upon the Quakers, and even these were gradually abandoned as the members of the sect ceased to disturb the public peace and became more sober in their conduct. We cannot but condemn the fierce and cruel intolerance of the authorities of Massachusetts, as displayed in their course of action against the Quakers; the penalties imposed were beyond all proportion to the offences, and those things were regarded as offences which were nothing more than an exercise of the rights of judgment and conscience. But it must be admitted that they were perfectly justifiable in adopting such measures as would preserve the public peace and security.

When the news of Cromwell's death was received in New England, the colonists, apprehending that the Restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne was at hand, refused to recognize the authority of Richard Cromwell, or the Long Parliament. Yet they did not expect that favor from Charles II. which they had received from Cromwell and the Parliament. In the month of July, a vessel arrived from England, with Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges of Charles I. on board. These fugitives found hospitable shelter in the province.



CHAPTER XVI.

NEW ENGLAND FROM THE RESTORATION UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE FRENCH WAR, '1754.



HARLES II. was now restored, and in 1660 authentic tidings were received that the royal authority was again established in England, and that complaints against the colony of Massachusetts had been presented by various royalists, Quakers, and others, enemies of its institutions and policy, to the privy council and the Parliament. The general court was immediately convened and an address voted to the king, in which the colonists justified their whole conduct, professed a dutiful attachment to the sovereign, and entreated his protection and favor, which they declared themselves the more willing to hope for from one who, having been himself a wanderer, was no stranger to the lot and the feelings of exiles. They solicited the king to protect their ecclesiastical and civil institutions, declaring that they considered the chief value of the latter to consist in their subservience to the cultivation and enjoyment of religion. A similar address was made to Parliament, and letters were written to Lord Manchester, Lords Say

and Seal, and other persons of distinction, who were known to be friends of the colony, soliciting interposition in its behalf.

Leverett, the agent for the colony in London, was instructed, at the same time, to use every effort to procure a continuance of the exemption from customs, which the colonists had hitherto enjoyed. But before he had time to make any such vain attempt, the Parliament had already established the duties of tonnage and poundage over every portion of the empire. The disappointment, however, was softened by a gracious answer returned by the king to the provincial address, which was accompanied by an order for the apprehension of Whalley and Goffe. So prompt a display of good-will and confidence excited general satisfaction; a day of thanksgiving was appointed, to acknowledge the favor of Heaven in moving the heart of the king to incline to the desires of the people. With regard to the regicides, the provincial authorities were not a little perplexed between their acknowledged duty to the sovereign and their desire to screen the offenders from his vengeance. It is supposed that a private intimation was conveyed to them, which enabled them to elude the vigorous pursuit which was immediately set on foot. They were enabled by the assistance of their friends, by dexterous evasion from place to place, to end their days in New England. Dixwell, another of the regicides, lived more openly among the colonists.

The restoration proved highly favorable to the people of Rhode Island. They obtained a charter from Charles II. which secured to them all the civil and religious rights which they held. This charter continued to be the fundamental law of Rhode Island until a very late period. Connecticut, through the exertions of John Winthrop, obtained a similar charter. The consequences which would naturally result from the liberal character of these charters do not seem to have been understood by the British government until a subsequent period. How much of the Revolutionary War is to be traced to them! They habituated the colonists to the exercise of the rights of freemen and republicans, and taught them to look upon arbitrary measures as things to be resisted.

One of the most flagrant violations of justice committed by the restored government was the execution of a former governor of Massachusetts, Sir Harry Vane. He made a noble defence upon his trial, but his doom was fixed beforehand. Upon the scaffold he displayed all that calmness and elevation of mind for which he had through life been distinguished, and his bearing created such a powerful feeling in his favor among the people, that the court party were induced to restore to his family their titles and estates.

For many years previous to the period at which we have now arrived,



Execution of Sir Harry Vane.

a number of Christian missionaries, the most eminent of whom were John Elliot and Thomas Mayhew, had been making sincere efforts to civilize the Indians; and so far had they succeeded, that several Indian towns were founded and the inhabitants became comparatively civilized. Elliot translated the Scriptures into the Indian language, and devoted himself to instructing the red men in reading and writing. In 1660, there were



John Elliot teaching the Indians.

ten Christian Indian settlements in Massachusetts, alone. Mayhew and his coadjutors prosecuted their labor of love successfully in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and Elizabeth Isles, and the territory comprehended in the Plymouth patent.



HE colonial policy of Charles II. was as feeble and oppressive as his domestic government. The Navigation Act was applied to the New England colonies as well as to Virginia, and proved a fertile source of discontent and complaint. The enemies of the Puritans, numerous, of course, at the court of Charles II., were constantly spreading rumours of intended rebellion in the northern colonies; and four commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Nicholls, George Cartwright and

Samuel Maverick, were appointed to proceed to New England, hear and determine according to their own discretion all complaints and disputes, and take every step they might judge necessary for settling the peace and security of the country on a solid foundation.

The news of the intended visitation of the commissioners created a strong feeling of indignation and alarm in New England. The general court of Massachusetts appointed a day of solemn fasting and prayer, committed the charter to four members for safe keeping; and passed an ordinance forbidding the landing of officers and soldiers from ships, except from small ships, and in small parties. Petitions were sent to the king and principal noblemen of England, complaining of the extensive power given to the commissioners, and praying that they might be recalled. But the king was resolved, and would not be swerved from his resolution.

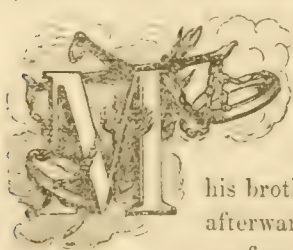
When the commissioners arrived, they adjusted the boundary question between Connecticut and New York, and some claims of the Duke of Hamilton and other persons. As these acts in no way conflicted with the interests of the colony, the commissioners met with no resistance, and in their report, praised the obedience of Connecticut. In Rhode Island they were favorably received. Plymouth declined their promises of a new charter, and preferred to retain her old privileges. In Massachusetts, the pretensions of the commissioners were resisted at every step. Their conferences with the general court were anything but amicable, and their attempt to assume the judicial government was defeated by the authorities and derided by the people.

Suspending for a time their operations at Boston, the commissioners repaired to New Hampshire and Maine, and setting aside the claims of

Mason and Gorges, as well as the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they suppressed the existing authorities, and erected a new system of government, directly dependent on the crown, in each of these provinces. This proceeding, however, was rendered nugatory immediately after their departure from the country, by the provinces returning to their former state of dependence on Massachusetts.

On the return of the commissioners to Boston, the general court declared that the measures they had pursued tended to the disturbance of the public peace, and demanded a conference, which was refused with an asperity of reproach that put an end to all further communication. The king soon after recalled these functionaries, expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of all the colonies except Massachusetts, and commanded the general court of that province to send deputies to answer in his presence the charges preferred against the colony. This order was evaded, however, and soon after the king was conciliated by professions of loyalty, and presents from the people whose determined temper he well knew and did not think proper to excite.

The New England colonies had suffered in a very slight degree from the hostility of the Indians up to this period (1674). The treaty between Massasoit and the first settlers of Plymouth, the amicable and humane policy of the colonial government, and the noble efforts of the Christian missionaries, were the principal causes. The whites now greatly outnumbered the Indians in New England, and the knowledge of their own strength perhaps led them to fancy themselves secure from attack, and to tyrannize over the red men.



MASSASSOIT, dying, left the government in the hands of his son Alexander. The bad treatment of this prince by the Plymouth government is said to have hastened his death, and caused those vindictive feelings to inflame

his brother, the celebrated Philip of Pokanoket, which afterwards made the colonists feel the horrors of Indian warfare. Philip had sternly rejected all persuasions to

Christianity, and possessing a bold and active spirit, he resolved to do his best to injure or exterminate the white invaders of the soil of his fathers. He formed a plan to unite the tribes of New England, and such were his abilities that he secured the assistance of all whom he called upon. The struggle, however, was precipitated before he was quite ready.

Sassamon, an Indian who, after professing Christianity, had apostatized and entered his service, had played the spy upon him, giving information of his intended movements. It was through his treacherous letters that

the colonists learned that Philip and his countrymen had at length resolved to adopt measures for their destruction. "He could write," says the historian, "though the king, his master, could not read." Fearing the consequences of what he had done, the renegade returned to the protection of the settlers, and was soon after slain by two of the Indian leaders. The perpetrators of this deed were arrested, tried, and executed by the colonists.



PHILIP was alarmed by the condemnation of his counsellors; and finding that the war would inevitably be forced upon him, he resolved to be first in the field. His tribe, the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, having sent their wives and children to the Narragansetts for security, commenced hostilities at Swansey. They menaced and insulted the inhabitants, and after killing

some of the cattle in the fields, they broke open and rifled the houses. One of the Indians being shot by the English, who were highly exasperated at such proceedings, the former, in revenge, killed eight of the settlers. This was the beginning of King Philip's war, June 24th, 1675.

As the war was hastened before Philip's arrangements were fully made, the English were in most respects superior to their enemies. The Christian Indians took part with the whites, and were valuable allies.

The usual modes of warfare were practised by the Indians. Creeping cautiously through the woods which surrounded the scattered towns, they would suddenly start up from their lurking-places in the dead of night, or during the quiet of the summer Sabbath, and rush upon the unguarded villages with their wild war-whoop, and before the fighting men could be collected, the village would be burnt, its inhabitants butchered, and the Indians, laden with scalps and plunder, far away in the swamps or forest. Rapid marches, sudden attacks, merciless cruelty and quick retreat, characterized nearly all their operations. The English sent detachments after them, but the ambuscade ensnared the whites, or the foe retreated too rapidly to be overtaken. Parties on their way to church or at the fireside were suddenly attacked and slaughtered in cold blood. The towns of Taunton, Namasket and Dartmouth were laid in ashes. In July, a party of English attacked Philip at Pocasset, and drove him into a swamp, which they surrounded. But the wily chief escaped into the western part of Massachusetts, the country of the Nipmucks, whom he incited to take up arms against the colonists. This tribe soon after set fire to the town of Quaboag, and massacred many of the inhabitants.

The little army of the colonists now marched into the country of the



Attack on Deerfield.

Narragansetts, who, though professing neutrality, were known to give shelter to the enemy. They were forced into a treaty, and promised to surrender the hostile Indians who should retreat to their territory. But this treaty did not affect the progress of the war. The eastern tribes took up the hatchet, and those on Connecticut river also joined in the war on the side of Philip. The towns of Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, Northfield and Sugar-loaf Hill bore witness to their treachery and cruelty. In



Burning of Springfield.

October, the Springfield Indians deserted the alliance of the English, and after burning three quarters of that town, joined King Philip. The Narragansetts soon broke the promises contained in their treaty, and in September, 1675, the commissioners of the three colonies, convinced of their treachery, declared war against them, and ordered one thousand men to be sent into their territory.

The time chosen for the operations of this force was the depth of winter, and their commander was Josiah Winslow. The abode of the Indians was on an island of about five or six acres, situated in an impassable swamp; the only entrance being upon a long tree, lying over the water, "so that but one man could pass at a time; but the water was frozen; the trees and thickets were white with their burden of snow, as was the surface of the earth; so that the smallest movement of the Indians could be seen. Within the isle were gathered the powers of the Narragansett tribe, with their wives, families, and valuable things; the want of leaves and thick foliage allowed no ambush, and the savage must fight openly beside his own hearth-stone. It was the close of day when the colonists came up to the place; a fort, a blockhouse, and a wall that passed round the isle, proved the skill, as well as resolution of the assailed; the frozen shores and water were quickly covered with the slain, and then the Indians fought at their doors and around their children till all was lost, and a thousand of them fell." *

The loss of the English was about 230 men. It ended the offensive operations of the Narragansetts, and, indeed, destroyed their power forever. The remnant of the tribe removed to the Nipmuck country. Many battles were now fought with the Indians in quick succession, and though the English suffered some severe reverses, their foes were gradually diminished till but a shadow of their former power remained. Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts, was captured, and offered his life and freedom if he would betray Philip. But he proudly refused, and was condemned to die by the hands of three young Indian chiefs. On hearing his sentence he said, "I like it well, for I shall die before my heart is soft, or I have spoke anything unworthy of myself."



* Carne. Life of Elliot.

Philip, with a small band of faithful warriors, sought shelter among the Mohawks; but they forced him to fly from their country, and once more he returned to the burial-place of his fathers, Mount Hope. His wife and son accompanied him; and they were snatched from his side by a party of English, who narrowly missed taking Philip himself. In August, 1676, his camp in the swamp was surprised by a party of English under Captain Church, and Philip was shot by a treacherous Indian. His youngest son, the last of the family, was sent to the West Indies, and died in slavery. Thus was the race of Massasoit requited for its friendship to the whites. The conduct of the colonists during the latter part of the war was as cruel and unsparing as we might have expected from the Indians themselves. Although the contest lasted but fourteen months, 600 of the inhabitants of New England had perished, twelve or thirteen towns were entirely, and many others partially destroyed, and the loss of property and expenditures amounted to half a million of dollars. The eastern Indians continued their hostility until 1678.



DURING this destructive war, New England had received no aid from the mother country, and the fact that she had not asked for it, was deemed by the king's ministers an evidence of insubordination. The claims of Mason and Gorges with respect to New Hampshire and Maine were revived, and Edward Randolph, the agent of Mason, was sent out to demand from Massachusetts the relinquishment of her jurisdiction over those colonies. He arrived before Philip's War was terminated, and the people of New England found themselves obliged to contend against the king of England and the savages at their firesides. Stoughton and Bulkley were despatched as agents to England, to support the interests of Massachusetts. The result of the legal proceedings was, that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New Hampshire ceased; but her agents succeeded in purchasing the Gorges title for £1250. New Hampshire received a royal governor, Edward Cranfield, who was avaricious and oppressive. After involving himself in controversies with the settlers, he was recalled, and New Hampshire again came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Another controversy now began between Massachusetts and the crown concerning the operation of the Navigation Act. In 1683, a *quo warranto* was issued, and the colonial agents, Dudley and Richards, returned to Boston, followed by Randolph, with the dreaded writ. The general court remained firm. The legal process was then advanced with all possible expedition. At length, in Trinity Term, 1684, judgment was pronounced by the Court of King's Bench, against the governor and company of



James II.

Massachusetts, "that their letters patent and the enrolment thereof be annulled;" and in July, 1685, an official copy of this judgment was received by the secretary of the general court. Thus was the freedom of Massachusetts, so long maintained, sacrificed to please a tyrannical king. Surely we may trace even here, the beginning of which the War of Independence was the end.



HE oppressive rule of James II. extended to New England. In the latter part of the reign of Charles II., Colonel Kirke had been appointed governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Plymouth. The death of Charles interrupted his schemes for humiliating the colonists, and Colonel Kirke, who had become notorious for his brutality and excesses, was recalled. James II. appointed a temporary commission to administer the government of the colonies which had been under Kirke; but the rule of the commissioners was too mild to suit that monarch. He devised an arbitrary government, and appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor.



William III.

Many tyrannical regulations were now introduced, one of which was that no printing-press should be used in the colony. Andros arrived in December, 1686.

The whole aspect of things was now changed. Instead of the sober, pious manners observed by the Puritan rulers, the gaiety and license of the English court was introduced. Toleration was now extended to all sects. But the taxes were increased, and this created much complaint, and in some cases a slight degree of resistance. In the midst of confusion and discontent, Increase Mather escaped by night, reached England and laid the complaints of the colonists before the king. Their demands of redress were peremptorily rejected. But James was now at the crisis of his fate. The people of England, wearied with his tyranny, welcomed William of Orange as a deliverer. When the news of the revolution reached Massachusetts, the people rose in arms, imprisoned Andros and his adherents, restored the charter, elected a governor, assistants and deputies. William and Mary were proclaimed at Boston, on the 29th May, 1689.

During King William's War, which began in 1689, and continued until the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, the frontier settlements were constantly exposed to the attacks of the French and Indians. The events of this war, however, will be found in the history of the general affairs of the colonies. Early in 1692, Sir William Phipps, the agent of the colonies, obtained a new charter, by which the appointment of the governor was vested in the king, and Plymouth, Massachusetts, Maine, and Nova Scotia were united under one government. This charter was the source of much discontent. New England had received no aid from the mother country during the bloody and destructive contest upon her frontiers, and therefore, this abridgement of her privileges was felt as a flagrant act of injustice.

A new calamity visited Massachusetts. The belief in witchcraft was prevalent and deep-rooted among the Puritans of New England, and also among the people of the mother country. By the laws of Massachusetts, witchcraft was made a capital offence. In February, 1692, the superstition began to produce strange and lamentable consequences. In Danvers, a suburb of Salem, the daughter and niece of the minister were at first moved by strange caprices, and their conduct was readily ascribed to the influence of witchcraft. Tituba, an Indian domestic, was suspected as the evil worker, and by beating and other hard usage, she was driven to confess her guilt. The account of this affair spread rapidly among a credulous people. Every symptom of disease was thought to be caused by evil spirits at work all through the country. Fear aggravated nervous derangement. The consequences were disastrous. Every old woman, with haggard looks, was suspected and imprisoned; but, finally, neither age, sex, nor station afforded a safeguard against suspicion. Magistrates were condemned, and a clergyman of note executed.

Upon the trials of the suspected ones, many of them made confessions, which prove them to have firmly believed themselves under the guidance of an evil spirit. At length the delusion reached its extreme, and the people began to awaken from their dream. When the legislature met in October, remonstrances against the recent proceedings were presented. Twenty persons had suffered death, fifty-five persons had been tortured into confessions of witchcraft, and a hundred and fifty imprisoned. The spell was broken. A few more persons were convicted, but none executed. The most prominent actors during the prevalence of the delusion expressed great regret for their conduct, and Mr. Paris, the minister of Salem, in whose family the delusion began, was forced to leave that town, on account of the hostility of public opinion.

The whole weight of Queen Anne's war in the north was borne by the



Queen Anne.

New England colonies, New York being effectually screened from attack by the alliance of the Five Nations. Many towns were attacked, and the most heart-rending cruelties perpetrated by the French and Indians. The frontier was desolated, and the extension of the settlements effectually checked. During the thirty years following Queen Anne's War, few events of general interest occurred in Massachusetts. Throughout this period a violent controversy was maintained between the royal governors, Shute, Burnett and Belcher, and the representatives of the people, concerning the question whether the salary of the governor should be permanent or graduated according to the utility of the administration. A compromise was at length effected, and a particular sum was annually voted as compensation to the governor.

During King George's war, which began in 1744, and ended in 1748, the New England colonies furnished their quotas of men and money, and bore their full share of the horrors of Indian warfare. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, proved himself an able officer, and the success of the expedition against Louisbourg must be attributed partly to the excellent plan of attack formed by him. The frontier depredations of the Indians somewhat retarded the progress of New England, yet at the close of the war everything gave evidence of prosperity.

Capture of *Louisa*.



A violent territorial controversy was maintained between Massachusetts and New Hampshire during a long period. Neither party was disposed to compromise, each being confident of the justice of its extravagant assumption of boundary. After various discussions in England and surveys in America, the controversy was at length matured for a British council's decision. In 1840, the agent of New Hampshire presented a memorial to the privy council which not only fortified the plea of his constituents with the most ingenious fiction, but strove to awaken the prejudice which the British were known to entertain against Massachusetts. (1740.) This pleading was successful, New Hampshire gaining more than she asked. At this decision, the rage and mortification of the people of Massachusetts was unbounded, but they could obtain no modification of it. They sustained a similar defeat in a territorial controversy with Rhode Island, in which the latter province gained more than it claimed, though the reasons of the opposing parties were equally balanced. There could be no feeling of sympathy between the British government and the people of Massachusetts.





CHAPTER XVII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW YORK.



NEW YORK, alone, of all the North American colonies, was first settled by the Dutch. In 1608, Hendrick Hudson, a well-known navigator, obtained from the East India Company of Holland, a small vessel to prosecute his explorations of the coast of North America. In the beginning of July, he reached the great bank of Newfoundland, and continued his course along the shores of Acadia. In passing Cape Cod, his people landed at several points and held intercourse with the natives. Pursuing his

course southward, he reached the James River on the 17th of August. His object was to find a passage to the East Indies, the great end of the navigators' ambition in those days.

Finding no opening, Hudson turned northward, passed the Delaware Bay, sailed along the coast of New Jersey and reached what he thought to be the mouths of three great rivers, but which were only different channels of the same river. Boats were sent to sound the most northerly

of them, which was found to have a good depth of water. The vessel entered the stream, and its crew soon began to trade with the natives; but in some way their hostility was aroused, and one of the seamen was killed and two wounded. Hudson gave his name to the river, and explored it as far north as the present site of Albany. The Indians displayed their hostility as he descended, but gunpowder and fire-arms soon quieted them. On leaving the river, Hudson sailed for Europe and reached Dartmouth on the 7th of November, 1609.

The Dutch, considering that they had acquired a good title to the adjacent territory from Hudson's expedition, named it New Netherlands; and the reports of the country being confirmed by subsequent voyages, an association of Dutch merchants determined to establish a trading settlement within its limits, and the states-general favored the project by granting to its projectors the exclusive trade of the river.



ENCOURAGED by this act of favor, the association sent out a small number of settlers in 1614. They erected a fort on the west bank of the river, near Albany, and entrusted the government to Henry Christaens. This settlement was scarcely made, when Captain Argal, with a Virginian squadron, on his return from the conquest of the French possessions in Acadie, visited the Dutch colonists and obliged the governor to surrender his command and to stipulate alliance to England, and subordination and tribute to the government of Virginia. The states of Holland, fearing to offend a new and powerful ally, whose friendship they could not well discard, did not notice this hostile movement. But in the next year, a new governor, Jacob Elkin, was sent out with a reinforcement of settlers, and the claims of the English were defied, and the payment of tribute successfully resisted.

The colonists now erected a second fort on the southwest point of Long Island, and afterwards built two others, one on the Connecticut River, the other on the east side of Delaware Bay. They continued to enjoy tranquillity and to increase in number and importance during a long series of years.

In 1620, the States-general established the West India Company; and in pursuance of their favorite policy of colonizing by means of exclusive companies, they committed to it the administration of New Netherlands. Under the control of the company, the new settlement was both consolidated and extended. Their powers were very extensive, and the whole eastern coast of America, from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan, was included in their patent. But the English claims and settlements

forced the Dutch to be content with the country adjacent to the Hudson River.

In 1629, it was determined to organize the colony on a more considerable scale. The plan was quite aristocratic; for though lands were granted to detached settlers, the chief dependence was upon opulent individuals, who were expected to carry out parties of tenants at their own expense; and those who should transport fifty, became lords of manors, holding the absolute property of the lands thus colonized. They might even possess tracts fifteen miles long, and be furnished with negroes, if they could profitably do so. Several individuals began to found these manors. The principal Dutch settlement was on Manhattan Island, and was called New Amsterdam.



UNFORTUNATELY, as the limits of the colony were extended, the colonists became involved in disputes with the English settlers of Connecticut, and the Swedes of Delaware. Van Twiller, the first governor appointed by the West India Company, was succeeded in 1637 by William Kieft, a man of activity and ability, but of an irritable and impetuous temper. His administration

commenced with a protest against the advance of the New Haven and Connecticut settlements, and a prohibition against the trade the English were carrying on in the vicinity of the Dutch settlement on the Connecticut River. The English treated his remonstrances with contempt, and in a few years after, compelled the Dutch to evacuate the territory of Connecticut. Kieft retaliated, in 1642, by expelling some English settlers from the western part of Long Island. The Swedes and Finns who had settled in Delaware, in 1627 excited the hostility of the Dutch, and an enmity existed for several years between them. No bloodshed occurred, yet this state of harmless hatred has been derisively called a war.

But all these annoyances were small, compared to an Indian war in which the violence of Kieft involved the colonists of New Netherlands. Attacking by surprise a party which had shown some hostile intentions, he commenced a general massacre, in which nearly a hundred men perished. A two years' war followed. The Dutch, unskilled in Indian warfare, engaged the services of Captain Underhill, who had been banished from Boston. Their Indian enemies were the warlike tribes composing the Five Nations. A general battle was fought on Strickland's Plain, in which the Dutch merely succeeded in keeping the field. Their foes fled unpursued. (1646.)



Massacre of the Indians.

In 1647, Kieft was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant, a brave and prudent officer who soon effected a treaty of peace with the Indians. In 1650, Stuyvesant went to Hartford, and demanded from the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, a full surrender of the lands on Connecticut River. Several days were spent in controversy on the subject, and articles of agreement were finally signed, by which Long Island was divided between the parties; and the Dutch were permitted to retain only those lands on the Connecticut River, which they held in actual possession. Stuyvesant also conquered, without bloodshed, all the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. A few of the Swedes returned to their native country, the remainder quietly submitted to the sway of the Dutch governor.



UNWILLING to grant any political franchises to the colonists, the company nevertheless took care to have them well governed. They prohibited persecution, and studied to make the country a refuge for professors of every creed. The great body of the settlers were Protestants, who then suffered much from persecution in Europe; but such was the variety of their nation and language, that the colonial proclamations were issued in French, English and Dutch. Several attempts were made to secure a representative form of government, but Stuyvesant resisted, and, the company supporting him, triumphed.

Oliver Cromwell had projected the conquest of the New Netherlands; but had been diverted from that object to others more important. Charles II., seeking occasion for a quarrel with Holland, asserted the right of England to possess the country, and granted a charter to the Duke of York for all the lands lying between the Connecticut and the Delaware.



Governor Stuyvesant.

To make good his claim, Charles sent out an English fleet, under Sir Robert Nichols. Stuyvesant heard of its approach, and did all in his power to infuse his valiant spirit into his colonists; but either they expected a more liberal government from the English, or were too sluggish to be aroused from their peaceful pursuits; for the governor could rally to his support only a small force.



IN August, 1664, Nichols cast anchor before New Amsterdam, having landed part of his troops on Long Island. He immediately summoned the city to surrender, guaranteeing to the people their property, the rights of citizens, and their ancient laws. Stuyvesant strove, by delay and negotiation, to parry the blow; but Nichols declined all discussion.

The principal inhabitants drew up articles of capitulation conformably to the demand of the English officer, which, however, the governor refused to sign till the place was actually in the enemy's hands.



THE entire population of the province at the time of its surrender has never been accurately ascertained. The metropolis contained about 3000 inhabitants, of whom nearly one-half preferred to return to their native land, since their beloved colonial city was now to lose its Dutch aspect as well as its name. The remainder continued in the colony, and among them, the noble governor Stuyvesant, who survived a few years the fortune of his little empire, and left descendants who held high rank in the city for many years after, and who were frequently elected to the magistracy of New York in the following century. The city of New Amsterdam, as also the whole provincial territory, received the name of New York. Fort Orange, now called Albany, surrendered shortly after to the English; and in October, 1664, the government of Britain was acknowledged over the whole region, including the settlements of the Dutch and Swedes in Delaware. The next month the commissioners determined the boundary between New York and Connecticut, and disallowing the claims of the latter province to Long Island, it was annexed to the new Province. But in this arrangement, Connecticut received a much larger share of territory than it was entitled to, and a fairer adjustment of the limits was effected at a subsequent period, not without much violent dispute.



COLONEL Nichols, the first English governor of New York, administered affairs in a wise and salutary manner. He concluded a treaty with the Five Nations, established a court of assizes, composed of the governor, a council and justices of the peace, and caused the provincial code to be revised and improved. New York was incorporated as a city, with a mayor, sheriff and aldermen. Nichols was succeeded by Colonel Lovelace.

The people made much complaint, during his administration, on account of their heavy taxation, without being represented in the government. But Lovelace acted under instructions from the arbitrary Charles II., and could not, had he been willing, have granted the demands of the colonists.

War having broken out between England and Holland, in 1673, the latter sent a small squadron to destroy the commerce of the English colonies. Arriving at New York in the absence of the governor, the squadron obtained possession of the city through the treachery of Colonel Manning. But the Dutch enjoyed their conquest but a short time. In

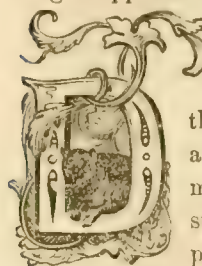


Colonel Nichols.

the spring of 1674, the news of the treaty of Westminster, by which New York was restored to the English, reached the colony.

The validity of his former charter being questioned, the Duke of York took out a second this year. Its provisions did not convey such extensive powers as that granted to Lord Baltimore, yet they were sufficient to enable the duke to carry out his arbitrary designs. Sir Edmund Andros was the first governor under the new charter, and thus began a long career, which stamped him as the willing instrument of a despotic and tyrannical government. The seeds of popular discontent were freely sown by his measures. He involved himself in disputes with the magistrates of Albany, and threw one of them named Leisler into prison for refusing to comply with his exorbitant demands. Towards the close of 1677, Andros went to England to obtain instructions from the Duke of York, concerning the government of the colony. He returned to the

colony, but the discontent increasing, he was recalled, and Colonel Thomas Dongan appointed governor.



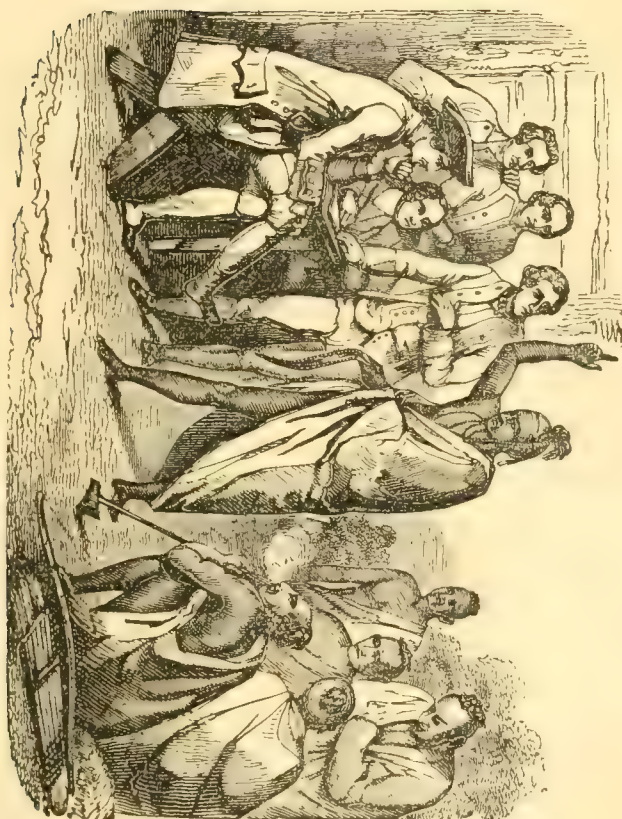
ONGAN arrived in 1683, and, by order of the Duke of York, convened a representative assembly in September of the same year. On the 9th of November, the assembly, with the approval of the governor, adopted a "Charter of Liberties," which gave to the people many important privileges. The charter placed the supreme legislative power in the governor, council and people, met in general assembly, and extended the right of suffrage to every freeholder and freeman; no freeman was to be condemned, except by a jury of twelve of his peers, no taxes assessed without the consent of the assembly, and no persecution on account of religious opinion allowed.

Dongan gave much attention to Indian affairs, and entered into a treaty with the powerful Indian confederacy, known as the Five Nations. The great majority of the people included in this confederacy remained the firm friends of the English during a long series of years, and assisted them in some of their expeditions against the French. Their hatred of the French began at the time of the first settlement of the latter in Canada, and continued till they were expelled from it.

In the winter of 1665, a party of French, sent against the Five Nations by Courcelles, the governor of Canada, lost their way amidst wastes of snow, and after much suffering, arrived at Schenectady, when Corlaer, a humane Dutchman, supplied their wants, and, by stratagem, saved them from the vengeance of the Indians. Courcelles expressed his gratitude to the noble Dutchman, and the red men never resented the artifice he had employed to effect his generous purpose.



THE French Jesuit missionaries now began to labor among the Indians in the northern and western part of New York. They not only gave them religious instruction, but sought to attach them to the French interest. Colonel Dongan became aware of this new influence; and to prevent its evil consequences, he and Lord Effingham, governor of Virginia, concluded a definitive treaty of peace with the Five Nations. This treaty included all the English settlements, and secured them from molestation. (1684.) In the same year, De la Barre, the governor of Canada, invaded the country of the Five Nations, but famine and disease compelled him to return. His successor, De Nouille, led a larger army into their territory, but was defeated, with a heavy loss.



Treaty with the Five Nations.

In February, 1685, the Duke of York became king of England, under the title of James II. The colonists expected much from him, and hailed with joy his accession to the throne. But they were doomed to be disappointed. James determined to carry out the most arbitrary policy at home and abroad. Orders were sent to the governor to call no more assemblies. In 1688, Sir Edmund Andros was appointed governor of New York and New England. This union was peculiarly odious to the people of New York, in whose eyes the New England colonists were objects of aversion, as being too strict and bigoted in their religious views. Andros committed the government of New York to Colonel Nicholson, as his deputy.



HE discontent of the people of New York greatly increased under Nicholson's rule; and the news of the accession of William and Mary and the insurrection in Boston, served to heighten it. Upon the refusal of Nicholson to proclaim the new sovereigns, the multitude rose in arms, under the lead of Jacob Leisler, a merchant of an ardent and daring character, already distinguished for his resistance to tyrannical measures. At the head of about 600 men, Leisler took possession of the fort, and announced his determination to maintain it until the decision of the sovereigns should be known. Nicholson fled to England; and the insurgents, being left in full possession of power, called an assembly of the people. A committee of safety was appointed, having Leisler at their head.

In the meantime, William, before being apprised of these proceedings, sent orders to Nicholson to continue to administer affairs. But these orders did not arrive until Nicholson had left the province; and Leisler, finding them addressed to the absent officer, "or such as for the time execute the law," considered them as applying to himself, and assumed the title and duties of governor. He held two assemblies, and concluded a treaty with New England, agreeing to raise 900 men for their mutual defence. But though supported by a majority, there was a powerful party which entirely disowned his authority, and were only subdued by violent measures.

On the 18th of February, 1690, a party of French and Indians, who had been sent against the frontier settlements of New York by Count de Frontignac, after much suffering, reached the village of Schenectady. It was night, no guard was kept, and the inhabitants were resting in fancied

security. The village was burned, sixty persons killed, and thirty taken into captivity. After this event, the northern part of the province yielded to the sway of Leisler.

The northern colonies, roused by the cruelties of the French and Indians, at the beginning of King William's War, resolved to attack the enemy in turn. New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, united for the purpose of reducing Quebec and Montreal. The expedition, however, effected nothing except the reduction of Port Royal.

In February, 1699, Henry Sloughter was appointed governor by King William. The intelligence of this appointment was brought by Captain Richard Ingoldsby, who, without producing any order from the king, demanded the surrender of the fort. Leisler refused to comply, but declared his readiness to yield his authority to Sloughter, upon his arrival. Sloughter himself reached the province on the 29th of March. But Leisler still refused to surrender the fort, asserting that the commission of Sloughter was defective. A large party was now organized against the rebel governor, and his adherents gradually diminished in numbers. At length, he tendered his submission. The new governor refused it, seized his person, and issued a special commission to try him. He and his associates were condemned to suffer death for treason, and the sentence was actually executed upon Leisler, and Milbourne, his son-in-law and principal adviser. The sentence was disproportionate to the offence, and was so regarded in England; for the attainder was reversed, and the estates of Leisler restored to his family.



IN June, Governor Sloughter met a council of the Five Nations at Albany, and renewed the treaty of friendship and alliance formerly concluded. To test their fidelity, Major Schuyler with about 300 Indians set out on an expedition against Montreal. No decisive action took place, but the Indians' spirit was aroused, and the French in Canada suffered terribly from their attacks. These were sometimes revenged by the ability of Count de Frontignac; but generally, the Indians were superior.

Sloughter ended a short and turbulent administration, by his death on the 2d of August. He was succeeded by Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, a man of fierce passions, and but narrow capacity. He committed the Indian affairs to the management of Major Schuyler, who succeeded in securing the constant friendship of the red men, and thus placed a barrier between the French of Canada, and the frontier settlements of New York. Fletcher was ordered to take command of the militia of Connecticut, and he proceeded to Hartford to execute his commission; but the people



Governor Sloughter's Treaty with the Indians.

resisted, and the firmness of Captain Wadsworth forced him to return without effecting his object.

The peace of Ryswick relieved the colonists from the apprehension of attack, but left the Five Nations exposed to the vengeance of the French. In 1698, the Earl of Bellemont became governor of New York, and in the following year, New Hampshire and Massachusetts were brought under his efficient rule. At this period, piracy had increased to a fearful extent, infecting every sea, from America to China. Bellemont was instructed to strive to put an end to this evil on the American coast. For this purpose, he fitted out a vessel, and gave the command of it to Captain William Kidd. Kidd, however, turned pirate himself, and became the terror of the seas. But at length appearing in Boston, he was arrested, sent to England, and executed. Bellemont was charged with abetting Kidd; but after an examination in England, he was acquitted.

Bellemont died in 1701, and was succeeded by Lord Cornbury, a degenerate descendant of the Earl of Clarendon. Entirely opposite to his predecessor, he showed an embittered enmity to the popular party, accom-

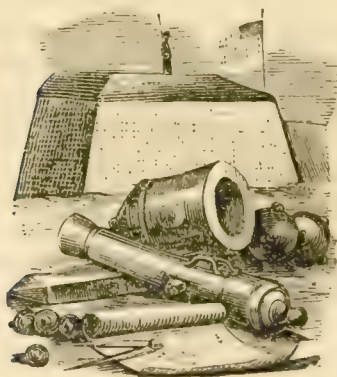
panied by a bigoted attachment to episcopacy, and hatred of all other forms of religion. He seconded also the attempts made by Dudley to subvert the charter of Connecticut. Indulging in extravagant habits, he squandered large sums of the public money, and contracted debts, the payment of which his official situation enabled him to evade. He thus rendered himself odious and contemptible to all parties, who united in a firm remonstrance to Queen Anne, and induced her to revoke his commission. No longer protected by the privileges of office, he was thrown into prison, and obtained liberation only when the death of his father raised him to the peerage.

Lord Lovelace succeeded, who, on his arrival, made a demand, destined to cause much dissension, for a permanent salary to the governor. Yet his general deportment was popular and satisfactory; but he lived only a few months. The reins were then held for a short time by Ingoldsby, who also made himself very acceptable; and in 1710, the office was filled by Sir Robert Hunter, a man of wit and talent, by which he had raised himself from a low rank in society. He went out, however, strongly imbued with the monarchical principle, and determined to resist the claims of the assembly. In advancing the demand for a fixed income, he made use of very offensive expressions, insinuating doubts of their right to appropriate the public money, and suspicions that it was the government, not the governor, whom they disliked. In the council also, the doctrine was advanced, that the assembly existed only "by the mere grace of the crown." The latter body strenuously vindicated their rights, and refused to grant more than a temporary provision. They remonstrated strongly also against the establishment of a court of chancery, suspected to be with a view of increasing Hunter's emoluments. On this ground there seemed great hazard of a collision; but Hunter, being a sensible man, and seeing their very strong determination, deemed it expedient to yield; and, during his latter years, he studied with success to maintain harmony among the different branches of the administration.

He was succeeded by Burnet, a son of the celebrated bishop and historian, and an accomplished and amiable man. He appears to have zealously studied the welfare of the colony; he became very generally popular; and was particularly successful in gaining over the Indian tribes. His attempt, however, to maintain the obnoxious court of chancery, involved him in violent disputes with the assembly. On the advice of a few patriotic but indiscreet individuals, he adopted the injurious measure of prohibiting all commercial intercourse between New York and Canada. The pretext was, that the French merchants bought up the furs brought to Albany and other markets in the interior. This, if true, must have

arisen from the fact that they dealt on more liberal terms than the English; yet the latter were so far from demanding this monopoly, that they exclaimed against it as ruinous to them, making such loud complaints, that in 1720 Burnet was removed, though compensated with the government of Massachusetts.

After a short interval, the direction of affairs was assumed in 1732 by Colonel Cosby, a man of such a violent character as created general aversion to him. Strong interest was excited by the trial of Zenger, editor of a journal which had attacked his administration; but through the exertions of Hamilton, an eminent advocate, he was triumphantly acquitted. Cosby died in 1736, and was followed by Clarke, who, having given scarcely more satisfaction, yielded the place in 1741 to Clinton, who ruled upwards of ten years with considerable success and popularity. His successor, Sir Danvers Osborne, suffered severely by the discovery, in 1754, of very arbitrary instructions transmitted to him from home. A great ferment was thus kindled, but gradually subsided; and we shall find New York by no means forward in the cause of independence.





CHAPTER XVIII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW JERSEY.



NEW JERSEY was included in the Dutch province of New Netherlands. In 1623, Fort Nassau was built upon the east bank of the Delaware, but was soon after deserted. Previous to this, a few settlers had established themselves at Bergen, in the vicinity of New York.

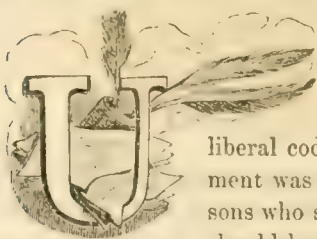
But the colonization of the province did not commence in earnest until after the English conquest of the New Netherlands,

in 1664. The charter granted by Charles II. to his brother, the Duke of York, included the territory of New Jersey, as well as that of New York. Three months after the date of his own charter, the Duke of York conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and their heirs and assigns, that tract of land adjacent to New England, westward of Long Island, and bounded on the east, south and west, by the river Hudson, the sea and the Delaware; on the north by the forty-first degree



Charles II. granting the Charter to the Duke of York.

and fortieth minute of latitude. In compliment to Sir George Carteret, then governor of the Isle of Jersey, the province was called New Jersey.



UPON assuming the charge of the province, the first care of the proprietaries was to invite settlers to their country; and as an attraction, they hastened to frame a

liberal code of laws for its government. An instrument was published, which gave assurance to all persons who should settle in New Jersey that the province should be ruled only by laws enacted by an assembly

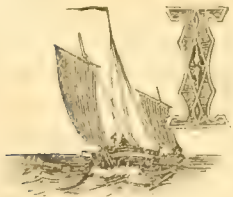
in which the people were represented, and to which the power of making peace or war, and many other important privileges, were confided. No taxes were to be imposed without the consent of the assembly, and the freest enjoyment of religious opinion was secured. The administration of the executive power was reserved to the proprietaries. Allotments of land were offered to settlers, proportionate to the time of their arrival in the province, and the number of their servants or slaves; and for this they were required to pay a quit-rent of an half-penny per acre, and to keep one male for every hundred acres in their possession. Additions were afterwards made to this code, and it was regarded by the people of New Jersey as their great charter.

When Colonel Nichols assumed the government of New York, in 1664, he granted licenses to various persons to purchase lands from the Indians of New Jersey, not being aware of the grant to Berkeley and Carteret.



Charles II.

Emigrants proceeded from Long Island and founded Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, and Piscataway. Nichols was soon informed of the rights of the proprietaries, and then began disputes between the settlers and Berkeley and Carteret, which disturbed the colony for more than half a century.



IN November, 1665, Nichols surrendered the government of New Jersey to Philip Carteret, who arrived from England, with thirty settlers, and established himself at Elizabethtown. Here he ruled in peace over the colony, which was gradually replenished with people from New York and New England.

The Indians in the vicinity were conciliated, and their lands purchased at a reasonable rate. The soil was fertile, and amply repaid agricultural labor, and the proprietaries, in the hope of

securing a rich reward for their exertions, not only freely circulated reports of the attractions of the country, but, from time to time, despatched vessels laden with stores and settlers from England, to reinforce and supply the wants of the people.

In March, 1670, the first demands for quit-rents was made. This excited discontent and resistance. Many of the colonists set up titles which they asserted they had obtained from Colonel Nichols, or purchased from the Indians. For two years, the governor maintained an ineffectual controversy with the inhabitants, and was then forced to return to England, by a popular insurrection. His office was given by the people to a natural son of Sir George Carteret, who had aided their cause. In 1673, New York again fell under the rule of the Dutch, and New Jersey was united to the New Netherlands. But the province was restored to Great Britain in 1674.



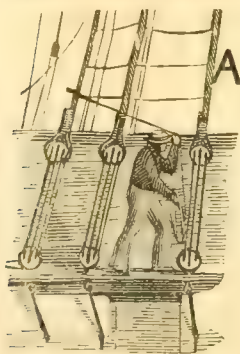
THE Duke of York, deeming the grant of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret annulled by the Dutch conquest, appointed Sir Edmund Andros to rule the province. But he soon consented to restore the country to the former proprietaries, and, in January, 1675, Philip Carteret resumed the office of governor. The inhabitants having experienced the rigorous rule of Andros, willingly received Carteret; and as he postponed the payments of the quit-rents and published a new set of *concessions*, confirming their privileges, peace was restored to the colony.

The only source of disquiet that occurred for several years, arose from the attempts of Andros to enforce the arbitrary pretensions of the Duke of York. He put an end to the commerce of New Jersey nearly as soon as it began, and even arrested Governor Carteret, and conveyed him a prisoner, to New York. Complaints to the Duke procured his release, but no abatement of the tyranny of Andros.

In 1676, the province was divided into East and West Jersey. Lord Berkeley had become satisfied that he could expect but little, if any, profit from his proprietorship, and therefore disposed of his share to two English Quakers, named Fenwick and Byllynge. By these gentlemen, William Penn was appointed to administer the affairs of their territory. The first care of Penn was to effect a partition of the province. This was accomplished without difficulty, the eastern part being assigned to Carteret, and the western to the assignees of Byllynge, Penn, and two other Quakers. The western proprietors then gave the settlers a free

constitution, similar to that given by Berkeley and Carteret, granting all the important civil and religious rights which are necessary to make a people happy. In 1677, four hundred Quakers arrived and settled in West Jersey. These settlers were called upon by Andros to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Duke of York, and to submit to taxation; they refused, and a controversy ensued, which was referred to the arbitration of Sir William Jones. That distinguished jurist decided in favor of the colonists, and the Duke soon after relinquished all claims to the territory and government of both East and West Jersey.

In 1681, the governor of West Jersey convoked the first representative assembly, which enacted many laws for the protection and security of personal and proprietary rights; the most remarkable law was one which provided that in all criminal cases, except treason, murder and theft, the person injured should have power to pardon the offender.



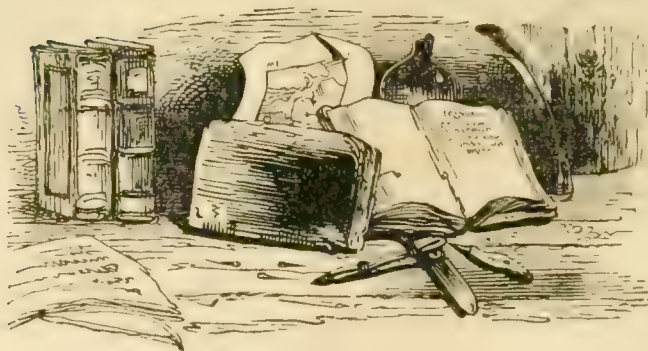
AFTER the death of Sir George Carteret, his estates were offered for sale; and in 1682, William Penn and eleven other Quakers purchased East Jersey, over which Robert Barclay, well known for his works in defence of the Quakers, was appointed governor for life. During his administration, the colony received a large accession of emigrants, principally from Scotland. The new-comers were generally wealthy, but brought with them a considerable number of poor laborers, who were established on lands for a term of years.

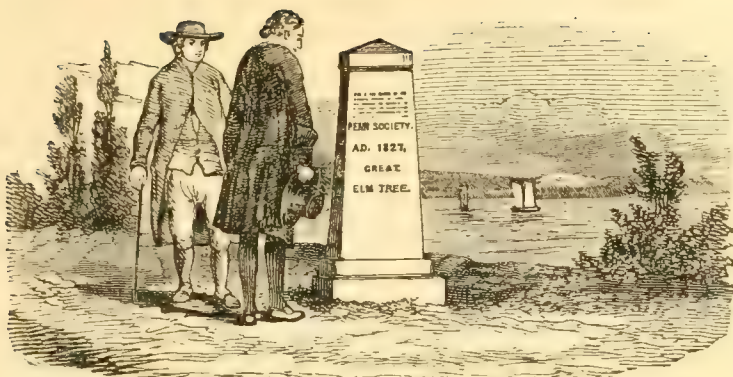
James II. had now ascended the English throne, and carrying out his long-cherished schemes of despotism, he demanded, in 1688, the surrender of the charters of East and West Jersey, and appointed Andros governor of New York, New Jersey and New England. Barclay died in 1690, and thence till 1692 no regular government existed in New Jersey.

In 1692, new proprietary governors were appointed; but their authority was disputed; and then followed a series of intrigues and disputes which kept the colony in an unsettled state for several years. An attempt of New York to establish her authority in New Jersey was successfully resisted. At length the proprietaries became satisfied that their conflicting claims kept the colonists in constant trouble, and prevented them from receiving any profit from the country, and concluded to surrender their rights to the crown. In 1702, New Jersey became a royal province and was united to New York, under the government of Lord Cornbury.

This nobleman brought with him a new constitution for New Jersey. The local government was vested in a governor and twelve councillors,

nominated by the crown, and of a house of assembly consisting of twenty-four members, to be elected by the people, none to be capable of voting unless possessed of one hundred acres of land, or of property to the value of £50. Liberty of conscience was assured to all men except papists; but the printing-press was entirely excluded from the province. The administration of Lord Cornbury was turbulent and oppressive. He was engaged in continual squabbles with the assembly, and his tyranny produced constant discontent and complaint. But the effect of this oppressive administration was, in the end, beneficial to the colony; for it awakened a love of freedom among the people which animated them when the great struggle for independence commenced. In 1728, the assembly petitioned the king to separate the province from New York; but this was not effected until 1738, when Lewis Morris was appointed governor over the separate province. After this period, New Jersey continued tranquil till the Revolution.





Monument erected on the Ground where Penn's Treaty was made with the Indians.

CHAPTER XIX.

COLONIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.



THE founder of Pennsylvania was the champion of the Quakers, and the friend of civil and religious liberty, William Penn. He was the son of an English admiral, who, under the protectorate of Cromwell, distinguished himself by the conquest of Jamaica, but afterwards stood high in the favor

of Charles II. His son was early sent to Oxford University; but having espoused the cause of the new sect of Quakers, he was expelled from that institution. This was a grievous disappointment for his father, who entertained great hopes of his advancement through court favor. Young Penn was sent to France, where he appears to have lost his religious fervor. But having gone to Ireland soon after his return, a Quaker preacher again converted him, and he embraced the Quaker doctrines with more zeal than ever, turning preacher himself and refusing to take his hat off before the king.

His father disowned him, but seeing his patience and perseverance under the lash of persecution, he soon became reconciled to him. Although

Penn was enriched by the death of his father, he continued his religious labors, and, with the aid of Robert Barclay, and other able men, succeeded in organizing the Society of Friends. His attention was directed to colonization, by his being appointed arbiter of the dispute between Fenwick and Byllinge the proprietors of West Jersey; and learning that the region between the possessions of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore was unoccupied, he petitioned Charles II. for a grant of the territory. In consideration "of the good purposes of the father and the good purposes of the son," the king granted a charter to Penn, which constituted him and his heirs, true and absolute proprietaries, saving the sovereignty of the king, of the territory lying west of the Delaware River, and between the provinces of New York and Maryland, to be called Pennsylvania. This charter gave Penn, his heirs, and their deputies, power to make laws, with the advice and consent of the freemen of the province, to erect courts of justice for the execution of those laws, provided that they should not be repugnant to the laws of England, and to divide the province into towns, hundreds, and counties. Care was taken that the complete ascendancy of Great Britain should be preserved.



PENN now published an account of the soil and resources of his province, with the object of attracting settlers. He also stated the conditions on which he would deal with purchasers of land. This was to be sold to planters at the rate of forty shillings for a hundred acres, and a perpetual quit-rent of a shilling. The reservation of a quit-rent besides the price paid for the land afterwards proved a fertile source of discord in the colony. Penn's influence soon procured a large number of settlers, chiefly of the Quaker persuasion, and a company of merchants purchased 20,000 acres of the land at the rate of £20 per thousand acres.

In May 1681, he sent Colonel Markham, his relative, with a few associates, to take possession of the province and conciliate the Indians. In the autumn, three ships, with a large number of emigrants, arrived, and Markham was appointed deputy-governor. The emigrants did not suffer much from the severity of the climate, and their wants were supplied by the settlements of Delaware and West Jersey.

At the time of the arrival of the first Pennsylvania settlers, the Dutch and Swedes had several settlements along the lower part of the Delaware River. As early as 1638, the Swedes had built a fort on the west shore

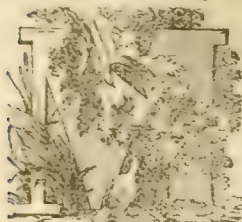


William Penn.

near the head of the bay, which they called Christina, in honor of their queen. John Printz was the first governor of the little colony, which was reinforced in 1642. He built another fort on Tinnicum Island below the Schuylkill River. The Dutch remonstrated against the Swedes settling upon what they considered a part of New Netherlands, but without effect. To secure a portion of the territory they built a fort at Newcastle, in 1651. This was surprised and captured by Risingh, the successor of Printz. All the Swedish settlements were conquered in 1655, by Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New Netherlands; and the country continued in the possession of the Dutch until 1664, when the English conquered the New Netherlands.

In April, 1682, Penn completed and published "The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania," a composition of much thought and labor, which is sufficient evidence of the powerful nature of his mind. The government of the province was vested in the proprietary, or his deputy, and the freemen; formed into two separate bodies, a pro-

vincial council and a general assembly. The council was to exercise an executive as well as legislative power. A code of forty laws was appended to the frame of government, in all of which the good sense and liberal spirit of Penn were evident. These necessary measures being completed, the proprietary obtained from the Duke of York a release of all claim upon the territory of Pennsylvania, and at the same time a grant of the Delaware territory.



MEANWHILE, the number of inhabitants increased with almost unexampled rapidity, Penn, himself, arrived on the banks of the Delaware in October, 1682. He found to his satisfaction, about 3000 persons, chiefly Swedes and Dutch, in the Delaware territory, and all the settlements giving evidences of progress and prosperity. In the course of the year 1682, about two thousand persons, mostly Quakers, arrived in the colony. The winter which followed their arrival was very severe, and the hospitality of the Swedes could not save the new-comers from its rigors. Many of them were forced to pass the winter in caves, which they dug for themselves on the banks of the river. In the following year, the number was augmented by successive arrivals. Among the emigrants were many German Quakers, who had been converted by Penn and his associates.

Having distributed his territory into six counties, the proprietary summoned the first general assembly at Chester, in December, 1682. Its session was closed in three days. An act was passed uniting Delaware and Pennsylvania, and naturalizing the Dutch and Swedes, which proved very acceptable to that portion of the colonists.



IN the beginning of 1683, Penn arranged a meeting with the chiefs of the neighboring Indians, in order to purchase the land from them as the rightful owners, and thus secure the colony from the hostility of the red men. At the appointed time, the Indian sachems and their warriors assembled at Shackamaxon, now called Kensington. To this place, William Penn at the head of an unarmed train of his religious friends, bearing various articles of merchandise, proceeded; and, after the articles were spread upon the ground, Penn, distinguished only by a sash of blue silk, and holding in his hand a roll of parchment, stationed himself under an elm tree, and addressed the red men. He assured them of his peaceful intentions, and explained to them the terms of the purchase; and while



Penn's Treaty with the Indians.

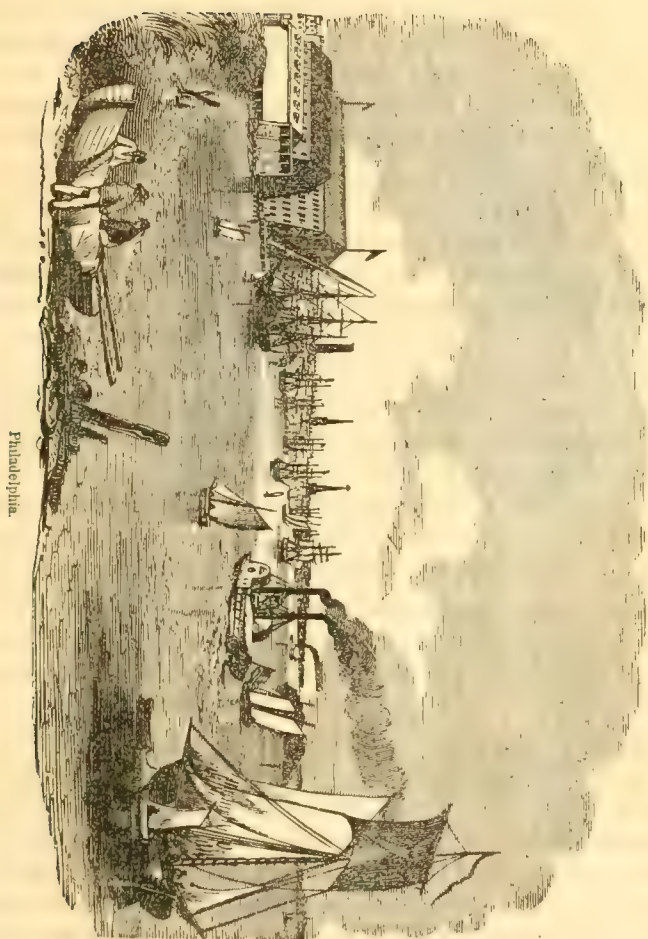
he delivered to the sachems the stipulated price, he farther desired them to accept the merchandise spread before them. The land was to be considered common to the two races, and all disputes were to be settled by arbitration. The parchment was delivered to the Indians, and they promised to preserve it as long as possible. Thus ended a conference in which the Indians were treated as men and brethren by the whites, and were thus encouraged to act as honorable men in keeping the faith there plighted. How much cruelty and desolation might have been avoided, had all the colonists acted in the same just and humane manner!

Shortly after his arrival in the province, Penn had selected a commodious and healthy situation between the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, for the building of the metropolis of Pennsylvania. Having planned the city, with the streets crossing each other at right-angles, he gave it the name of Philadelphia, hoping it would be a city of brotherly love. Its progress was rapid, and in 1684, it contained 2500 inhabitants. The remainder of the time spent in the colony by the proprietor on his first visit was occupied with his controversy with Lord Baltimore concerning the boundary of the province, and in extending his treaties with the Indian tribes. Having appointed Thomas Lloyd president of the provincial council, and Markham, secretary, he committed his administrative functions to that body, and returned to England.



AMES II. was now king of Great Britain, and Penn stood high in his esteem. The controversy with Lord Baltimore was decided in favor of the proprietary of Pennsylvania, and the new province was secured from the tyrannical rule which James had established in the northern colonies.

Meanwhile, the population of Pennsylvania rapidly increased. About 1000 emigrants arrived in the course of the year 1685. But discord now intruded itself in the colony, and embittered the remainder of Penn's connection with it. Moore, the chief justice, and Robinson, the clerk of the provincial court, had rendered themselves obnoxious to the leading members of the Quaker sect. The first was impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and for refusing to answer the charge was suspended from his functions by the council. The other was not only committed to custody, but voted a public enemy. Penn considered the charges as either frivolous or unfounded, and wrote to the prosecutors to be less violent in their proceedings. A correspondence was thus begun, which gradually increased in violence, and opened a breach between the



proprietary and the colonists which subsequent events only served to widen. The demand for the quit-rents was met with murmurs, and the council refused to enforce their collection.



ROVOKED at this ingratitude, Penn withdrew all executive power from the council, and committed it to the care of five commissioners, at the head of whom was Thomas Lloyd. (December, 1686.) But the course pursued by the commissioners was not satisfactory to the proprietary, and he saw that some farther change was necessary in his provincial administration. He appointed Captain John Blackwell deputy-governor, and dismissed the commissioners. This officer excited a feeling of disgust and indignation among the people by arbitrary and illegal proceedings. He soon found that firmness was a virtue not inconsistent with the meekness of the Quaker character. The assembly remonstrated against his proceedings, and declared the proprietary had no right to abolish any law without the consent of the freemen or the king. After a struggle, Blackwell was forced to leave the province; and the council, with Lloyd at its head, once more assumed the executive authority.

Penn's absence from the colony was the real source of all its trouble. He continued attached to James II. even after the revolution had placed William and Mary on the British throne, and thus caused himself to be imprisoned in England. To add to his troubles, intelligence reached him that disputes had sprung up between the two communities of Delaware and Pennsylvania, which he had labored zealously to unite. The Pennsylvanians chose Lloyd to fill the office of deputy-governor, and the Delawareans refused to submit to his authority. Anxious for peace, Penn granted separate commissioners for the executive government of the two communities, to Lloyd and Markham. (1691.)

In the following year, a violent dissension occurred among the Quakers of Pennsylvania. The originator of it was George Keith, distinguished for his love of controversy and his eminent ability, but also for restless ambition. He censured those of the Quakers who upheld negro slavery, and two parties were at once formed in the colony. After a long and obstinate struggle, the party opposed to Keith triumphed, and he was tried for defamation of a magistrate, and condemned to pay a fine of five pounds. He soon after went to England, and became a zealous member of the established church.

In 1693, King William issued a commission, depriving Penn of all authority in America, and vesting the government of his territories in Colonel Fletcher, the governor of New York. He appointed Lloyd and

Markham successively, as his deputies. The assembly resolved to maintain the charter and laws of the province as they existed before the appointment of Fletcher, and refused to furnish a number of armed men for the defence of the frontiers of New York.

Penn was restored his proprietary rights and regained the favor of the great body of his sect, in 1694. He appointed Markham deputy-governor of the united communities of Pennsylvania and Delaware. In 1696, the assembly passed an act, which formed the third *frame* or charter of the Pennsylvania constitution. The principal object obtained by this act was the increase of the legislative power of the representative assembly. In spite of their religious persuasions, the assembly then voted a small sum for sustaining the colonial troops, and protecting the Indian allies of the people of New York.



On October, 1699, Penn, accompanied by his family, arrived in Pennsylvania, and professed his intention of spending the remainder of his life there. He was received as the father of the settlement should have been—joyfully and hopefully. His great object now seemed to be to attain the consent of the people to a constitution, which, granting them every reasonable franchise,

might preserve to himself the ordinary powers of an executive head. After much difficulty and opposition, he succeeded in carrying his point, and when the original frame was surrendered, a new one was formed, based on the freest principles of representative government. Colonel Andrew Hamilton was appointed deputy-governor, and Penn appointed the members of an executive council of states. The proprietary was disappointed in the failure of three bills which he proposed to the assembly, concerning negro slaves; but his efforts secured better treatment for that portion of the community. The jealousy between the people of Delaware and Pennsylvania was somewhat allayed by the new frame of government.



Penn now determined to return to England. Before starting, he incorporated the city of Philadelphia. The charter was very illiberal in character, the people having no voice in the selection of the municipal officers. The reason of Penn's return to England was that a bill had been introduced into parliament, abolishing the proprietary government. He was much mortified to learn that a considerable number of the colonists who were not Quakers, supported

the measure. But on reaching England, he was gratified by parliament renouncing the project.

In 1703, Evans succeeded Hamilton as deputy-governor. Being of a temperament and of principles antagonist to those of the Quakers, he proved very obnoxious to the great body of the people. He erected forts, and ridiculed the peaceful dispositions of the Quakers. He continued in office until 1709, when Penn became aware of his misgovernment, and appointed Charles Gookin, an Irish gentleman, to fill his place. This selection was expected to restore peace to the colony, but it did not. He was accused of arbitrary measures, and of favoring the non-quaker part of the population.



PENN died in October, 1710. Before his death, he addressed a letter to the assembly of the province, earnestly entreating the people to adopt a more peaceful bearing towards each other, and reproaching them with ingratitude to himself. The letter produced an instantaneous and powerful reaction in favor of the aged proprietary. But it is probable it came too late for

him to hear and be gladdened by it. A series of apoplectic shocks terminated his active life. Men will not agree in their estimate of the character of William Penn. By some writers, he is asserted to have displayed on several occasions, a selfish and dissembling spirit. It is but just to remark that these assertions are not well supported by evidence. It will be agreed, however, that he was a man of an acute and powerful mind, active, patient, and persevering, zealous for the principles which he believed to be correct, and, withal, tolerant to those who did not agree with him.

In 1716, Gookin was succeeded by Sir William Keith, who, during the illness of the founder, was named by the king. This governor enjoyed a much greater degree of favor than any of his predecessors, though he is accused of purchasing it by too entire an acquiescence in the demands of the assembly, and allowing almost the whole power to pass into their hands. Such, at least, was the opinion of the proprietaries, who considered him also as neglecting their interest, and at the end of nine years removed him. He then attempted to raise a factious opposition, but was obliged to leave the colony. After a peaceable administration of several years by Major Gordon, Thomas and afterwards John Penn, sons of the late owner, went out in 1732 and 1734. They were received with the most cordial welcome, though the former did not altogether preserve his popularity.

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the character of the

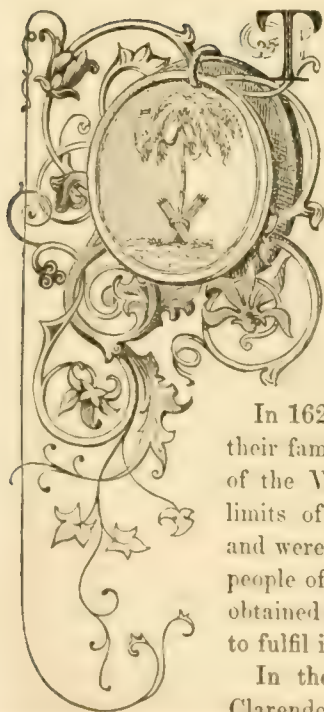
population underwent a gradual change. From the first a large proportion had been drawn from Germany, and Pennsylvania became the favorite resort of those who, by poverty and persecution, were driven from that country. A considerable number, who felt uneasy in the neighboring states, joined their countrymen. The prevailing sect among this people were the branch of the Anabaptists called Mennonites, who, to a great extent, harmonized with the Quakers, both in their character and religious views. In 1755, a writer estimates that, of the entire population of 220,000, nearly a half were Germans, and two-fifths of the remainder disciples of Barclay.





CHAPTER XX.

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.



THE colonization of Carolina was another result of persecution for the sake of religious opinion. The settlement made by the French Huguenots has already been mentioned. Its destruction by the Spaniards left the country again open to adventurers. The Spaniards guarded the coast as long as they could with safety to themselves. Raleigh's original establishment was within the territory of North Carolina. Its fate we have mentioned in the history of the colonization of Virginia.

In 1622, a considerable number of planters, with their families, who suffered from the intolerant policy of the Virginia government, took refuge within the limits of Carolina. They endured great hardships, and were only saved by the generous conduct of the people of Massachusetts. In 1630, Sir Robert Heath obtained a patent for the country, but being unable to fulfil its conditions, he was forced to surrender it.

In the year 1663, Charles II. granted to Lord Clarendon and others, all that tract of country, lying between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. The patented proprietors

of these extensive regions, published proposals for planting their domains. They assured all who would settle in Carolina, of the most perfect freedom in religion; that they should be governed by a free assembly; and that every freeman, during the term of five years, should be allowed a hundred acres of land for himself, and fifty for every servant; paying only an acknowledgment of a half-penny per acre. The settlement of the English colonies was accidentally favorable to the rights of man. While prerogative was urged in England, and the people there were abridged of many of their civil and religious rights, the proprietors of colonies established free constitutions, to allure settlers. The seeds of liberty were thus, from a principle of avarice, planted in the soil of Carolina, and grew up, producing fruit worthy of a nobler origin.



THE proprietors by virtue of their patent claimed all the lands of Carolina, and also jurisdiction over all who had settled on them. The settlers, in Albemarle, were put under the general superintendence of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia. He repaired to the country, confirmed the settlers in their lands, on the condition published by the proprietors, appointed civil officers, authorized the calling

of a general assembly, and appointed Mr. Drummond their governor.

The inhabitants of Albemarle were not well pleased with the new order of things. They petitioned that they might be allowed to hold their lands, on the same terms as lands were held in Virginia. This petition was not immediately granted, and the settlers revolted from the government of the proprietors, for nearly two years: but they returned to their duty, on receiving assurances that their petition was granted, and that Samuel Stephens, who, in 1677, had been appointed governor, was instructed to grant the lands in Albemarle, on the same terms as lands were usually granted in Virginia. A constitution was at the same time fixed, for the government of the infant colony. A general assembly was to be constituted, which was to consist of the governor, twelve councillors, and twelve delegates, annually chosen by the freeholders. The governor was to be appointed by the proprietors. Half the council was to be chosen by the governor, and half by the assembly. No taxes were to be imposed, without the consent of the assembly.

Whilst these events were taking place, respecting the settlement in Albemarle, the settlers about Cape Fear were formed into a distinct county, by the name of Clarendon. John Yeamans, a respectable planter, from Barbadoes, was created a baronet, and appointed commander-in-

chief of this more recent establishment. The country, now called North Carolina, was in fact formed into two distinct colonies, Albemarle and Clarendon, with a governor to each; but this subdivision was of short duration. In 1669, the proprietors turned their chief attention to a part of their patent, more to the southward than either; and, in 1670, commenced settlements at Beaufort, and, in the year following, on the banks of the Ashley. These eventuated in the establishment of a separate colony, to which the distinguishing epithet of "South" was added. Sir John Yeamans was translated to the government of this southern establishment. Clarendon and Albemarle were consolidated, and formed the germ of the present State of North Carolina.



IN 1665, the proprietors, still in high favor with Charles, obtained a new patent with much larger privileges. Their territory was now, without regard to Spanish claims, extended to the Pacific, while they were empowered to create titles and orders of nobility. This appears to have been preparatory to a new constitution for the colony. It was undertaken by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who employed upon it Locke, the illustrious philosopher.

This constitution never had any practical existence, and for the plain reason, that it was totally unfit for the country and people for which it was framed. A series of temporary laws were established. But the people formed a simple code better adapted to their situation than the magnificent scheme of Locke, and soon gave evidence of their love of self-government.

Miller, who acted as administrator and collector of the revenue, not giving the people satisfaction, they rose in a body, imprisoned him and most of the council, seized the public funds, appointed magistrates and judges, called a parliament, and, in short, took all the authority into their own hands. Culpepper, their leader, went to England to plead their cause; but he was arrested and tried for treason. Shaftesbury, by his eloquence and popular influence, secured his acquittal, pleading that there had been no regular government in Albemarle, so that these disorders could only be considered as contests among the several planters.

The proprietors now sent out Seth Sothel, one of their number, to assume the office of governor. He arrived in the colony in 1683. His principal object seemed to be to advance his own fortune, without regard to the interests of the proprietors or the colonists. After various arbitrary measures tending to excite discontent, he was deposed and tried by the

assembly, which sentenced him to banishment from the colony for one year, and declared him incapable of ever holding the office of governor. The proprietors were astonished at this display of spirit on the part of the colonists, yet sanctioned the proceedings and appointed Philip Ludwell, governor.

In the meantime, the southern colony received especial attention from the proprietors. In 1670, they sent out William Sayle, who was appointed governor, and a large number of settlers. Sayle died soon after, and was succeeded by Sir John Yeamans, who had been a Barbadoes planter. He did not give satisfaction to the colonists, and the proprietors now appointed West to succeed him. During his administration which lasted eight years, the colony flourished and he continued popular, which shows that the best course for the proprietors would have been to appoint governors acquainted with the wants of the new country.



A CONSTANT stream of emigrants flowed into the colony. A number of Dutch in New York, dissatisfied with the transfer of that province to the British rule, removed to the new settlement, and some of their countrymen from Europe were induced to follow. The persecution of the Protestants by Louis XIV. drove out a large body of respectable persons, and other accessions were received from Ireland and Scotland. This influx of settlers led to the foundation of Charleston, upon Oyster Point, in 1680. This town immediately became the capital of the province, and increased in size very rapidly.

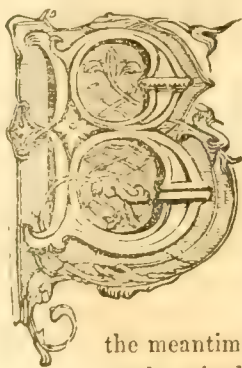
In 1690, Philip Ludwell, a gentleman from Virginia, being appointed governor of Carolina, arrived in the province. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had been general of the Leeward Islands in the reign of King James, being created a Cassique of Carolina, after the revolution retired to that country, and took his seat as a member of the council. The proprietors having found the fundamental constitutions disagreeable to the people, and ineffectual for the purpose of government, repealed all their former laws and regulations, excepting those called Agrarian Laws, and sent out a new plan of government to Mr. Ludwell, consisting of forty-three articles of instruction for the better management of their colony. The inhabitants, who had been long in a turbulent state, were enjoined to obedience; but liberty was granted to the representatives of the people to frame such laws as they judged necessary to the public welfare, which were to continue in force for two years, but no longer, unless they were



Louis XIV.

in the meantime ratified and confirmed by the palatine and three more proprietors. Lands for the cassiques and landgraves were ordered to be marked out in square plats, and freedom was granted them to choose their situation. Hitherto the planters remained utter strangers to the value and fertility of the low lands; the swamps were therefore carefully avoided, and large tracts of the higher lands, which were esteemed more precious, were surveyed, and marked out for estates by the provincial nobility.

These arrangements did not secure tranquillity. The numerous body of French Protestant refugees became a new source of discord. The original settlers were generally attached to the Church of England, and they refused to admit the new-comers to the rights of citizenship. This treatment justly roused the indignation of the refugees, and disputes became violent, and constant. The proprietors, in the hope of securing order, sent out John Archdale, a Quaker and one of their number, with full power to hear and determine all disputes between the different parties. Archdale pursued a prudent course, and succeeded in restoring quiet. He continued in office one year, and then left Joseph Blake as his successor. Blake steadily followed the wise course of Archdale, and within a few years the parties became reconciled and the French were admitted to all the rights of citizens.



LAKE died in 1700, and was succeeded by James Moore, who, two years after, sought to distinguish himself by the capture of the Spanish town of St. Augustine. He, with the main force, proceeded by sea, while Colonel Daniel, with a party of militia and Indians, marched by land. Daniel arrived first and took possession of St. Augustine, forcing the enemy to take refuge in the castle. The governor considered this post so strong that he sent to Jamaica for artillery. In

the meantime, two Spanish vessels appeared, and Moore precipitately raised the siege, and returned by land to Carolina. This repulse not only mortified the colonists, but so raised the spirits of the Spaniards that they continued their intrigues with the Indians, and sought every opportunity for injuring the colony. In 1706, the Spanish admiral Le Feboure, with five ships of war, appeared before Charleston and summoned the people to surrender. But the governor, Sir Nicholas Johnson, who had prepared for defence, returned a defiance. The invader, whose main force had not arrived, sent a small detachment on shore. But this was attacked and cut off. After this success, Captain Rhett, with six small vessels, sailed against the enemy and forced them to retire. A

larger armament soon appeared, and troops were landed; but the colonists attacked them with such impetuosity that both ships and men were taken.

In 1712, the outer settlements of the northern province were attacked by about 1200 of the Coree and Tuscarora tribes of Indians. A sudden attack, in which 137 of the colonists were massacred in a single night, gave the first notice of the intentions of the Indians. A powerful force was despatched to the field of action by the southern colony, under Colonel Barnwell, who, after overcoming the most incredible obstacles in his march through a wilderness of 200 miles, suddenly attacked and defeated the Indians in their encampment, killing 300 of their number, and taking 100 prisoners. The Tuscaroras then retreated to their town, fortified by a wooden breastwork. Barnwell surrounded them, and after killing, wounding, or capturing 1000 Indians, he made peace. The inhabitants of the forest, burning for revenge, soon broke the treaty, and the southern colony was again applied to for aid. Colonel James Moore, with forty white men and 800 friendly Indians, was sent to their aid, and finding the enemy in a fort near Cotechny River, he surrounded them, and after a week's siege, took the fort and 800 prisoners. After suffering these defeats, the Tuscaroras removed north and joined the "Five Nations," making the sixth of that confederacy.



THE Tuscarora war ended, the Yemassee formed a vast Indian confederacy and commenced hostilities against the southern colony. On the 15th of April, 1715, they began their operations by murdering ninety persons at Pocotaligo, and the neighboring plantations. The inhabitants of Port Royal escaped to Charleston. The colonists soon found that all the southern tribes were leagued against them,

but they relied upon the assistance of those tribes who inhabited the country west of them. In this they were mistaken, for these Indians were either enemies, or remained neutral. Thus with about 1200 men, all that were fit for bearing arms in the colony, Governor Craven had to contend against seven thousand armed Indians. With this force, he cautiously advanced into the Indian country, and after a fierce struggle, drove them into Florida. The colony offered the lands vacated by the Indians to purchasers. Five hundred Irishmen soon settled on them, but by the injustice of the proprietaries, they were compelled to remove, and the frontier was again exposed.

At the termination of the Yemassee war, the colony was involved in

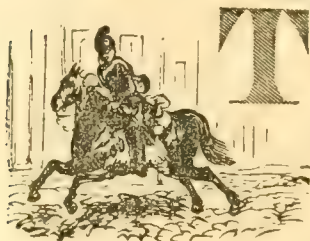


Massacre by the Corees and Tuscaroras.



Massacre by the Yemassee at Pocotaligo.

disputes with the proprietors, who had not offered them any assistance during the Indian depredations, and yet annulled the grants of the lands of the Indians made by the assembly. All complaints against the executive officers, preferred by the people, were disregarded by the proprietors. The discontent at length produced an insurrection. The assembly elected Colonel Moore to administer the government in the name of the king; thus deposing Johnson, whose attempts to compel submission to his authority failed.

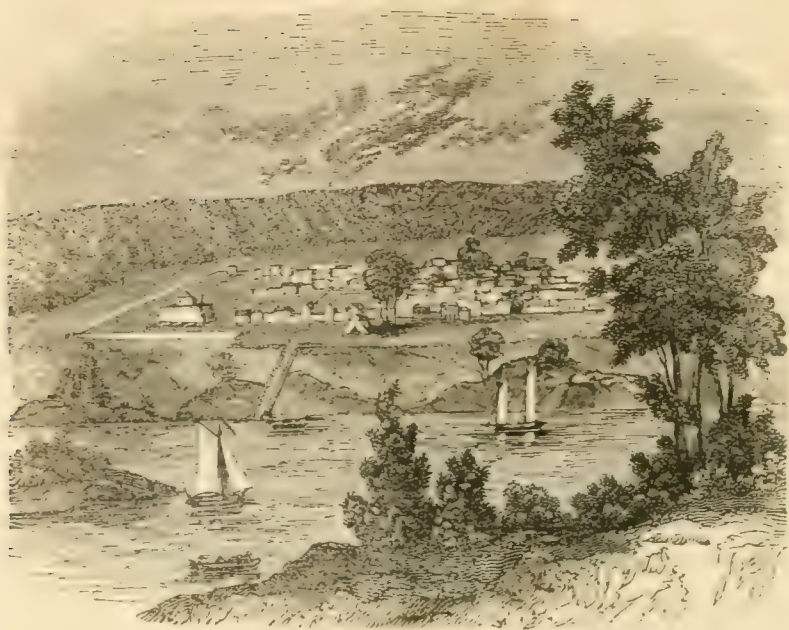


THE regency of England sanctioned these proceedings, decided that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and appointed Sir Francis Nicholson governor, under the commission of the king. (1721.) Nicholson rendered himself popular in Carolina, made laudable exertions for diffusing education and religious instruction, and by an alliance

with the Creeks and Cherokees, secured the frontier from Indian hostility. In 1729, the transactions of the proprietors were finally closed by a deed surrendering all their rights into the hands of the king. They received in return £17,500, with £5,000 for arrears of rent amounting to £9,000. Lord Carteret retained his share of the lands. From this time, affairs held a regular and peaceable course until the two Carolinas, now declared two separate provinces, ceased to be under the control of Great Britain.

The fertility of the soil and the mildness of the climate attracted emigrants very rapidly to the two colonies. Large importations of negro slaves were made from time to time, and thus that much-discussed institution—slavery—was firmly rooted. The cultivation of rice, which had been introduced into Carolina in 1694, was carried on to such an extent that that article became the staple production of the country. The Church of England continued to be recognized by law in Carolina, until the revolution; but all other modes of worship were freely permitted, and nothing interfered with the prosperity and happiness of the colonists.





Savannah in 1778.

CHAPTER XXI.

COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA.



THE youngest of the states which engaged in the War of Independence, was Georgia. At the time of the surrender of the charter of Carolina, the country between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers was still a wilderness, where the red man roamed undisturbed, and whither he could retreat after an incursion into the neighborhood of the whites. The Spaniards claimed the country as part of Florida, and the colonists of Carolina were in constant apprehension of their attacks.

In 1732, Sir James Oglethorpe, a brave soldier, a firm loyalist and a friend to the unfortunate, formed the project of opening an asylum in America, for the poor of his own country, and the persecuted of every nation. The enterprise met the approval of the king, who granted, for twenty-one years, to a corporation, "in trust for the poor," the country between the Savannah and Altamaha, and westward to the Pacific Ocean.



General Oglethorpe.

In honor of the king, the province was called Georgia. The project was warmly applauded throughout the kingdom, and the House of Commons voted considerable sums at various times for the support of the new colony.

On the 6th of November, 1732, Oglethorpe sailed from Gravesend with 116 persons. They landed at Charleston first, where they were presented with a large supply of provisions by the government of the province. Setting out for the place of their destination, they reached the high bluff on the Savannah River which had been selected for the settlement, on the 1st of February, 1733. Here Oglethorpe caused a fort to be built, for the defence of the colony, and gave the name of the stream to the settlement.



HIS next care was to secure the friendship of the Indians in the vicinity; and for that purpose, he invited the sachems to meet him at Savannah, and enter into a treaty of amity and alliance. The meeting took place in June 1733. The chiefs of the Creek nation cordially welcomed the English to the country. One of them presented Oglethorpe with the skin of a buffalo, painted, on the inside, with the head and feathers of an eagle; and reminded him that the English were

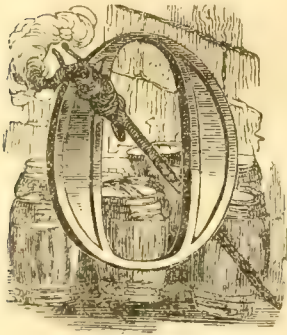
as strong as the buffalo and as swift as the eagle, and that the skin of the buffalo was warm and signified protection; and the feathers of the eagle, soft, and signified love; both of which they expected from the English.

In 1734, the town of Augusta was founded on the Upper Savannah, with a view to secure the local trade. During the same year, a large number of emigrants arrived. Among them were about 150 Highlanders, and a party of Moravians. John and Charles Wesley, then only known as zealous clergymen, were prevailed upon to accept an invitation to reside in the colony, and officiate as ministers.

The incorporated trustees, having thus established a colony in Georgia, now proceeded to exercise their legislative powers by enacting a code of fundamental laws and constitutions for the infant society. In this code it was provided that each tract of land granted by the treaty, should be accepted as a military fief, for which the possessor was bound to appear in arms and take the field, when summoned for the public defence; that, to prevent accumulation of property, which was deemed inconsistent with a military spirit, the tract of land assigned to each planter should not exceed twenty-five acres, and no one should be suffered to possess more than five hundred acres; that, to hinder a plurality of allotments from falling in process of time into the possession of any single individual, the lands should be granted in tail male, instead of tail general—that is, that women should be rendered incapable of succeeding to landed property; that, in default of heirs male to any proprietor, his estate was to revert as a lapsed fief to the trustees, in order to be again granted to another colonist on the same terms as before—some compensation, however, being recommended in that case to the daughters (especially if not provided for by marriage) of such deceased proprietors as should have improved their lands; that widows should be entitled, during their lives, to the mansion-house and one half of the land improved by their husbands; and that, if any portion of land granted should not be cleared, fenced, and cultivated within eighteen years from the date of the relative grant, such portion was to relapse as a forfeiture, to the trustees. No inhabitant was to be permitted to depart from the province without a license; which was declared requisite also to legitimate trade with the Indians. The importation of rum was disallowed; trade with the West Indies was declared unlawful; and *negro slavery was absolutely prohibited*. Except in the last article, and the purposed regulation of Indian trade, this code exhibits hardly a trace either of common sense, or of that liberality which the trustees had already so signally displayed.*

* Grahame.

The Carolinians were struck with astonishment when they heard of the restrictions imposed upon the colonists of Georgia by the proprietors, and supposing they would prevent the growth of that province, incited the settlers to cross the Savannah and take refuge in Carolina. But very few took advantage of the invitation. It is certain, however, that the odious restrictions effectually checked the progress of Georgia. Complaints were now made that the Wesleys were too rigid in their peculiar forms of worship, and that they made false pretences of piety. Oglethorpe at first supported these charges, but afterwards acknowledged the worth and truth of the brothers, who were laboring for the enlightenment of man. Both, however, returned to England. In 1740, George Whitefield, the founder of the rival sect of Methodists, arrived in the colony. His zealous and powerful eloquence everywhere made a profound impression, and is supposed to have accomplished much good.



GLETHORPE, partaking the general ardor of his countrymen to punish the insolence of Spain, determined not to confine the operation of the force with which he was intrusted to defensive warfare. Having concerted a plan for the invasion of Florida, he solicited the assistance of Virginia and Carolina to its execution. The assembly of South Carolina granted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of Carolinian currency for the purpose; and a regiment was

raised, partly in Virginia and partly in North and South Carolina, to coöperate with the forces of Oglethorpe. The commander of the English ships of war on this station agreed to aid the enterprise with a naval armament, consisting of four ships of twenty guns each, and two sloops; and the Indian allies of the English declared themselves ready, at a moment's warning, to send a powerful auxiliary force to accompany the expedition. Oglethorpe, learning that the Spanish garrison at Augustine were straitened for provisions, urged the speedy advance of the colonial militia and the ships of war; and, hastening to enter Florida with four hundred chosen men of his own regiment, and a considerable body of Indians, invested Diego, a small fort, about twenty-five miles from Augustine, which, after a short resistance, surrendered by capitulation. Leaving a garrison of sixty men there, he proceeded to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by Colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolinian and Virginian regiment, and a company of Highlanders, under Captain M'Intosh. A few days after, he marched with his whole



Costume of Highland Soldiers.

force consisting of above 2000 men, regulars, provincials, and Indians, to Fort Moosa, within two miles of Augustine, which was evacuated by its garrison on his approach. The Spaniards had exerted themselves to strengthen the fortifications of the town and castle of Augustine; and Oglethorpe, soon perceiving that an attempt to take the place by storm would be an act of presumptuous rashness, changed his plan of operation, and resolved, with the assistance of the English ships, which were now lying at anchor off Augustine bar, to turn the siege into a blockade. For this purpose, he left Colonel Palmer, with ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians, at Fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods round the town, and intercept all supplies of provisions which it might derive from the country; and sent Colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolina regiment to occupy and erect a battery on Point Quarrel, a neck of land about a mile distant from the castle; while he himself, with his own regiment and the main body of the Indians, embarked in boats, and landed on the island of Anastatia, fronting the castle, whence he resolved to attempt the bombardment of the town. When his batteries were



Chickasaw Chief.

erected, and the ships of war so stationed as to block up the mouth of the harbor and exclude the garrison from supplies by sea, he summoned the governor of the place to surrender; but, secure in his stronghold, the Spaniard replied that he would be glad to shake hands with him in the fortress. Oglethorpe, whose disposition was fiery and irascible, expressed much inappropriate anger at this reply, and straightway proceeded to open his batteries upon the castle, and to throw shells into the town. The cannonade was briskly returned by the enemy; but the distance was so great, that, although it was continued for several days, very little execution was done on either side.



ASERIES of disasters and calamities now befell the besieging army. The Spanish governor, remarking the smallness of the force stationed at Fort Moosa under Colonel Palmer, secretly detached three hundred of his troops, by whom Palmer was attacked by surprise, and his party of gallant Highlanders almost entirely cut to pieces. Some of the Chickasaw Indians, having caught a straggling Spaniard, cut off his head, and presented the gory trophy to Oglethorpe in his tent. The general was struck with disgust and horror at this savage style of warfare, and

hastily exclaiming that they were *barbarous dogs*, commanded them to quit his presence. Stung by this disdainful behavior, the Chickasaw warriors angrily observed, that, if they had carried the head of an Englishman to the French, they would have experienced a very different reception; and having communicated the insult they had sustained to their companions, the whole detachment from the Chickasaw tribe immediately abandoned the camp and returned home. While the besieging forces were thus diminished, the Spanish garrison received a reinforcement of 700 men and a copious supply of provisions in some small ships from Havanna, which contrived to elude the vigilance of the British vessels and to enter the harbor undiscovered. All prospect of starving the enemy into a surrender consequently ceased, and the besiegers began to despair of a successful issue to their undertaking. The Carolina troops, enfeebled by the heat of the climate, and dispirited by sickness and fruitless fatigue, marched away in large bodies. The naval commander represented, that, from the deficiency of his provisions and the near approach of the usual season of hurricanes, he judged it imprudent to retain the fleet longer on this coast. The general himself was attacked by a fever, and his regiment was worn out with fatigue and crippled by sickness. This combination of adverse circumstances rendered it necessary to abandon the enterprise; and Oglethorpe, overwhelmed with chagrin, raised the siege and returned to Frederica. [July 10, 1740.] The Carolinians were filled with anger and disappointment at this catastrophe, and openly imputed it to want of courage and skill in the general; while he increased their irritation by retorting their injustice, and declaring that he had now no confidence in their militia, who had refused obedience to his orders, and mutinously or pusillanimously deserted his camp.



ADMIRAL VERNON having now quitted the American seas, the Spaniards determined to improve their good fortune by a vigorous effort for the conquest of Georgia and South Carolina. An armament was accordingly prepared at Havanna, whence two thousand troops, commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked, under the convoy of a powerful squadron, for Augustine. [May, 1742.] Before they reached this place, they were descried by the captain of an English cruiser, who conveyed the tidings of danger to Oglethorpe, by whom a messenger was despatched to Glen, the governor of South Carolina, beseeching instant aid, and desiring that a sloop should be despatched to the West Indies, in order that Vernon, if he was still there, might be acquainted with the intended invasion. But the Carolinians now regarded Oglethorpe with strong dislike, and entertained a mean

opinion of his ability; and no sooner was the alarming intelligence which he communicated made generally known, than the planters of the southern frontier of the province, accounting the conquest of Georgia inevitable, deserted their own habitations, and flocked to Charleston with their families and effects. The inhabitants of Charleston warmly declared against sending any assistance to Oglethorpe, and determined rather to fortify their city and collect the whole strength of the province for its defence.



IN the meantime, Oglethorpe was making the most active preparation at Frederica for the reception of the enemy. The Creeks and Cherokees, who were warmly attached to him, readily obeyed his summons, and crowded to his camp. A company of Highlanders joined him on the first notice, and expressed a stern and earnest satisfaction at the prospect of revenging the fate of their friends who were slaughtered two years before by the Spaniards at Fort Moosa. With his own regiment, and a few provincial rangers, Highlanders, and Indians, the general fixed his head-quarters at Frederica, confidently expecting a reinforcement from Carolina, and daily looking for its arrival; but withal determined, in case he should be attacked unaided, to sell his life as dearly as possible in defence of the province. In the latter end of June, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-two vessels, and carrying upwards of three thousand men, of whom Don Manuel de Monteano, the governor of Augustine, was commander-in-chief, arrived in the mouth of the river Alatomaha; and having received and returned the fire of Fort Simon, where Oglethorpe was stationed, sailed up the river beyond the reach of his guns. The invaders disembarked on the island in which Frederica is situated, and erected a battery mounted by twenty pieces of cannon. Among their land forces they had a fine company of artillery, commanded by Rodondo, and a regiment of negroes. The negro officers were clothed in lace, enjoyed the same rank with Spanish officers, and with equal freedom accosted and conversed with the commander-in-chief. Such an example might justly have inspired terror and alarm in Carolina; for it needed little sagacity to perceive, that, if the invaders should penetrate into that province, and exhibit the spectacle of their negro regiment to the swarms of discontented slaves with which it abounded, they would infallibly obtain the accession of such a force as would render all opposition fruitless and desperate.

Oglethorpe, finding that he could not withstand the progress of the enemy up the river, and judging his situation at Fort Simon insecure,

spiked its guns, and retreated to Frederica. With a force amounting to little more than seven hundred men, exclusive of Indians, he could not hope to act but on the defensive, until the arrival of the lingering aid of Carolina. On all sides he detached scouting parties of Highlanders and Indians to watch the motions, harass the outposts, and obstruct the advances of the enemy, while the main body of his troops were employed in strengthening the fortifications of Frederica. The provisions of his garrison were scanty and of indifferent quality; and as the Spaniards possessed the command of the river, all prospects of a farther supply were cut off. Yet hoping for relief from Carolina, Oglethorpe studied to prolong the defence, by concealing every discouraging circumstance from his little army; and in order to animate their perseverance, he cheerfully exposed himself to the same privations and fatigues which the common soldiers endured. This generous policy was attended with its usual success, and sustained the patience of the troops under labors and hardships, which were divested of the appearance of constraint by the voluntary participation of the commander. The Spanish troops now made several attempts to pierce through the woods in order to besiege Oglethorpe's head-quarters, but encountered such stubborn resistance from deep morasses, and dark and tangled thickets, lined with fierce Indians and active Highlanders, that some of them protested impatiently that the devil himself could not make his way to Frederica. In two skirmishes, a Spanish captain and two lieutenants were killed, and a hundred of their men taken prisoners. Encouraged by this ray of success, and learning from an English prisoner who escaped from the Spanish camp, that a disagreement had arisen between the forces from Havanna and those from Augustine, which occasioned a separation of their encampments, Oglethorpe resolved to attempt the daring measure of sallying from his stronghold and attacking the enemy while thus divided. Availing himself of his acquaintance with the woods, he marched in the night, with three hundred of his regular soldiers, the Highland company, and a troop of provincial rangers, in the hope of surprising one of the Spanish camps. Having arrived within two miles of it, he halted his troops, and advanced himself, with a small corps, to reconnoitre the enemy's position; but while he was cautiously manœuvring to conceal his approaches, one of his attendants, a Frenchman, who had harbored the intention of deserting, seized this opportunity of carrying it into effect; and, discharging his musket to alarm the Spaniards, ran off and gained the shelter of their lines.

This act of treachery defeated the hopes of the assailants, and compelled a hasty retreat to Frederica, where Oglethorpe endeavored to

accomplish by stratagem what he had failed to do by surprise. Apprehensive that his weakness would be discovered to the enemy by the deserter, he wrote a letter to this man, in which he addressed him as a spy in his employ, and instructed him to assure the Spaniards that Frederica was in a defenceless state, and that its garrison might be easily cut to pieces. He pressed him to bring forward the Spaniards to an attack, and, if he could not prevail thus far, to use all his art and influence to detain them at least three days more in their present situation; for within that time, according to advices which had just arrived from Carolina, the Georgian troops would be reinforced by two thousand auxiliaries, accompanied by six British ships of war. The letter concluded with a caution to the deserter against suffering the intelligence of Admiral Vernon's approaching attack upon Augustine to transpire, and with assurance of the amplest recompense that the British king could bestow on him, if he succeeded in preventing the escape of the Spaniards from Georgia. This ingenious production was committed to a Spanish prisoner, who, for a small reward, together with his liberty, undertook to convey it privately to the deserter; but, on rejoining his countrymen, delivered it, as Oglethorpe expected, to the commander-in-chief, who instantly put the deserter in irons. The Spanish officers were not a little perplexed and confounded by the contents of the letter; some shrewdly suspecting it to be a stratagem to prevent an attack on Frederica; and others duped by its literal import, and believing it to convey sincere instructions to direct the conduct of a spy. While they were deliberating on these opposite probabilities, and hesitating what measures to pursue, their counsels were suddenly decided by an incident beyond the calculation of human ingenuity. Three ships, which the governor of South Carolina had at length despatched to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared at this critical juncture off the coast; and an effect, more than proportioned to the power or numbers of this reinforcement, was produced by its opportune arrival. All doubts of the purpose of Oglethorpe's letter were terminated by so palpable a confirmation of its contents. A universal panic was spread through the Spanish army, and nothing was heeded but instant departure. Setting fire to the fort they had built, and leaving behind them a great quantity of artillery, provisions, and military stores, they precipitately embarked in their vessels, and returned to Augustine and Havanna. [July, 1742.]*

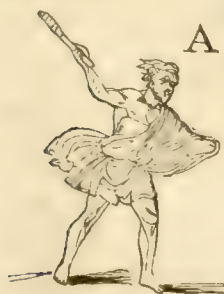
Though relieved from foreign danger, Georgia still suffered from internal evils. The colonists complained that the absurd laws kept them from realizing any profit from their productions. Many removed to South

* Grahame.



Bosomworth and Malatche.

Carolina, to be free from such restraints, and the Moravians, being called upon to bear arms, removed to Pennsylvania. Some very remarkable circumstances happened at this time, and threatened the colony with destruction.



AMONG the Georgia settlers was a man by the name of *Thomas Bosomworth*, a chaplain in the regiment of *Oglethorpe*. It appears that he was an artful and avaricious man. In 1747, he laid a plan, either to destroy the colony or acquire a fortune. Among a number of Indians present at *Frederica*, in December, was an Indian king by the name of *Malatche*. Bosomworth suggested to him the idea of being crowned in imperial form by those of his tribe, who were with him: accordingly a paper was drawn up,

filled with royal ceremonies, acknowledging *Malatche Opiya Meco* to be the rightful, natural prince and emperor of the dominions of the Creek Nation; vesting him with powers to make laws, frame treaties, declare war, convey lands, and transact all affairs relating to the nation; binding themselves on the part of their several towns, to abide by and fulfil all

his contracts and engagements. This paper being signed and sealed by the pretended kings and chiefs, and witnessed in due form, Malatche requested that a copy might be sent over to the king of England, for his sanction, and to have it put on record among the archives of his great ally.



BOSOMWORTH had thus accomplished an important object. He had some time before married Mary Musgrove, a half-breed Indian. He now drew up a deed of conveyance in the common form, from Malatche Opiya Meco, emperor of the Upper and Lower Creek Nations, to Thomas and Mary Bosomworth, of the colony of Georgia, "for and in consideration of ten pieces of stroud, twelve pieces of duffles, two hundred weight of powder, two hundred weight of lead, twenty guns, twelve pair of pistols, and one hundred weight of vermilion; warranting and defending to the said Thomas and Mary, all those tracts of land, known by the names of Hussoope, or Ossabaw, Cowleygee, or St. Catherines, and Sapelo Islands, with their appurtenances, &c., to the said Thomas and Mary his wife, their heirs and assigns, as long as the sun shall shine, or the waters run in the rivers, forever. Signed on the 4th day of the windy moon, corresponding with the 14th of December."

His next object was to induce Mary to claim to be the elder sister of Malatche, and of having descended in a maternal line from an Indian king, who held from nature the whole territories of the Creeks; and Bosomworth now persuaded her to assert her right to them, as superior not only to the trustees, but also to that of the king.

Accordingly, Mary assumed the title of an independent empress. A meeting of the Creeks was summoned, before which she set forth her claims. The Indians became excited through her eloquence, and escorted her towards Savannah to prosecute her claim.

A messenger was despatched to notify the president and council of the royal family's approach. On receiving this intelligence, the council felt embarrassed. Mary was an artful and eloquent woman; the English were few in number, and small their means of defence. The militia were ordered under arms. Captain Noble Jones, at the head of a troop, was despatched to prevent if possible their entrance into Savannah armed. Having met them, he ordered them to stop and lay down their arms. At first they refused; but his determined appearance at length prevailed, and they laid aside their arms, upon which Thomas Bosomworth, in his

canonical robes, with his queen by his side, followed by the king and chiefs, marched into the town.



THE inhabitants were struck with terror at the sight of this ferocious tribe of savages. When they advanced up to the parade, they found the militia drawn up under arms to receive them, by whom they were saluted with fifteen cannons, and conducted to the president's house. Bosomworth being ordered to withdraw, the Indian chiefs, in a friendly manner, were requested to declare their intention in paying this visit in so large a body, without being sent for by any person in authority: the warriors, as they had been instructed, answered that Mary was to speak for them, and that they would abide by whatever she said; that they had heard that she was to be sent like a captive over the great waters, and they were come to know on what account they were to lose their queen; that they intended no harm, and begged that their arms might be restored to them; and after consulting with Bosomworth and his wife, they would return and amicably settle all public affairs. To please them, their guns were returned, but strict orders were issued to allow them no ammunition, until the council should see more clearly into their dark designs. On the day following, the Indians having had some private conferences with Mary, were observed, with sullen countenances, to march in a tumultuous manner through the streets, evidencing a hostile temper, apparently determined on mischief: all the men being obliged to mount guard, the women and children were terrified and afraid to remain in the houses by themselves, expecting every moment to be murdered and scalped. During this confusion, a false rumor was circulated, that they had cut off president Stephen's head with a tomahawk, which so exasperated the inhabitants that it was with difficulty the officers could restrain the troops from firing upon the savages: perhaps the exercise of the greatest prudence was never more requisite to save the town from being deluged with blood. Orders were given to lay hold on Bosomworth, to whom it was insinuated that he was marked as the first victim in case of extremities; and he was carried out of the way, and closely confined, upon which, Mary, his beloved queen, became outrageous and frantic, and threatened the thunder of her vengeance against the magistrates, and the whole colony: she ordered all white persons to depart immediately from her territories, and at their peril to refuse; she cursed Oglethorpe, and his fraudulent treaties, and, furiously stamping her foot upon the earth, swore by her Maker, that the whole globe should know that the ground she stood upon was her own. To prevent any ascendancy by bribes over

the chiefs and warriors, she kept the leading men constantly under her eye, and would not suffer them to utter a sentence on public affairs, but in her presence.

The president finding no peaceable agreement could be made with the Indians, while under the baleful influence of their pretended queen, ordered her to be seized and confined. To allay the storm of indignation excited by this, a feast was made for the Indians, at which the evil designs of Bosomworth were unfolded in a speech by the president. This had a temporary effect. Even Malatche seemed satisfied. But contriving to see Bosomworth and his wife alone for a few minutes, the artful couple again seduced the aged chief, who returned to the council full of indignation, to insist on the rights of the queen. Upon this, the president rose, and in a short but plain address, so set forth the impositions of Bosomworth and Mary, that the Indians said they were satisfied; their eyes were opened, and they now offered to smoke the pipe of peace. Accordingly pipes and rum were brought, and they joined hand in hand and smoked together. Presents were distributed, and all appeared satisfied and happy.

But in the midst of this friendly interview, Mary, who by some means had contrived to escape, rushed in like a fury, and insultingly told the president that she would soon convince him that the Indians were her people, and that he had no business with them.



THE president quietly advised her to return to her lodgings, or he would send her to prison. Upon this Malatche took fire; and swinging his arms, declared that no one should touch the queen. The house was filled in a moment with tumult; every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, and the president and council expecting nothing but instant death. At this critical juncture, Captain Noble Jones with his guard interposed, and required the Indians to surrender. They did so with great reluctance. Mary was conveyed to a safe place. Bosomworth was sent for; but for a time treated the council with great indignity. At length, through the interposition of Bosomworth's brother, the difficulty was settled. This rash and wicked man was forgiven, and the idle claims of Mary were relinquished.

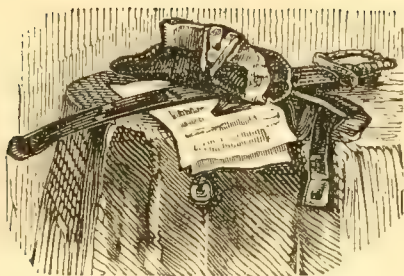
They were, however, afterwards renewed; Bosomworth himself instituted a suit in England, founded upon his deed from the Indians. This case was in the courts of Great Britain twelve years. In 1759, a decision was made at the court of St. James, granting to Bosomworth and his wife

the Island of St. Catherines. Bosomworth and Mary took possession of the island. There, some time after, Mary died, upon which Bosomworth married his chambermaid.

Finally, the remains of these two were deposited in the same graveyard, on the island for which they had so long contended.

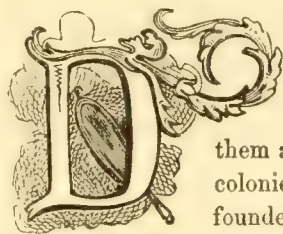
In 1752, the twenty-one years, the term of the original charter, expired, and the trustees conscious that their well-meant regulations had produced nothing but discontent and poverty, gave up their charge to the king. Georgia, now become a royal province, seemed to have taken a sudden onward start. The people were left to use their own means of advancement, lands were held on the tenure that best pleased them; negroes and rum were imported freely; and a free intercourse was opened with the West Indies. From this time, the colony advanced as rapidly as South Carolina. The capital was first at Savannah, then at Augusta and Louisville, successively, and finally at Milledgeville. As late as 1778, Savannah was still a small town, as may be seen by the engraving at the head of this chapter, copied from an English print, the original of which was a drawing taken at the time. The people were generally distinguished for their attention to moral and religious affairs; but Georgia received her full share of the convicted felons whom the British government, in the perfection of its care for the interests of the colonists, transported to America, and their presence had a deteriorating influence upon the morals of the people.





CHAPTER XXII.

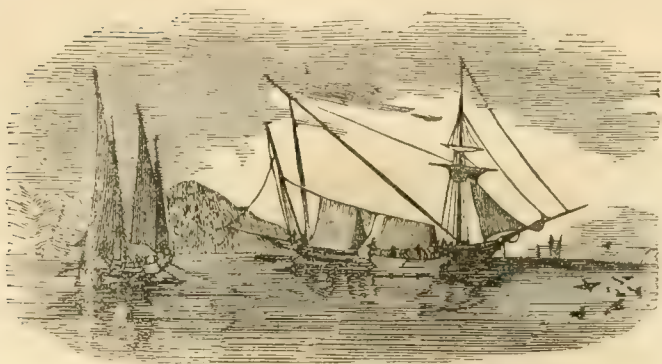
GENERAL AFFAIRS OF THE COLONISTS UNTIL THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.



SEEMING that we have sufficiently traced the separate history of the thirteen colonies, we now proceed to the narration of those events which exercised an influence common to them all, and in which they were all concerned. The colonies were altogether unconnected; each had been founded on a separate basis, by distinct and even hostile classes, and the jealousies which were constantly arising concerning boundaries, served to widen the breach between them.

One object only, called for the co-operation of the colonies. This was their protection against the French and Indians. The national antipathy between the French and English was extreme in the colonies, and they eagerly took up arms at the first intelligence of a war between the two countries.

As early as 1629, Sir David Kirk, having equipped a fleet, surprised and took Quebec, but it was restored to France in 1632. The support given to the Five Nations by the English led to another contest with the French of Canada. In this irregular struggle, the French suffered terribly from the sudden attacks of the Indians, who gave an effectual protection to the frontier settlements of New York. After the Revolution of 1688, Britain declared war against France, and determined to strike a blow against the enemy's power beyond the Atlantic. In the meantime, the English colonists began the contest with the French and Indians.



Expedition of Sir David Kirk.



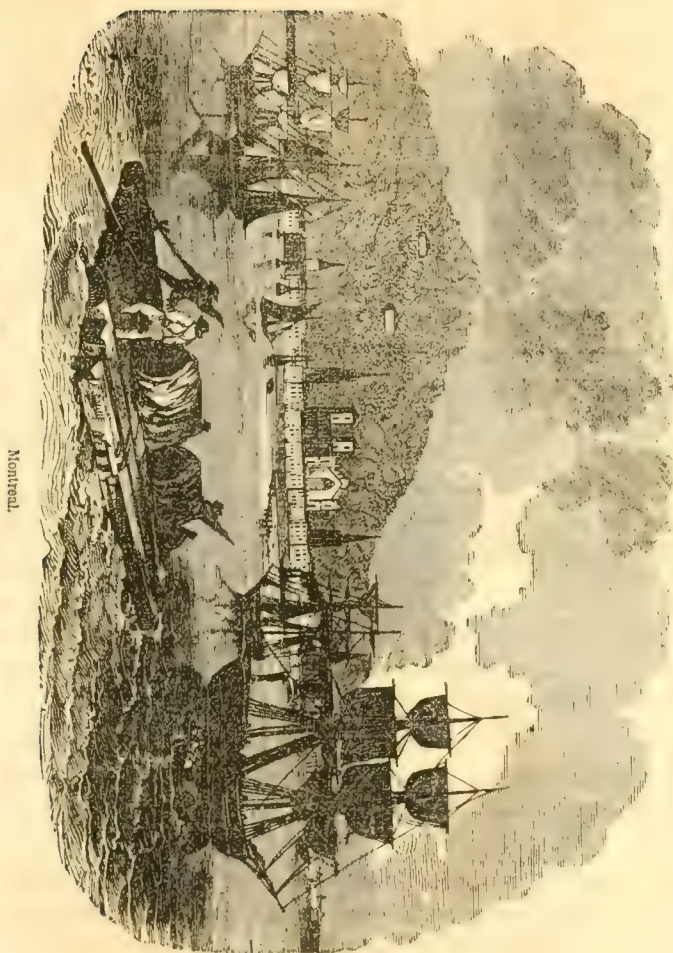
ON the 27th of June, 1689, Major Waldron was surprised in his garrison at Dover, New Hampshire, by the Pennicock Indians, and was killed with 20 others; and 29 were taken prisoners. Five or six houses, with the mills, were burnt.

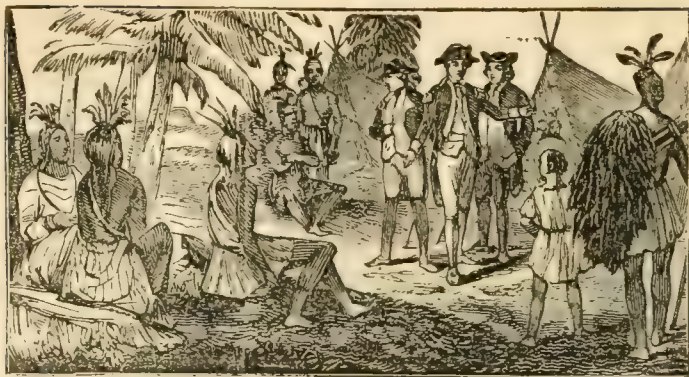
On the 26th of July, 1200 Indians of the Five Nations, invading the Island of Montreal, burned all the plantations, and made a terrible massacre of men, women, and children. The whole French colony was thrown into consternation; and Valrenes, the commander at Catarocuay, by order of Denonville, abandoned the fortress at that place.

On the 22d of August, the Indians besieged the fort at Pemaquid. This fort was so situated as to be overlooked from an adjacent rock, from which the Indians galled the garrison so severely, that the next day it capitulated.

A conference was held at Albany, in September, between several commissioners from the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, and the Five Nations. The commissioners endeavored to engage the Five Nations against the Eastern Indians, who were then at war with New England; but, though they would not enter into that war, they ratified their friendship with the English colonies. "We promise," said they, "to preserve the chain inviolably, and wish that the sun may always shine in peace over all our heads, that are comprehended in this chain."*

* Holmes.





Conference with the Indians.

Early in 1690, Count de Frontignac detached from Canada three parties of French and Indians, to proceed by different routes against the frontier settlement of the English colonists. One of these, after wandering for some time in the dreary wilderness, and suffering from hunger and cold, reached the village of Schenectady, in New York. The attack was



Count de Frontignac.

made in the night, when the inhabitants were buried in slumber and no guards were set. In a short time, 60 persons were butchered, 27 captured, and the village destroyed. A few of the inhabitants escaped to Albany, after enduring the severity of winter, and the want of food. The French and Indians, having secured their plunder, returned to Canada.

Another party, consisting of 27 Frenchmen and 25 Indians, surprised Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, and killed about 30 of the bravest of the inhabitants; the rest were made prisoners, and the settlement burnt. The *Sieur Hertel*, who commanded this party, on his return, fell in with the third detachment, and the whole force attacked and destroyed the settlement at Casco.

These incursions alarmed the colonists and roused them to action. On the 1st of May, a body of commissioners, from New York, Massachusetts, and most of the other northern colonies, met at New York, to deliberate upon the adoption of measures for the common defence. This was the first instance of a congress in the colonies.

The Indians having taken the fort at Pemaquid, and the French privateers from Acadie still infesting the coast of New England, the general court of Massachusetts determined to make an attempt on Port Royal. On the 28th of April, eight small vessels, with more than 700 men, were placed under the command of Sir William Phipps, and despatched to effect that object. Port Royal surrendered after a slight resistance, and Sir William was soon in possession of all Acadie.



THE enterprising people of New England now formed the bold project of subjugating Canada. An armament was equipped for the service, and Sir William Phipps placed in command. The fleet, delayed by unforeseen and unavoidable accidents, did not arrive before Quebec before the 5th of October, 1690. The next morning Phipps summoned the French to surrender. The brave and active

old Count de Frontignac returned an insolent answer. The next day Phipps attempted to land his troops, but was prevented by the violence of the wind. On the 8th, all the effective men landed at the Isle of Orleans, four miles below the town, and although exposed to the fire of the French and Indians remained on shore until the 11th, when Phipps, convinced that the town was too strongly defended to be attempted, embarked his forces in precipitation. A tempest soon after dispersed the fleet, which made the best of its way back to Boston. In the confident belief that the expedition would be successful, Massachusetts had made no provision for the payment of the troops; and to prevent a mutiny, the government was forced to issue bills of credit, as a substitute for money.

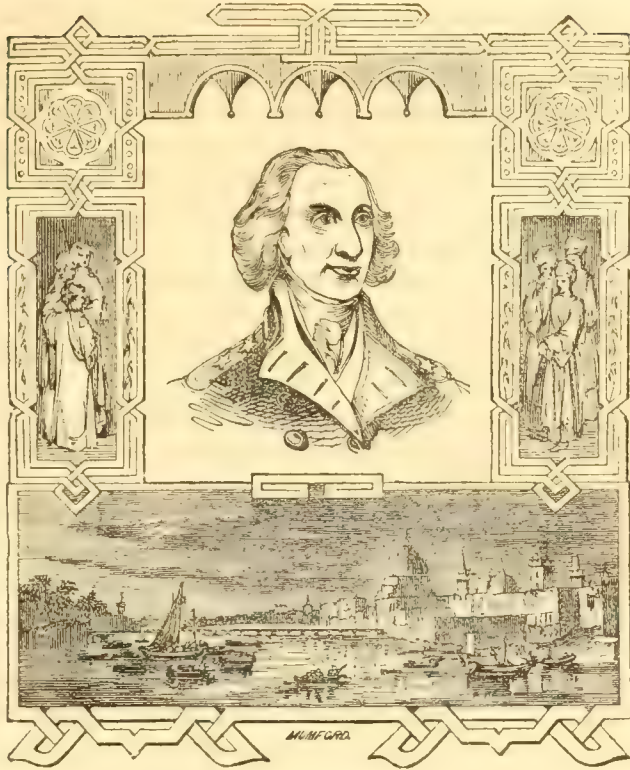
After the destruction of Casco in 1690, all the eastern settlements were deserted, and the people retired to the fort at Wells. Indian depredations still alarmed the colonists. On the 25th of January, 1692, the French and Indians attacked the town of York, in New Hampshire, killed about 75 of the inhabitants, took the same number of captives, and destroyed the town. On the 10th of June, about 500 French and Indians furiously attacked the garrison at Wells, but Captain Convers, with only fifteen men, repulsed them with great loss.



EARLY in August, Sir William Phipps, with 450 men, left Boston, and proceeding to Pemaquid, began to erect a fort on an extensive scale. It was called Fort William Henry, and garrisoned with 60 men; but, except for the purpose of keeping the French from taking possession of the country, it was a useless expense, and the measure was much censured at the time.

Repeated application having been made for a force to be sent from England, sufficient, in conjunction with land forces to be raised in New England and New York, for the reduction of Canada; it was at length concluded, that an expedition should be undertaken for that purpose. A fleet was to be employed in the winter in the reduction of Martinico; and, after the performance of that service, was to sail to Boston, take on board a body of land forces under Sir William Phipps, and proceed to Quebec. Neither part of this extensive project was effected. The attempt on Martinico was unsuccessful. A malignant disease pervaded the fleet; and so great was the mortality, that before Sir Francis Wheeler, the commander-in-chief, arrived at Boston, he had buried 1300 out of 2100 sailors, and 1800 of 2400 soldiers. The projected expedition against Canada was necessarily relinquished.

No great injuries were sustained, this year, (1693,) on the frontiers. Major Convers, with 400 or 500 men, marched to Taconick, on Kennebeck; but saw no Indians, excepting one party, which he surprised, not far from Wells. On his return he built a fort at Saco River; and the Indians soon after sued for peace. Coming into the fort at Pemaquid, appointed for the place of treaty, they entered into a solemn covenant, by which they acknowledged subjection to the crown of England; engaged to abandon the French interest; and promised to maintain perpetual peace, to forbear private revenge, to restore all captives, and to allow a free trade. As a security to their fidelity, they delivered hostages.



Colonel Schuyler.



GOUNT DE FRONTIGNAC, governor of Canada, unable to effect a peace with the Five Nations, meditated a blow on the Mohawks. Collecting an army of 600 or 700 French and Indians, he supplied them with every thing necessary for a winter campaign; and on the 15th of January they set out from Montreal. After a march attended with extreme hardships, they passed by Schenectady on the 6th of February; and, that night, took five men, and some women and children, at the first castle of the Mohawks. The second castle they took also with ease. At the third, they found about 40 Indians in a war dance, designing to go out on some enterprise the next day. On their entering the castle, a conflict ensued, in which the French lost about 30 men. In this descent, 300 of the Indians, in the English interest, were made captives. Colonel Schuyler, with a party from Albany, pursued the enemy; and several skirmishes ensued. When the French reached the north branch of Hudson's River,

a cake of ice opportunely served them to cross it; and Schuyler, who had retaken about 50 Indian captives desisted from the pursuit. The French, in this enterprise, lost 80 men, and had above 30 wounded.

The French, by their trade with the Indians, had accumulated a great quantity of furs and other peltry at Michillimakinac; but the Five Nations had so effectually blocked up the passage between that place and Canada, that they had remained there useless for several years. Count de Frontignac, hoping that the Five Nations would now keep more at home in defence of their castles, sent a lieutenant with 18 Canadians and 20 Indians, to open the passage to Michillimakinac; but this party was entirely routed. At length, however, 200 canoes, loaded with furs, arrived at Montreal.



IN August 1696, a French expedition under Iberville and Bonaventure, proceeded against the English fort at Pemaquid. At Pentagoet, they were reinforced by the Baron de St. Castine, with 200 Indians. The fort was invested on the 14th, and Iberville summoned Chubb, the English commander, to surrender. He answered,

“that if the sea were covered with French vessels and the land with Indians, yet he would not give up the fort.” The Indians now opened a brisk fire upon the garrison, who returned it with their cannon. The next day, Iberville completed his batteries and threw five bombs into the fort. Castine now found means to convey a letter to the English commander, notifying him, that if he waited until an assault was ordered, the garrison could expect no quarter from the savages; but if the fort was surrendered they would be spared. This menace produced the anticipated effect; the garrison, numbering 80 men, compelled the commander to surrender, and thus this expensive fortress fell into the hands of the French, who soon after destroyed nearly all the settlements in Nova Scotia, and made the Five Nations feel the vengeance of the power they had so long resisted and provoked.

In 1697, the last year of the war, the colonies were alarmed by the intelligence that a large armament, under the Marquis of Nesmond, had left France for a descent upon the coast of New England.

Stoughton, the governor of Massachusetts, made every preparation in his power. The militia were held in readiness for several weeks, and Boston was fortified as well as circumstances would permit. Five hundred men, under Major March, were sent to protect the frontiers. But the French fleet never reached Boston. Nesmond had started too late in the year, and when he arrived at Placentia, a council of his officers decided to give up the expedition. The peace of Ryswick, which had been signed

on the 20th of September, was proclaimed at Boston on the 10th of December, and the war between the rival colonists ceased.

Count de Frontignac, at the head of a powerful force, now made his last expedition into the Indian country. Marching to Lake Onondaga, he found the Indian village burnt and deserted. After wasting the corn fields, he sent a strong body of men to destroy the Oneida castle. They took a few prisoners, but the greater part of the Oneidas had deserted their village. An Onondaga chief, 100 years old, was barbarously put to death by the French savages, and the whole force then returned to Canada.

In 1702, Queen Anne's War, or the War of the Spanish Succession, began, and, of course, the French and English colonies were placed in a hostile attitude. On the 20th of June, 1703, Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, held a conference with the eastern Indians, who assured him that they had not the most distant thought of breaking the peace; yet, in the space of about six weeks after, the French and Indians attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells, and killed or took 130 persons, destroying all before them.



On the night of the 28th of February, 1704, a body of 300 French and Indians, commanded by Hertel de Rouville, made a furious assault upon the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts. The sentinel was asleep; and the snow of such a depth as to admit of an entrance over the pickets of the fort, in the centre of the town. The assailants, availing themselves of these advantages, fell suddenly upon the unguarded inhabitants; and in a few hours, slew 47, and took 112 prisoners. Setting fire to

the town, the enemy hurried with their captives to Canada.

On the 30th of July, a party of French and Indians attacked Lancaster, killed a few of the inhabitants, and forced the rest to retreat into the garrison; burned the church and six other buildings, and destroyed many cattle. By Governor Dudley's order, Colonel Benjamin Church, renowned for his achievements in King Philip's War, planned an expedition against the Indians of Maine, and sailed from Boston, with 550 soldiers, to carry it into effect. In this expedition, which lasted through the summer, Church destroyed the towns of Menis and Cochecho; did much damage to the French and Indians at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, and even insulted Port Royal.

The Indians, aided and instigated by the French, continued their frontier depredations; burning villages, and killing the inhabitants, or carrying



Massacre at Deerfield.

them into hopeless captivity. But no considerable expedition was undertaken by the colonists until May, 1707. Early in that month, two regiments, under Colonel March, embarked in 23 transports at Nantasket, and under the convoy of the Deptford man-of-war and the province galley, proceeded against Port Royal. Arriving before that place, they had some skirmishes with the enemy, and made some ineffectual attempts to bombard the fort; but from disagreement and a misapprehension of the state of the fort and garrison, they soon abandoned the enterprise.

On the 16th of July, 1708, a large army of French and Indians marched from Canada against the frontiers of New England. The Hurons and Mohawks soon found pretexts for returning home; but the French, and Algonquin and St. Francis Indians, making together a body of about 200 men, marched between 300 and 400 miles through the wilderness to Nekepesique, expecting to meet a reinforcement at that place. Disappointed in this hope, they went forward, and at break of day, on the 29th of August, surprised the town of Haverhill, on Merrimac River, burned several houses, plundered the rest, and killed or captured a large number of the inhabitants.



Attack on Haverhill.

Roused by these atrocities, the colonial governments determined upon attempting the expulsion of their enemies from Canada. The British government formed an extensive plan for the same purpose. The French were to be subdued, not only in Canada and Acadie, but in Newfoundland. A squadron of ships was to be at Boston by the middle of May, 1709. Five regiments were to be sent from England, to be joined by 1200 men, to be raised in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and the whole force was to proceed against Quebec. Fifteen hundred men, proposed to be raised in the colonies south of Rhode Island, were, at the same time, to march by way of the lakes, to attack Montreal. In America, everything was prepared for the enterprise. In England, the British troops were on the point of embarkation. At this juncture, news arrived of the defeat of the Portuguese, and the ministry were forced to give up the expedition, and order the troops to Portugal.



THE next year, Colonel Nicholson went to England, to solicit forces for an expedition against Canada. A fleet was destined for that service, and it being from some cause detained, Port Royal was made its only object. Nicholson returned to New England, and waited until autumn without receiving any auxiliary force from England. On the 18th. of September, he sailed for Port Royal with 36 sail, and in six days arrived at his destination. Subercase, the French governor, had only 260 men, and the English landed without opposition. After three or four days' bombarding from the fort, and cannonading from the English, the place was surrendered on the 2d of October. Nicholson left a sufficient garrison, under Colonel Vetch, and returned to Boston. In honor of the queen, the name of Port Royal was exchanged for that of Annapolis.

After this successful expedition, Nicholson again went to England, to solicit means for striking a more effectual blow at the French power. The ministry ordered an armament proportionate to the enterprise. On the 8th of June, Nicholson arrived at Boston, with orders for the northern colonies to get ready their quotas of men and provisions. Sir Hovenden Walker, with a fleet of 15 ships of war and 40 transports, carrying seven veteran regiments of the Duke of Marlborough's army, and a battalion of marines, under Brigadier-general Hill, arrived at Boston harbor on the 25th of June. In about five weeks, the colonies raised two large armies, and furnished them with provisions. About 4000 men, under Nicholson, marched for Canada from Albany, on the 28th of August, 1711. In the meantime the other divisions of the forces, under General



Shipwreck of the Fleet.

Hill, sailed from Boston, and arrived in the St. Lawrence on the 14th of August: the fleet consisted of 68 vessels, and had on board 6463 soldiers. In proceeding up the river, the fleet was in danger of entire destruction through the want of skill in the pilots. On the 22d, about midnight, the seamen discovered that they had got among the rocks and islands. Eight or nine transports were thus cast away, and nearly 1000 men lost. After this disaster, the admiral bore away for Cape Breton, and the design was relinquished. The fleet returned to England, and the provincial troops returned home. Nicholson, hearing of the miscarriage of the fleet, also returned, and thus, an expedition which promised so much, accomplished nothing. From this time, until the treaty of Utrecht, signed on the 30th of March, no further offensive operations were undertaken by the colonies. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were now ceded to Great Britain, and the Indians sued for peace.



THE Abenakis, or eastern Indians, still continued their hostility to the colonists of New England, instigated, it was supposed, by Father Ralle, a Jesuit, living at Norridgewock, on the Kennebec. In 1722, Colonel Westbrook, with 230 men, was sent to seize Ralle; but he escaped into the woods, and the Colonel merely brought off his box of papers. This attempt led the Indians to commit various acts of hostility, and they at length destroyed Berwick. The govern-

ment now resolved on an expedition against Norridgewock, and entrusted it to Captains Moulton and Harman, of York. At the head of 100 men, these officers surprised the village, killed the Jesuit, and about 80 of the Indians, recovered three captives, destroyed the chapel, and brought away the plate and furniture of the altar as trophies. In the course of the year 1725, Captain John Lovewell was very successful in his operations against the Abenakis; but at length he and the greater portion of his men fell into an ambuscade and were killed. In this expedition the famous chief Paugus was killed by Mr. Chamberlin. A treaty of peace was concluded soon after, and was faithfully observed by the Indians.



IN March, 1744, Great Britain declared war against France. Before this was known at Boston, M. Du Quesnel, governor of Cape Breton, sent about 900 men, under Duvivier, against Canso, Maine. The place was surprised and burned, and the garrison, numbering 80 men, made prisoners. To guard against the incursions of the French and Indians, 500 men were impressed, of which, 300 were for the eastern frontier, and 200 for the western. The ordinary garrisons were reinforced, and ammunition distributed to the several townships.

After the peace of Utrecht, the French had built and strongly fortified the town of Louisbourg, on the Island of Cape Breton. The place was deemed so strong as to be termed the Dunkirk of America. Its reduction was for many reasons an important object to New England.

Early in January, 1745, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, formed a plan for its capture; it met the approval of the general court, and forces were immediately collected for its execution. William Pepperell, of Kittery, was appointed commander of the expedition, and sailing to Canso, he found the colonial troops, amounting to 4000 men, ready for action. They were detained at that place about three weeks, when Commodore Warren, with an English fleet, arrived, and the whole force proceeded to Louisbourg, where it arrived on the 30th of April. The town was invested and the siege prosecuted with extraordinary vigor. Duchambon, the French commander, refused to surrender, until the fire of the English had become very destructive, and the garrison mutinous, and having no hope of being relieved he signed the articles of capitulation on the 16th of June. This successful expedition displayed the enterprising character of the New England colonists, and gave them a degree of confidence in their own powers which afterwards proved of service to them. But it also excited the envy and jealousy of the mother country, which no sense of the value of the conquest could allay.



Death of Paulus



GOVERNOR SHIRLEY now determined to attempt the conquest of all Canada. He had matured a plan for that purpose, and went to Louisbourg to consult Sir Peter Warren and Sir William Pepperell, concerning its execution. The British ministry was earnestly entreated to furnish a portion of the necessary means, and consented.

The colonial quotas of troops were raised, but the English general who was to command them, did not arrive during the summer. On the presumption that no English fleet could be expected to arrive, as the season was far advanced, it was resolved to employ the troops in an attack upon Crown Point and Montreal. While preparations were making for this newly projected enterprise, the whole country was thrown into consternation by the intelligence that a formidable French armament was about to visit the coast of New England. A large fleet, under command of D'Arville had arrived at Nova Scotia. It consisted of about 40 ships of war, besides transports, and brought over 3000 regular troops, with veteran officers and all kinds of military stores. In a few days, 6400 militia marched to Boston, and 6000 more were promised from Connecticut. The old forts were repaired, and new ones erected. The whole country of New England was in a state of alarm and anxiety, when intelligence was received that the French fleet had been disabled by a storm, and soon after it was joyfully proclaimed that the expedition had been abandoned. A series of disasters, including the suicide of two commanders, the Duke D'Arville and D'Esternelle, compelled the French to return home. A more remarkable instance of the interference of circumstances beyond the power of human control has seldom occurred.

The Indians committed their usual depredations in various quarters during 1747; but several of their attacks were bravely repulsed by the settlers on the frontier. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed on the 7th of October, 1748, was joyfully welcomed by the colonists. By this treaty, Cape Breton was restored to the French, but the English retained Nova Scotia.





Washington writing the Journal of his Expedition to the French Posts on the Ohio.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.



WE now find events tending towards a final struggle for supremacy in America, between France and England. Even before the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French engaged in the execution of measures which could not but result in a renewal of the war. These consisted in founding settlements where a collision with the progress of the English could not be avoided, and when they knew their title to the land could never be recognised by the English with consistency.

We have remarked various disputes that were engendered between the several English provinces by the vague and inconsistent definitions of territory contained in their charters; and when such collisions occurred between members of the same common empire, it is not wonderful that they sprang up and were maintained with greater keenness and obstinacy between two nations long accustomed to regard each other with sentiments of rivalry and dislike. Yet, with the amplest allowance for these considerations, we should postpone substantial truth to fanciful candor and affected impartiality, in hesitating to pronounce that the obstructions to an amicable issue of the controversy were not only magnified, but ren-

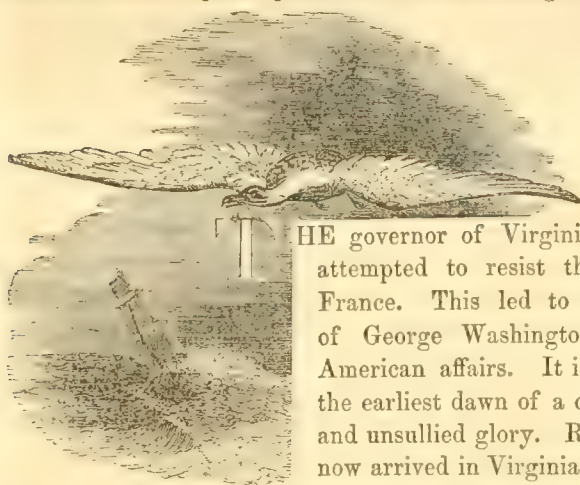
dered absolutely insuperable, by the disregard of honor, good faith, and moderation, with which the pretensions of France were advocated. The policy which had been exemplified by the French colonists in America was now espoused and defended by the French politicians in Europe. Not only did the commissaries on behalf of France reject the authority of maps which had been published and revised by the ministers of their own country, but they refused to abide by the definition of the boundaries of Nova Scotia for which the French cabinet formerly contended, when the region designated by this name was acknowledged to form a part of the dominion of France.



MEANWHILE, in addition to the previous controversies and the increasing hopelessness of a peaceful adjustment of them, new subjects of dispute arose between the two nations. The extension of the Virginian settlements to the banks of the river Ohio, and especially the occupation of a part of this region by the English Ohio Company, were calculated to bring to a decisive test the long prevalent suspicion of the purpose of the French to render the line of forts which they had been erecting subservient not merely to the communication between their own colonies, but to the confinement of the British settlement, and the obstruction of their advances into the interior of the country. Nor did the French hesitate a moment to afford unequivocal proof of their entire purpose, and to resist the first attempt of their rivals to overleap the boundaries within which they were resolved to enclose them. A menace of the governor of Canada, that he would treat as enemies any of the subjects of Britain who should settle near the Ohio, or presume even to trade with the Indian inhabitants of this region, having been disregarded, was promptly enforced by the seizure of a number of British traders, who were carried as prisoners to a fort which the French were erecting at Presque Isle on Lake Erie. Other British traders, and servants of the Ohio Company, retreated in alarm from the stations which they had begun to occupy; and the French perceiving the critical juncture was come, when their ambitious system of policy, now plainly disclosed, must either be defended by force or completely abandoned, proceeded with augmented diligence to supply whatever was yet defective in its subsidiary arrangements and preparations. A fort was built at Niagara, within the dominions of the Indian allies of Britain; and, in addition to the fort on Lake Erie, two others were built at commanding positions on the banks of the Ohio. Thus at length the French succeeded in completing their long-projected communication between the mouth of the Mississippi and the river St. Lawrence.

The complaints against these measures transmitted from America to Britain, concurring with the failure of the negotiations at Paris, and seconded by the influence and activity of the British merchants who were interested in the scheme of the Ohio Company, excited more attention in the parent state than colonial wrongs and quarrels had usually obtained; and a memorial was accordingly presented this year by Lord Albemarle, the British ambassador to the court of France, requiring, in peremptory terms, that satisfaction should be afforded to the injured subjects of Britain; that the fort erected at Niagara should be evacuated and destroyed: and that positive orders should be issued to the French commanders in America to desist from farther encroachments and attacks upon the British settlements and colonists. The French court, not yet prepared for an open rupture, or at least willing to defer it as long as

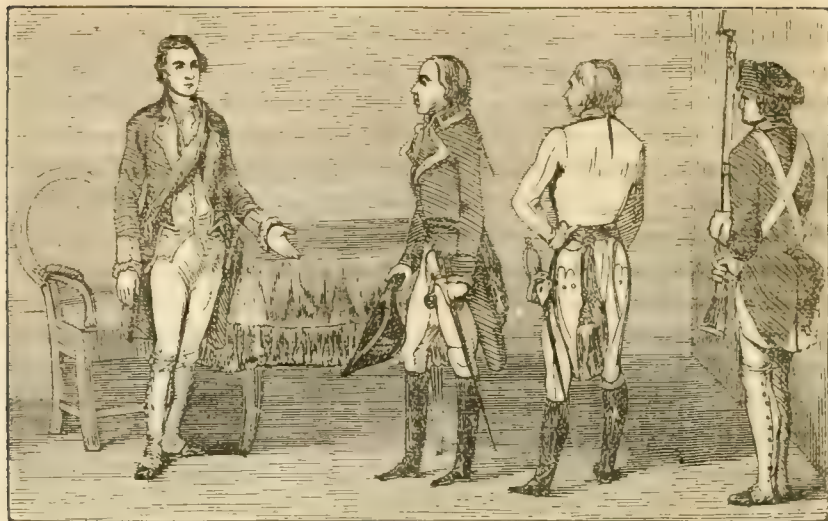
possible, returned to this application an answer, of which the tone was compliant, though the terms were evasive.



THE governor of Virginia, in the same year, attempted to resist the encroachments of France. This led to the first appearance of George Washington on the scene of American affairs. It is interesting to mark the earliest dawn of a career of such exalted and unsullied glory. Robert Dinwiddie, who now arrived in Virginia with the appointment of governor of this province, was quickly

made sensible of the critical state that the relations between the French and English had attained on its frontiers. Perceiving the necessity of instant and resolute interference in behalf of his countrymen who were expelled from their settlements, and desirous to gain more distinct information in regard to the region which was the subject of these conflicting pretensions, he was induced to commit this important task, which the approach of a rigorous winter rendered still more arduous, to Washington, a young Virginian planter, only twenty-one years of age.

This remarkable youth had conceived a strong predilection for the British naval service, and at the age of fifteen was prevented only by the entreaties of his mother from accepting the situation, which was obtained for him, of midshipman in an English ship of war. He was already distinguished as a surveyor and civil engineer in his native province, and held



Washington receiving the Answer of St. Pierre.

the rank of major, as well as the office of adjutant-general of its militia. Undaunted by the toil and danger of a winter journey, of which two hundred miles lay through a trackless desert inhabited by Indians, some of whom were open enemies, and others doubtful friends, the youthful envoy cheerfully undertook the mission: and, with a single attendant, surmounted all the peril and difficulty of the way, and succeeded in penetrating to a French fort erected on the river *Le Bœuf*, which falls into the Ohio. To the commander of this fort, he carried a letter from Governor Dinwiddie, requiring the evacuation of the place, and a relinquishment of the other recent encroachments on the British dominion in the same quarter. St. Pierre, the French commandant on the Ohio, returned for answer to this application, that it belonged not to him to arbitrate the conflicting claims of France and England, and that he had acted and must still continue to act in implicit obedience to the directions of the governor of Canada. Washington performed the duties of his mission with vigor and ability; and after a painful and laborious expedition, which occupied more than two months, regained in safety the capital of Virginia. [January 16, 1754.] A journal, in which he recorded the particulars of his travel and the fruits of his observation, was published soon after, and impressed his countrymen with a high respect for the solidity of his judgment, and the calm determined fortitude of his character. The following extract from Washington's journal affords a specimen of the personal dangers which he encountered in this expedition:

"Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy, (as we were obliged to provide all the necessities which the journey would require,) that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing: therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his honor the governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods, on foot.



ACCORDINGLY, I left Mr. Vanbram in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessities from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient despatch in travelling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch-coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering town, (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shanapin's town,) we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start, so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued travelling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shanapins. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way of getting over but on a raft, which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun setting. This was a whole day's work: we next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off; but before we were half-way over, we were jammed in the ice, in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put on my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with



Washington on his Expedition to the Interior.



Washington and Mr. Gist journeying through the Snow.

so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

THE cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers, and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going to the southward to war; but coming to a place on the head of the great Kanawa, where they found seven people killed and scalped, (all but one woman with very light hair,) they turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians of the Ottawa nation, &c., who did it.

“As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of Yohogany, to visit queen Alliquippa, who expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the best present of the two.



TUESDAY, the 1st of January, we left Mr. Frazier's house, and arrived at Mr. Gist's, on the 2d, where I bought a horse, saddle, &c. The 6th, we met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of the Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. This day, we arrived at Wills' Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the 1st of December

to the 15th, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey, we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

On the 11th, I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest; and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the 16th, when I waited upon his honor the governor, with the letter I had brought from the French commandant, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings. This I beg leave to do by offering the foregoing narrative, as it contains the most remarkable occurrences which happened in my journey."



GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE, finding that nothing was to be gained by amicable negotiation, projected the construction of forts at various places which had been surveyed and selected by Washington; and the Assembly agreeing to defray the expense of these operations, materials were procured and the works commenced without delay. Unfortunately, no means were taken to gain the consent of the natives to this measure, which

accordingly served only to increase the jealousy and malevolence with which they had begun to regard the English. A regiment was raised at the same time by the Virginia government, and Washington, who was its lieutenant-colonel, marched with two companies, in advance of the main body, to the Great Meadows, situated within the disputed territory. [April, 1754.] Here he learned from some friendly Indians, that the French, with a force of six hundred men and eighteen pieces of cannon, having attacked and destroyed a fort which the Virginians had been erecting, were engaged themselves in completing another fort at the

confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela, one of the spots which was especially recommended in his own journal to the occupation of his own countrymen; and that a detachment of French troops from this place was then on its march towards the Great Meadows, and had encamped for the night in the bosom of a retired valley at a short distance. Convinced that this was a hostile movement, Washington availed himself of the proffered guidance of the Indians, and, advancing with his troops on a dark and rainy night, effectually surprised the French encampment. The Virginians, rousing the enemy by a sudden discharge of firearms, completely disconcerted them by rushing forward to close attack, and compelled them instantly to surrender.



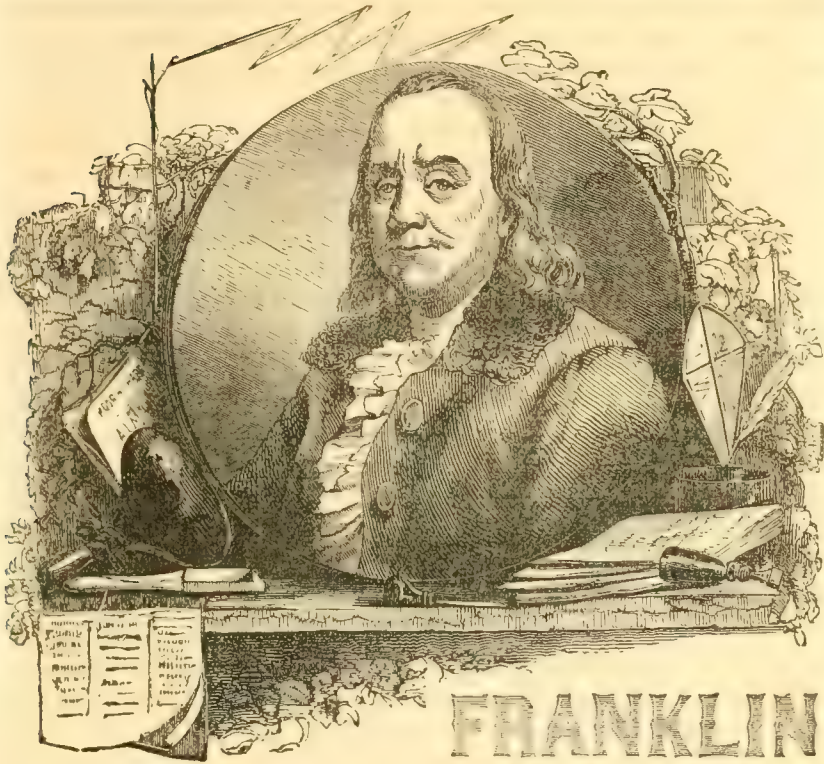
WASHINGTON, after this success, erected at the Great Meadows a small stockade fort, which received the name of Fort Necessity, and then advanced with his troops, which, by the accession of two companies, one from New York, and the other from North Carolina, now amounted to four hundred men, toward the new French fort called Duquesne, with the intention of dislodging the enemy. But, learning on his march that the

French had been reinforced, and were approaching with a great body of Indian auxiliaries to attack him, he retreated to Fort Necessity, and endeavored to strengthen its defences by the construction of a ditch around the stockade. Before this operation was completed, the fort was attacked, on the 4th of July, by a very superior force, under the command of De Villiers. The garrison made a vigorous defence from ten in the morning till a late hour at night, when De Villiers having sounded a parley and tendered a capitulation, they at first refused, but finally consented to surrender, or, more properly speaking, to evacuate the fort, on condition that they should be allowed to march out with the honors of war, to retain their arms and baggage, and to retire without molestation into the inhabited parts of Virginia, and that the French themselves, instead of advancing farther at present, or even retaining the evacuated fort, should retreat to their previous station at Monongahela. Fifty-eight of the Virginians, and two hundred of the French, were killed and wounded in the encounter. Such a capitulation was by no means calculated either to damp the spirit of the Virginians, or to depress the reputation of their commander. It was violated, however, with unscrupulous barbarity, by the Indians, who were united to the forces of De Villiers, and who, hovering round the Virginians during the whole of their retreat, harassed them with frequent attacks, and killed and wounded a considerable number

of them. At the close of this unsuccessful expedition, the Virginian Assembly, with equal justice and magnanimity, expressed by a vote of thanks its approbation of the conduct of Washington and his troops.



EARLY in the spring of this year, and before the expedition from Virginia to the Great Meadows, the British ministers signified to the provincial governments the desire of the king that they should oppose the French encroachments by force of arms; together with a recommendation from his majesty that they should send delegates to a general convention at Albany, both in order to form a league with the Six Nations, and to concert among themselves a plan of united operations and defence against the common enemy. Seven of the colonies, consisting of Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and the New England States, agreed to comply with this recommendation: and the Assembly of Massachusetts at the same time [April 10, 1754] presented an address to Governor Shirley, desiring him "to pray his majesty that affairs which relate to the Six Nations and their allies may be put under such general direction as his majesty shall judge proper; and that the several governments may be *obliged* to bear their proportions of defending his majesty's territories against the encroachments of the French, and the ravages and incursions of the Indians." Shirley, sensible, probably, of the jealousy which any measure founded on this suggestion would provoke among the colonists in general, unless it originated with themselves, proposed to the governors of the several colonies, that the delegates elected to the convention should be authorized by their constituents to deliberate on a plan of united operation of all the states for their common safety and defence. Instructions to this effect were accordingly communicated to the delegates, who, assembling, at Albany in the month of June, were met by a numerous deputation from the tribes of the Six Nations. After an explanatory and pacific treaty with the Indians, who very willingly accepted the presents that were tendered to them, but yet plainly betrayed, by their negligent demeanor, the success with which the French had intrigued to weaken their regards for the English—the convention undertook the more important subject which was committed to its deliberations; and it was unanimously resolved that a union of the colonies was essential to the general safety, and ought to be forthwith accomplished. But here the unanimity of the delegates ended. Probably all the inhabitants of all the colonies would have united in approving the foregoing resolution. The difficulty, or rather the impossibility, was to devise a plan for carrying it into execution, which would be satisfactory at once to the colonists and the parent state.



AMONG various individuals considerable for their talents and reputation who were assembled in this convention, the most popular and remarkable person was Benjamin Franklin, one of the delegates from Pennsylvania. This great man, who now sustained a conspicuous part in the most important national council that had ever been convoked in North America, had already signalized himself as a provincial patriot and philosopher, and afterwards as an enterprising and successful votary of science.

In the year 1753, Franklin, who for some time had held a subordinate appointment in the post-office, was promoted to the function of postmaster-general of America, a situation which he retained till about twenty years after, when he was displaced by the British court. Of humble parentage and narrow fortune, in a young and dependent commonwealth, unfriended by the gifts of patronage, the captivation of brilliant qualities, or the opportunities afforded by revolutionary change, self-educated and self-aided, this man achieved at once the highest civic preeminence, and the most splendid and imperishable renown. At the period at which we have now arrived, he had already distinguished himself by grand discoveries in

science, and by useful projects in economics, and had been for a number of years a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, where he spoke rarely, but sententiously, concisely, and with convincing force and propriety, when the occasion was at length presented of exhibiting his genius on a wider theatre. It was now that he proposed to his fellow-delegates in the Albany convention, that memorable scheme of a federal league between the American colonies, which has received the name of *The Albany Plan of Union*, and which, though little more than the transcript of a design suggested by another politician about thirteen years before, has been celebrated with far higher praise than his more ingenious and original idea of a ramification of clubs in Pennsylvania has attracted. This was the purport of the plan which he suggested. Application was to be made for an act of parliament to establish in the colonies a general government, to be administered by a president appointed by the crown, and by a grand council, consisting of members chosen by the several provincial assemblies, the number of representatives from each province being directly proportioned to the amount of its contributions to the general treasury, with this restriction, however, that no colony should have more than seven, or fewer than two representatives. The whole executive authority of the general government was committed to the president. The power of legislation was lodged jointly in the grand council and president; the consent of the latter functionary being requisite to the advancement of bills into laws. The functions and prerogatives of the general government were, to declare war and make peace; to conclude treaties with the Indian nations; to regulate trade with them, and to make purchase of vacant lands from them, either in the name of the crown or of the Union; to settle new colonies, and to exercise legislative authority over them until they should be erected into separate provincial governments; and to raise troops, build forts, fit out armed vessels, and pursue all other measures requisite for the general defence. To defray the expenses of this establishment and its various operations, the president and grand council were empowered to frame laws enacting such duties, imposts, and taxes, as they might deem at once necessary and least burdensome to the people. These legislative ordinances were to be transmitted to England for the approbation of the king; and unless disallowed within three years after their enactment, they were to remain in force. All officers in the naval and military service of the United Colonies were to be nominated by the president, and approved by the council; civil officers were to be nominated by the council, and approved by the president. This plan, though recommended to the approbation of a majority of the convention, both by its own merits and by the reputation, talent,

and address of the author, was opposed with warm and inflexible determination by the delegates of Connecticut, who objected to the authority conferred on the president, and to the power of general taxation. [July 4, 1754.]

The plan proved as unacceptable to the ministers of the crown as to the colonists. In America it was accounted too favorable to the royal prerogative; in England it was, contrariwise, censured as savoring too strongly of democracy, and conceding too much power to the representatives of the people. Although thus rejected by all parties, the project of Franklin was attended with important consequences in America. The discussion of it served to familiarize the idea of a federal league, a general government, an American army; and prepared the minds of the people for the very form of confederacy which was afterwards resorted to in their revolutionary contest with Britain.



THE mutual distrust and ill-humour which thus contributed to perplex the councils and enfeeble the operations of England and her colonies, was proportionably favorable to the views and policy of France, which continued vigorously to extend her encroachments, reinforce her garrisons, and strengthen her position in America. In aid of her designs, she endeavored with the utmost assiduity of hostile intrigue, to multiply the enemies of England, and particularly to involve that country in a quarrel with Spain. In this instance, indeed, she was for the present disappointed; for Wall, the minister of the king of Spain, succeeded in convincing his master that peace with England was essential to the real interests of the Spanish monarchy. In America the French intrigues were more successful; and by the influence of the governor of Canada and his Indian allies, a tribe of Indians with whom New England had no previous quarrel, were induced to invade and ravage the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Massachusetts had of late been the scene of violent altercations, provoked by the introduction of an excise law, which, however, in spite of the threats of its opponents and the fears of its supporters, was peaceably carried into execution. In the course of the present year, the Assembly of this province caused some new forts to be erected, renewed a pacific treaty with the Eastern Indians, and ascertained that the tidings which had been formerly communicated to them of a French settlement on the Kennebec were destitute of foundation.

The British ministers, on receiving intelligence of the defeat of Washington, and of the establishment of French posts on the Ohio, perceived plainly that a war between France and England had begun. Even with



French and Indians in Camp.

a view to the speedy restoration of peace, it was expedient that they should exert more vigor and promptitude of hostility, and demonstrate more active and determined concern for the dignity of the British empire and the safety of its colonial adjuncts or dependencies. Finding that their complaints to the court of Versailles were answered only by a repetition of former evasions, and learning that the French were making active preparations for the enlargement of their naval and military force in America, they determined to send a detachment of the standing army maintained in England to the defence of the British possessions and pretensions in the same quarter. In conformity with this determination, and early in the following year, [January, 1755,] General Braddock was despatched from Ireland with two regiments of infantry commanded by Halket and Dunbar, which were destined to the service of America, and especially to the protection of the Virginian frontier. On the arrival of

this armament at its destination, the provinces seemed to forget alike their disputes with each other, and their jealousies of the parent state, and a vigorous offensive campaign against the French was projected. A convention of the provincial governors, at the request of the British commander, assembled at Annapolis, in Maryland, to settle the plan of military operations, and resolved that three simultaneous expeditions should be undertaken. The first, directed against Fort Duquesne, was to be conducted by Braddock with his British troops; the second, which was to attempt the reduction of the French fort at Niagara, was committed to the American regulars and Indians, commanded by Governor Shirley, who now received the rank of a British general from the king; and the third, an expedition against Crown Point, was to be undertaken by militia drawn from the northern colonies.

The French court, apprized of Braddock's departure for America, now made one more attempt to prolong the inactivity of the British government, by reiterating assurances of its pacific purposes and earnest desire of accommodation. But when the Marquis de Mirepoix, the ambassador of France at London, a truly honorable man, tendered these assurances, in full reliance on their truth, to the British ministers, they exhibited to him such incontestable proofs of the insincerity of his court, that he was struck with astonishment and mortification, and repairing to Versailles, upbraided the ministers of Louis XV. with the indignity to which they had exposed him as the tool of their dissimulation. By them he was referred to the king, who commanded him to return to London with fresh protestations of his royal intention to preserve peace; but the conduct of this monarch corresponded so ill with his professions, that his ambassador had scarcely obtained an audience to communicate them, when indubitable assurance was received that a powerful squadron was ready to sail for America from Brest and Rochefort. In effect, it sailed soon after, and transported a great quantity of military stores, and four thousand regular troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau. Roused by this intelligence, the British government despatched a small fleet, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, and afterwards, on learning the superior strength of the enemy, a few more vessels under Admiral Holborne, to watch the motions of the French squadron. But no additional land forces were sent by Britain to America; nor yet did she think fit to declare war against France. The French monarch was still more bent on avoiding or at least postponing this extremity; and although a part of the fleet which he had despatched to America was attacked off Newfoundland and captured by Admiral Boscawen, he still refrained from any nearer approach to a declaration of war than the recall of his ambassador from England. [April



General Braddock.

25, 1755.] The British king, in his speech to parliament, asserted the sincerity of his wishes and endeavors, and still expressed a hope of his ability, to preserve peace; but withal declared that he would not purchase even this blessing at the expense of submitting to encroachments upon his dominions. An act of parliament was passed, extending the provisions of the British *Mutiny Act* to North America; and declaring that all troops, raised by any of the colonial governors or assemblies, should, whenever they acted in conjunction with the British soldiers, be subject to the same system of martial law and discipline which was maintained in the British army. A communication, addressed some time before to the provincial governments, signified the king's commands, that officers commissioned by his majesty, or by his commander-in-chief in North America, should take precedence of all those whose commissions were derived from the provincial governors or assemblies; "and that the general and field-officers of the provincial troops should have no rank, when serving with the general and field-officers commissioned by the crown." This regulation proved exceedingly unpalatable to the Americans. Washington, in particular, resenting it as injurious to the merit of his countrymen, and calculated to depress their spirit and character, resigned his commission. Happily, however, for his own fame and his country's interest, he was persuaded to accept the appointment of aid-de-camp to General Braddock.



Capture of Fort Beau Séjour.

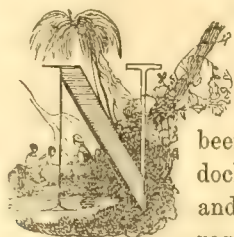
While preparations were making for the prosecution of the military schemes devised in the convention at Annapolis, an expedition, which the New England States had previously agreed to undertake on condition of being reimbursed of the expense of it by the British government, was despatched against the forts and settlements recently established by the French in Nova Scotia. The main body of the forces thus employed consisted of about three thousand men, raised in New England, principally in Massachusetts, and conducted by Colonel Winslow, one of the most popular and considerable inhabitants of this province, and the representative of one of the old Puritan families which were the pride of New England, and had gathered the respect of successive generations. Arriving at the British settlement in Nova Scotia, [May 25, 1755,] the New England forces were joined by three hundred regular troops and a small train of artillery; and the command of the whole was assumed by Colonel Monckton, an English officer of respectable talents and experience. This enterprise was pursued with skill and vigor, and crowned with entire success. Beau Séjour, the principal fort which the French possessed at Chignecto, after a hot siege of a few days, was compelled to surrender, and received from the victors the new name of Fort Cumberland. [June 16, 1755.] The garrison were allowed to march out with the honors of war, and, having engaged not to bear arms for six months, were transported to Louisburg. The other fortresses of the French in this quarter surrendered shortly after, on the same terms.

The forces by which the conquest of Nova Scotia was thus completed incurred no greater loss, during the whole expedition, than that of twenty men killed and about as many wounded. Winslow and his troops, on their return to New England, expressed much disgust at the distinctions which were studiously enforced during the campaign between them and the

British regulars, and which the disproportion between the British and the provincial contingents to the combined army rendered peculiarly striking and offensive. But the success of the enterprise, occurring in this early stage of the war, diffused a general animation through the colonies, and was hailed as the omen of farther triumph. There needed not this influence, indeed, to exalt the confident expectation that prevailed of a victorious issue of the greater enterprise which Braddock was to conduct against the French settlements on the Ohio. It was known that the garrison of Fort Duquesne did not exceed two hundred men; and the British regulars, united with a body of Virginian rangers and a troop of friendly Indians, seemed more than a match for any additional force that the French could assemble in this quarter. Braddock might have entered upon action early in the spring, had he not been delayed by the inability of the Virginian contractors to fulfil their engagements to furnish a sufficient quantity of provisions and carriages for his army. That this accident, which might easily have been foreseen, was not prevented by the British government, implies the most culpable ignorance or disregard on their part of the actual condition of the American provinces. The Virginians, engrossed with the culture of tobacco, did not raise corn enough for their own subsistence; and being amply provided with the accommodation of water conveyance, they employed but few wheel-carriages or beasts of burden; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounded in corn and all other sorts of provisions, enjoyed but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where the inhabitants possessed great numbers of carts, wagons, and horses. The British troops should therefore have been landed in Pennsylvania, and their supplies contracted for with the planters there, who could have easily performed their engagements; and if their commander had pitched his camp near Frankstown, or elsewhere upon the south-west borders of this province, he would have had less than 80 miles to march thence to Fort Duquesne, instead of 130 miles, which he had to traverse from Will's Creek, on the frontiers of Virginia, where his encampment was actually formed. The road to Fort Duquesne from the one place was not better or more practicable than from the other.

When Braddock and his officers discovered the incompetence of the Virginians to fulfil the contract, which only an injudicious preference had obtained for them, they exclaimed against the blundering ignorance of the British ministers in selecting a scene so unsuitable to their operations, and declared that the enterprise was rendered impracticable. It was, indeed, retarded for many weeks, and must have been deferred till the following summer if a supply of carriages and provisions had not been seasonably procured from Pennsylvania, by the influence and exertions of Dr.

Franklin and some other popular and public-spirited inhabitants of this province.



NOTWITHSTANDING the blunder by which the progress of the expedition was thus delayed, it would still, in all probability, have been attended with complete success, if a more fatal error had not been committed, in the choice of its commander. Braddock was a man of courageous and determined spirit, and expert in the tactics and evolutions of European regiments and regular warfare. But, destitute of real genius, and pedantically devoted to the formalities of military science, he was fitter to review than to command an army; and scrupled not to express his contempt for any troops, however efficient in other respects, whose exercise on a parade did not display the same regularity and dexterity which he had been accustomed to witness, and unfortunately to overvalue, in a regiment of English guards in Hyde Park. Rigid in enforcing the nicest punctilios and in inflicting the harshest severities of military discipline; haughty, obstinate, presumptuous, and difficult of access, he was unpopular among his own troops, and excited the disgust both of the Americans and the Indians. There are two sorts of vulgarity of mind; to the one of which it is congenial timidly to overrate, and to the other presumptuously to underrate, the importance of scenes and circumstances remote from the routine of its ordinary experience. The latter of these qualities had too much place in the character of Braddock, who, though totally unacquainted with American warfare, and strongly warned by the Duke of Cumberland that ambush and surprise were the dangers which he had chiefly to apprehend in such scenes, scorned to solicit counsel adapted to the novelty of his situation from the only persons who were competent to afford it. Despising the credulity that accepted all that was reported of the dangers of Indian warfare, he refused, with fatal skepticism, to believe any part of it. It seemed to him degrading to the British army to suppose that it needed the direction of provincial officers, or could be endangered by the hostility of Indian foes.

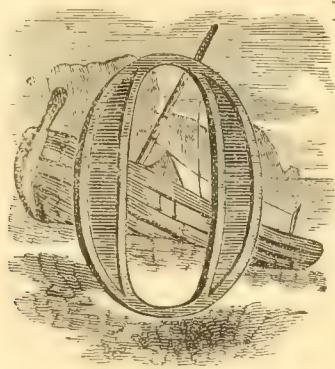
Filled with that pride which goes before destruction, Braddock commenced his march from Will's Creek, on the 10th of June, at the head of about 2200 men. The advance of the army, unavoidably retarded by the natural impediments of the region it had to traverse, was additionally and unnecessarily obstructed by the stubborn adherence of Braddock, amidst the boundless woods and tangled thickets of America, to the system of military movements adapted to the open and extensive plains of Europe. He was roused at length to greater vigor and activity by the intelligence



Washington advising Braddock to send forward Scouts.

that the French at Fort Duquesne expected a reinforcement of 500 regular troops; whereupon, at the head of 1200 men whom he selected from the different corps, and with ten pieces of cannon and the necessary ammunition and provisions, he resolved to press forward to the point of destination—leaving the residue of the army, under Colonel Dunbar, to follow with all the heavy baggage, by easy and leisurely marches. After a laborious progress, which was still unnecessarily retarded, and yet unaccompanied by the precaution of reconnoitering the woods, Braddock arrived at the Monongahela on the 8th of July, and encamped within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Though Dunbar was forty miles behind him, and the proximity of the enemy increased the danger of instantaneous attack, he prepared to advance the next day in his usual style of march, and expected to invest the French fortress without opposition. Sir Peter Halket and others of his officers now vainly entreated him to proceed with greater caution, to convert the column of march into an order of battle, and to employ the friendly Indians, who attended him, as an advanced guard, to explore and anticipate the probabilities of ambuscade. Not less vainly did Washington represent that the profound silence and apparent solitude of the gloomy scenes around them afforded no security in American warfare against deadly and imminent danger, and offered with the provincial troops to scour and occupy the woods in the front and on the flanks of the main body. Braddock treated with equal contempt the idea of aid and of hostility from Indian savages; and disdainfully

rejecting the proposition of Washington, ordered the provincials to form the rear-guard of the British force.



ON the following day, this infatuated commander resumed his march, [July 9, 1755,] without having made the slightest attempt to gain intelligence of the situation or dispositions of the enemy. Three hundred British regulars, conducted by Colonel Gage, composed his van; and Braddock himself followed at some distance with the artillery and main body of the army, divided into small columns. Thus incautiously advancing and having arrived about noon within seven miles of

Fort Duquesne, in an open wood undergrown thickly with high grass, his troops were suddenly startled by the appalling sound of the Indian war-cry; and in the same moment a rattling shower of musketry was poured on their front and left flank from an enemy so artfully concealed that not a man of them could be descried. The vanguard, staggered and daunted, fell back upon the main body; and the firing being repeated with redoubled fury and without yet disclosing either the numbers or the position of the assailants, terror and confusion began to spread among the British troops; and many of them sought safety in flight, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, to recall and rally them. Braddock himself, if he ever possessed any of the higher qualities of a soldier, was in this emergency deserted of them all, and exhibited only an obstinate and unavailing bravery. Instead of raking the thickets and bushes whence the fire was poured with grape-shot from the ten pieces of cannon which he had with him, or pushing forward flanking parties of his Indians against the enemy, he confined his attention exclusively to the regular infantry. To them the only command which he should have addressed was either an instant retreat, or a rapid charge without regard to methodical order and regularity. He adopted neither of these expedients; but, remaining on the ground where he was first attacked, under an incessant and galling fire, he directed the brave officers and men who continued with him to form in regular line and advance. Meanwhile his troops fell fast beneath the iron tempest that hissed around them, and almost all his officers were singled out one after another and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take deliberate and particular aim when they fire, and aim preferably at the officers, easily distinguished them by their dress. After an action of three hours,

Braddock, under whom three horses were killed, and whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, received a shot through the right arm and the lungs, and was carried off the field by Colonel Gage. All the officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, were now killed or wounded, and the residue of the troops by whom the conflict had been maintained abandoned it in dismay and disorder. The provincials, who were among the last to leave the field, were rallied after the action by the skill and presence of mind of Washington, and covered the retreat of the regulars. The defeat was complete.



ABOUT seven hundred of the British were killed or wounded, including a considerable proportion of the Virginian troops, and sixty-four out of eighty-five officers. Sir Peter Halket fell by the first fire, at the head of his regiment; and the general's secretary, son to Governor Shirley, was killed soon after. The artillery, ammunition and baggage were abandoned to the enemy; and the

defeated army fled precipitately to the camp of Dunbar, where Braddock expired of his wounds. Although no pursuit was attempted by the French, who afterwards gave out that their numbers, including Indian auxiliaries, had amounted only to 400 men, and, with greater probability, that their loss in action was perfectly insignificant, Dunbar, struck with astonishment and alarm, and finding that his troops were infected with the panic and disarray of the fugitives, hastily reconducted them to Will's Creek. Here letters were brought to him from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, beseeching him to assist in defending the frontiers of these provinces, while they would endeavor to raise from the inhabitants reinforcements that might enable him yet to resume the enterprise against Fort Duquesne. But, diffident of his safety, he declined to accede to their desire; and abandoning his position at Will's Creek, pursued a hasty retreat to Philadelphia. Since their arrival in America, and especially during this retreat, the conduct of the British soldiers toward the American colonists was marked by licentious rapine and insolence; and it was generally declared of them that they were much more formidable to the people whom they had been commissioned to defend, than to the enemy whom they had undertaken to conquer.

The issue of this expedition, and the different circumstances and result of the prior campaign in Nova Scotia, could not fail to awaken in the minds of the colonists impressions no less flattering to American genius and valour, than unfavorable to British ascendancy. Nothing, indeed, could be more injurious to the dignity and influence of Britain, than that,

at the very time when she first offended and mortified the colonists by the superiority which she arrogated to her own soldiers, these soldiers, commanded by a British general, should have incurred a disgraceful defeat by neglecting the advice of the provincial officers, and should have been saved from total destruction only by the firmness and valour of the provincial troops. But the Virginians at present had little leisure for such considerations, amidst the calamitous consequences which immediately resulted from the defeat on the Ohio. Their frontiers were now exposed to the hostilities of a foe roused by a formidable attack, inflamed by a surprising victory, and additionally incited by the timidity displayed by Dunbar and his troops. A large addition to the militia of the province was decreed by the Assembly; and the command of this force was bestowed on Colonel Washington, with the unusual privilege of appointing his own field officers. But, whether from a misdirected economy, or from the jealousy which they entertained of Governor Dinwiddie, the measures of the Virginian Assembly were quite inadequate to the purpose of effectual defence. The skilful and indefatigable exertions of Washington, seconded by his militia with an admirable bravery and warmth of patriotic zeal, proved unavailing to stem the furious and desolating incursions of the French and Indians, who, dividing themselves into small parties, and actively pursuing a system of predatory hostility, rendered the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania a scene of carnage, terror, and desolation. In the scenes of this desultory warfare, unattended with glory, but replete with action, danger, and enterprise, did Washington qualify himself to sustain the greater and more arduous part which his destiny reserved for him.



THE defeat sustained on the Ohio produced a very unpropitious effect on the enterprise which had been projected against Niagara, under the conduct of Shirley, whom Braddock's death had advanced to the chief command of the British forces in North America. The troops destined for this expedition and for the attack on Crown Point were ordered to assemble at Albany. Those whom Shirley was personally to lead consisted of certain regiments of regulars, furnished by New England, New York, and New Jersey, and of a band of

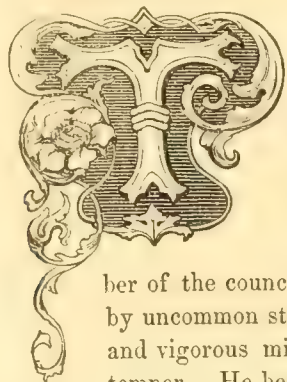
Indian auxiliaries. Various causes conspired to retard the comm



Indian Outrages on the Frontiers.

ment of this march; and while he was advancing to Oswego, the tidings of Braddock's defeat overtook him, and spread consternation through his army. Many of the boatmen and sledgemen who were hired to transport the stores and provisions now began to desert; and the Indians discovered such backwardness to follow him, or even to adhere longer to the declining fortunes of England, that prudence induced him to consume a great deal of time in efforts but partially successful to restore their confidence and regain their good-will. On his arrival at Oswego, [August 21, 1755,] his forces were so much reduced by desertion, and the fidelity of the Indians appeared so precarious, that farther delay was rendered inevitable; and though he finally attempted to press forward with vigor to Niagara, he was compelled to abandon this design by a succession of heavy rains, the sickness of his troops, and the dispersion of the few Indians whose constancy endured somewhat longer than that of the rest of their countrymen. Leaving Colonel Mercer at Oswego,

with a garrison of seven hundred men, and instructions to build two additional forts for the security of the place, Shirley reconducted his unsuccessful army to Albany.



HE forces which were to proceed from Albany against Crown Point consisted of militia regiments, amounting to between 5000 and 6000 men, supplied by the New England states and New York. By the advice of Shirley, the command of this expedition was intrusted to William Johnson a native of Ireland, who had emigrated to New York, and was now a member of the council of this province. Johnson was distinguished by uncommon strength of body, and possessed a hardy, coarse, and vigorous mind, united with an ambitious and enterprising temper. He began life as a common soldier, and in the parent state could hardly have emerged above the level of this condition; but in the colonies his genius and good fortune advanced him to wealth, title, and fame. For several years he resided on the banks of the Mohawk River; and, studiously cultivating the friendship of the Six Nations, had acquired a more powerful ascendancy over them than any of his countrymen ever before enjoyed. In conformity with the expectation to which he owed his appointment, he prevailed with Hendrick, one of the chiefs of that confederacy, to join the expedition against Crown Point, at the head of three hundred warriors of his tribe. Johnson, who received separate commissions from every American province which contributed to the enterprise, had never before witnessed a military campaign; and his troops, except a few of the New Englanders who had shared in the reduction of Louisburg, were equally inexperienced. While Johnson was collecting his artillery and military stores, General Lyman, the second in command, advanced with the troops to the *carrying-place* between Hudson's River and Lake George, about 60 miles from Albany, and began to build a fortress, which received the name of Fort Edward, on the east side of the Hudson. Having joined his army, Johnson left a part of it as a garrison to Fort Edward, and towards the end of August proceeded with the main body to the southern extremity of Lake George. Here he learned from his Indian scouts that a party of French and Indians had established a fort at Ticonderoga, which is situated on the isthmus between the north end of Lake George and the southern shore of Lake Champlain, about fifteen miles from Crown Point. As the fortifications at Ticonderoga were reported to be incomplete, Johnson, deeming that the conquest of the place would be attended with little difficulty,

and regarding it as a key to the main object of his enterprise, was preparing to advance against it, when he was suddenly reduced to act on the defensive by the motions of the enemy, and the unexpected tidings that reached him of the force which they possessed.



ARON DIESKAU, an able and experienced officer, had now arrived in Canada with a strong reinforcement of troops from France; and having collected a considerable army both of French and Indians, was advancing against the British settlements with the purpose of striking an important blow. Johnson hastened to transmit this alarming intelligence to the provinces whose troops he commanded, and especially to the government of Massachusetts—together with an urgent request for further assistance, which he reckoned indispensable to the success of his enterprise, and even to the safety of his army. The issue of this application affords another instance of that unconquerable spirit which distinguished the people of New England. Massachusetts had supplied the greatest part of the force which Johnson already commanded, and by her various military exertions incurred an expense disproportioned to her resources, and of which she anxiously solicited a reimbursement from the parent state. The reputation of Dieskau, and the advantage which he possessed in commanding disciplined troops, contrasted with the inexperience of Johnson and the American militia, gave rise to apprehensions, which, combining with the depression occasioned by Braddock's defeat, produced a general despair of the success of the expedition against Crown Point. But this was a favorite enterprise with the people of New England, and they were determined to persist in it as long as possible, and to support to the utmost of their power the brave men who were engaged in conducting it. A large subsidiary force was raised in Massachusetts, and despatched with the hope of at least extricating Johnson and his army from the danger of being compelled to surrender to the superior power of the enemy. But the danger was over before this reinforcement reached the scene of action. Dieskau had been ordered to direct his first effort to the reduction of the British post at Oswego, of the importance of which the French government was fully aware; and he had already commenced his march for this purpose, when the tidings of Johnson's expedition induced him to reserve his force for the defence of Crown Point. Finding that Johnson's army, which was inferior both in number and experience, did not venture to approach, he determined to advance against it; and expecting an easy victory and the consequent fall of Fort Edward, proposed, as an ulterior measure, to invade Albany,

to ravage the neighboring settlements, and deprive the British of all communication with Oswego. His purpose would have succeeded, if the fate of the two armies had depended on the comparative skill of their commanders. But victory, though commonly, is not indefeasibly, the prize of either the skilful or the strong.



JOHNSON was apprized of Dieskau's approach, but ignorant both of his position and of his force; for the Indians, who were his scouts, had no words or signs for expressing any large number, and customarily pointed to the hair of their heads, or to the stars in the firmament, when they meant to denote any quantity which exceeded their reckoning. It was impossible to collect from their reports whether the French fell short of 1000, or exceeded 10,000 in number. Yet, notwithstanding this uncertainty, Johnson, who had fortified his camp at Lake George, committed the rashness of detaching 1000 men, under the command of a brave officer, Colonel Ephraim Williams, together with Hendrick and the Indian auxiliaries, to attack the enemy. [September 6, 1755.] This detachment had hardly advanced three miles beyond the camp, when it found itself almost entirely surrounded by the French army, and, after a gallant but hopeless conflict, was defeated with some loss and put to flight. Williams fell in this encounter; and Hendrick, with several of his Indians, who fought with heroic bravery, were also among the slain. The French, whose loss was not inferior, pursued the fugitives to their camp, and, had they made an instantaneous attack, they would probably have carried it; but, fortunately for its defenders, a pause took place, which, though short, gave time for their panic and confusion to subside. Dieskau had learned a few days before that Johnson had no cannon at his camp; and he was not aware, that, in the interim, a number of these engines had been seasonably transported to it from Fort Edward. Dis- mayed by the unexpected fire of this artillery, the Canadian militia and their Indian auxiliaries fled into the woods, whence the discharges of their musketry against a fortified camp produced little effect. The French regulars, however, maintained their ground, and with them, Dieskau, in an engagement which was prolonged for several hours, conducted a vigorous assault upon Johnson's position. Johnson displayed a firm and intrepid spirit during his brief participation in the commencement of the action; but having soon received a painful wound, he was compelled to retire to his tent and abandon the command to Lyman. Under the conduct of this

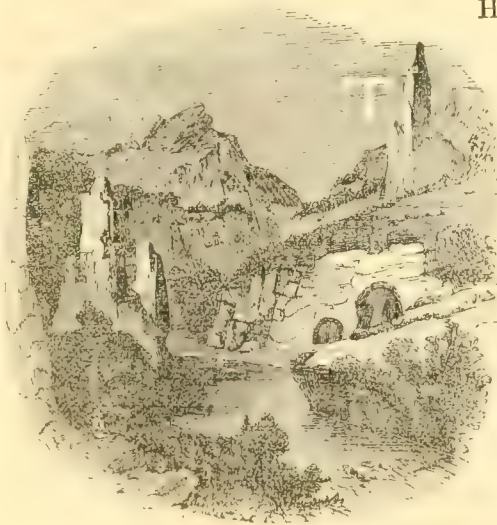


Dieskau taken Prisoner.

American officer, his countrymen defended their camp with such resolution and success that the French were finally repulsed with the loss of nearly 1000 men. Dieskau was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; and his discomfited forces, assembling at some distance and preparing to refresh themselves with food, were suddenly attacked by a small party of New York and New Hampshire militia, commanded by Captains Folsom and McGinnes, and, flying in confusion, left the whole of their baggage and ammunition a prey to the victors. In the various conflicts by which this important day was signalized, there were killed or mortally wounded, about a hundred and thirty of the British provincials, and among others Captain McGinnes, by whom the success was completed, and Colonel Titcomb, of Massachusetts, who had previously gained the praise of distinguished bravery at the siege of Louisburg.

Now was the time for the British to improve the advantage they had won, and reap the full fruit of their victory, by a vigorous pursuit of the flying enemy, and by investing Crown Point, which, from the smallness of its garrison, and the impression produced by the defeat of Dieskau, would have probably afforded them an easy conquest. But Johnson was less desirous of extending the public advantage, than of reaping and securing his own personal share in it; and sensible of the claim he had acquired on royal favor, he was averse to expose it, while yet unrewarded, to the hazard of diminution. He directed his troops to strengthen the fortifications of his camp, in utter disregard of the spirited counsel of

Shirley, who pressed him to resume active operations, and at least to dislodge the French from Ticonderoga, before they had time to fortify this post and recover from their surprise and consternation. Whether from negligence or from a politic deference to the sentiments of the British court, he maintained scarcely any communication with the New England governments, and sent the French general and the other prisoners to New York—although Massachusetts had claimed the distinction of receiving them, as due to the preponderance of her interest in the army by which they were taken. With the additional troops lately raised in this province, and which were now united to Johnson's original and victorious army, it was not doubted that he would still attempt some farther enterprise before the close of the year. But he suffered the opportunity to pass by, and consumed the time in lingering and irresolute deliberation, till, by the advice of a council of war, the attack of Crown Point, and all other active operations, were abandoned for the present season. [October, 1755.] His army was then disbanded, with the exception of 600 men, who were appointed to garrison Fort Edward, and another strong fort which was erected at the southern extremity of Lake George, and received the name of Fort William Henry.



HE French, taking advantage of Johnson's remissness, exerted themselves to strengthen Ticonderoga; while their Indian allies, provoked by the conflict at Lake George, and encouraged by the seeming timidity or incapacity of the victor, indulged their revenge and animosity in furious and destructive ravages on the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The British colonists, though at first highly elated with the victory

over Dieskau, perceived with chagrin and disappointment that the advantages of it were entirely thrown away, and that the issue of an enterprise which began with a signal defeat of the enemy, had been to render the chief object of it more difficult of attainment than it was before. Nor was their dissatisfaction abated by perceiving that Johnson

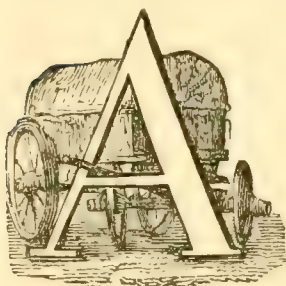
alone derived any substantial benefit from the victory, and that to him exclusively was the gratitude of Britain expressed for the first battle in which the honor of her arms had been vindicated, since the commencement of hostilities with France. In Johnson's reports of the action at Lake George, he assumed the whole merit of it to himself; and while the superior claims of Lyman, and other native Americans were unknown, or at least unnoticed, in England, Johnson received from the king the dignity of a baronet, together with the office of royal superintendent of Indian affairs, and from the parliament a grant of £5000, which was in fact paid by the colonies, as it was deducted from the sum of £115,000, voted this year by the House of Commons to New England, New York, and New Jersey, in consideration of the burdens entailed upon them by the war.



WHILE the British colonies were thus balked of the fruits which might have been reaped from the victory at Lake George, the French, with politic and assiduous exertion, were cultivating the advantage they obtained at Fort Duquesne. They were particularly successful in improving the favorable impression of their genius and good fortune which the defeat of Braddock produced on

the Indian tribes inhabiting the territory adjacent to the river Ohio; and in the course of this year, some of their emissaries, united with envoys deputed by these tribes, made their first attempt to seduce the Cherokees, who had been hitherto the firmest Indian allies of Britain. This nation differed in some respects from all the other branches of the Indian race, and especially from those roving tribes who possessed no fixed or constant habitations. From time immemorial they had occupied the territory which they still inhabited; and, in speaking of their forefathers, customarily affirmed that, "they sprang from that ground," or that "they descended from the clouds upon those hills." They termed the Europeans, *Nothings*, and themselves *the beloved people*. Hitherto they had regarded the French with especial aversion, and contemptuously remarked of them, that they were light as a feather, fickle as the wind, and deceitful as serpents; and valuing themselves on the grave and stately decorum of their own manners, they resented the sprightly levity of French deportment as an unpardonable insult. But now the chief warrior of the Cherokees sent in haste a message to Glen, the governor of South Carolina, acquainting him with the intrigues of the French and their Indian partisans, and advising him to hold a general conference with the Cherokee

tribes, and to renew the former treaties of his countrymen with them. Glen, sensible of the importance of securing the favor of these powerful tribes, who at this time could bring about three thousand warriors into the field, willingly acceded to the proposition of a conference, and met the chiefs of the Cherokees in their own country, at a place 200 miles distant from Charleston. The conference that ensued, lasted about a week, and terminated in the renovation of a friendly league, and in an arrangement by which, to the satisfaction of both parties, a large section of their territory was ceded by the Indians to the king of Great Britain. This acquisition, which was defined by deeds of conveyance, executed by the chiefs of the Cherokees in the name of their people, occasioned the removal of the Indians to a greater distance from the English, and enabled the inhabitants of Carolina to extend their settlements into the interior of the country, in proportion to the increase of their numbers. Soon after the cession took place, Governor Glen built a fort, which was named Prince George, at a spot on the Savannah River, about 300 miles from Charleston, and within gun-shot of an Indian town called Keowee. It contained barracks for a hundred men, and was designed for the security of the western frontiers of Carolina.



ALTHOUGH a war between the French and English had been openly on foot for more than two years in America, it had not yet been formally proclaimed. The British government, conscious of the moderation (not to say the timidity) of its own views, obstinately clung to the hope that peace might yet be established by an amicable arrangement, and upon solid foundations; and the French court, transported by immoderate ambition, and yet more

misled by ignoble cunning and intrigue, studiously encouraged that hope, with the view of relaxing the vigor of British hostility. But, at length, all prospect of accommodation having ceased, a formal declaration of war was published by Great Britain, [May 17, 1756,] and followed soon after by a counter proclamation from France, whose cabinet apparently cherished the hope that an attack upon the English monarch's German possessions, to which, from birth and education, he was notoriously much more attached than to England, might alarm him into a modification of his pretensions in America. A reinforcement of troops had been despatched to America two months before this event, under General Abercrombie, who was appointed to supersede Shirley in the chief command of the British forces. An act of parliament was passed for enabling the

king to grant the rank and pay of military officers to a limited number of foreign Protestants, residing and naturalized in the colonies. This act, which was not passed without a strong opposition in England, excited great discontent and apprehension in America. Another contemporary statute empowered the king's officers to recruit their regiments by enlisting the indented servants of the colonists, with the consent of their masters.

The plan of operations for this year's campaign was concerted in the council of provincial governors at New York. It was proposed to raise 10,000 men for an expedition against Crown Point; 6000 for an attempt upon Niagara; and 3000 for the attack of Fort Duquesne. In addition to this large force, and in aid of its operations, it was resolved that 2000 men should proceed up the river Kennebec, destroy the French settlements on the river Chaudière, and advancing to its mouth, within three miles of Quebec, distract the attention of the enemy, and spread alarm through all the adjacent quarter of Canada. To facilitate the reduction of Crown Point, it was proposed to take advantage of the season when the lakes should be frozen, in order to seize Ticonderoga; but this measure was rendered impracticable by the unusual mildness of the winter.



THE command of the expedition against Crown Point was intrusted to General Winslow, who, on reviewing the provincial troops destined for this service, found their number to amount only to about 7000; a force, which, after deducting from it the garrisons required at various places, appeared inadequate to the enterprise.

The arrival of the British troops under Abercrombie, while it supplied the deficiency, created a new difficulty, which for a while suspended the expedition. Much disgust was excited in America by the regulations of the crown respecting military rank; and Winslow, when consulted on this delicate point by Abercrombie, avowed his apprehension, that, if the result of a junction of the British and provincial troops should be to place the provincials under British officers, it would provoke general discontent, and probably occasion extensive desertion. To avoid so serious an evil, it was finally arranged, that the provincials, taking the lead, should advance against the enemy, and that at the forts and other posts which they were progressively to quit, the regulars should succeed to their stations and perform the duty of garrisons. This matter was hardly settled, when the discussion of it was again renewed by the Earl of Loudoun, who now arrived in America, to succeed Abercrombie, as com-

mander-in-chief of the British forces, and with the additional appointment of governor of Virginia, [July, 1756.] An unusual extent of authority was delegated to Lord Loudoun by his commission; and from some parts of the subsequent conduct of this nobleman, it would seem that he was prompted either by his instructions, or by his own disposition, to render his power at least as formidable to the British colonists as to the enemy. He gravely demanded of the officers of the New England regiments, if they and their troops were willing to act in conjunction with the British regulars, and to obey the king's commander-in-chief, as his majesty had directed. To this the provincial officers unanimously replied, that they cheerfully submitted themselves in all dutiful obedience to Lord Loudoun, and were ready and willing to act in conjunction with the royal forces; but that, as the New England troops had been enlisted this year on particular terms, and had proceeded thus far according to their original compact and organization, they entreated, as a favour, that Lord Loudoun would permit them to act separately, so far as might be consistent with the interests of his majesty's service. His lordship having acceded to their desire, this point of honor seemed at length to be satisfactorily adjusted; when, suddenly, the plan of the British campaign was disconcerted by the alarming intelligence of an important advantage obtained by the French.



THE Marquis de Montcalm, an officer of high reputation for vigor and ability, who succeeded Baron Dieskau in the chief command of the French forces in Canada, conducting an army of 5000 regulars, Canadian militia, and Indians, by a rapid march, to Oswego, invested one of the two forts which the British possessed there; and having promptly made the necessary dispositions, opened his trenches at midnight with thirty-two pieces of cannon, besides several brass mortars and howitzers. [August 12, 1756.] The scanty stock of ammunition with which the garrison had been supplied was soon exhausted; and Colonel Mercer, the commander, thereupon spiked his guns, and evacuating the place, carried his troops without the loss of a single man into the other fort. Upon this stronghold a heavy fire was speedily poured by the enemy from the deserted post, of which they assumed possession; and Mercer having been killed by a cannon-ball, the garrison, dismayed by his loss and disappointed in an attempt to procure aid from Fort George, situated about four miles and a half up the river, where Colonel Schuyler was posted, demanded a capitulation, and surrendered as prisoners of war. The garrison consisted of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, and amounted to 1400 men. The con-



Montcalm.

ditions of surrender were, that the prisoners should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. But these conditions were violated in a manner disgraceful to the warfare of the French. It was the duty of Montcalm to guard his engagements from the danger of infringement by his savage allies; and yet he instantly delivered up twenty of his prisoners to the Indians who accompanied him, as victims to their vengeance for an equal number of their own race who perished in the siege. Nor was the remainder of the captive garrison protected from the cruelty and indignity with which these savages customarily embittered the fate of the vanquished. Almost all of them were plundered; many were scalped; and some were assassinated. In the two forts, the victors obtained possession of 121 pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, and a great quantity of military stores and provisions. A number of sloops and boats at the same time fell into their hands. No sooner was Montcalm in possession of the forts than, with judicious policy, he demolished them both in the presence of the Indians of the Six Nations,

within whose territory they were erected, and whose jealousy they had not a little awakened.



IN consequence of this disastrous event, all the plans of offensive operation that had been concerted on the part of the British were abandoned. Winslow was commanded by Lord Loudoun not to proceed on his intended expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, but to fortify his camp; while General Webb, with 1400 British regulars, and Sir William Johnson, with 1000 militia, were stationed at positions fitted to support Winslow and repel the farther attacks which were anticipated from the French. The projected expedition up the Kennebec, to destroy the settlements on the Chaudière, terminated in a mere scouting-party which explored the country. The enterprise proposed against Fort Duquesne was not carried into effect. Virginia declined to participate farther in the general warfare than by defensive operations; and even these were conducted on a scale inadequate to the protection of her own people. Pennsylvania raised 1500 men, but with no other view than to guard her frontier settlements; and Maryland, whose frontier was covered by the adjoining provinces, remained completely inactive. In South Carolina the slaves were so much more numerous than the white inhabitants, that it was judged unsafe to detach any troops from this province. A fort was now built on Tennessee River, about 500 miles from Charleston, and called Fort Loudoun; and this, together with Fort Prince George and Fort Moore on the Savannah River, and the forts of Frederica, and Augusta, was garrisoned by the king's independent companies of infantry embodied for the protection of Carolina and Georgia. Lord Loudoun, whether perplexed by the inferiority of his capacity to the difficulties of his situation, or justly accounting that the season was too far advanced to admit of any enterprise against the enemy, confined his attention to the preparation of an early campaign in the ensuing spring, and to the immediate security of the frontiers of the British colonies. Fort Edward and Fort William Henry were put in a posture of defence, and secured each with a competent garrison; and the remainder of the British forces were placed in winter-quarters at Albany, where barracks were built for their reception. The French, meanwhile, sacked a small fort and settlement called Grenville, on the confines of Pennsylvania, and in conjunction with their Indian allies, carried ravage and desolation into many of the frontier settlements of the British provinces. But these losses were in some measure balanced



A Delaware Chief.

by the advantage resulting from a treaty of peace which the governor of Pennsylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians—a powerful tribe that dwelt on the river Susquehannah, and form as it were a line or belt along the southern skirts of this province. At the same time, the government of Virginia secured the friendship and alliance of the tribes of the Cherokees and Catawbias. Notwithstanding some appearances of an opposite import, it was expected that a vigorous effort would be made by the British in the ensuing campaign to retrieve their recent disasters and humble the insolence of the enemy—the more especially, as in the close of this year a fresh reinforcement of troops, with a large supply of war-like stores, was despatched in fourteen transports and under convoy of two British ships of war, from Cork to North America.



MUCH discontent and impatience had been latterly excited in England by the events of the war, which was conducted still more unhappily in other parts of the world than in the American provinces. The nation, exasperated by the triumphs of France, was eager to shift from itself the scandal of occurrences so humiliating to its pride and glory; and attempts the most impudent and absurd were made to load the Americans with the blame of Braddock's defeat and of every other calamity and disappointment which they had partaken with the British forces. Among other individuals who were now sacrificed by the British court, as victims partly to its own mortification and partly to popular displeasure, was Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, who was recalled this year to England, and appointed soon after to the government of the Bahama Islands.

The vacated dignity of Shirley was then conferred on Thomas Pownall, an Englishman, formerly lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, and related to persons holding high official situations in the parent state. The policy of of this officer was the very reverse of that which Shirley had pursued, and led him to devote himself unreservedly to the views and wishes of the popular party in Massachusetts.

The expectations which had been formed both in Britain and America of a vigorous and successful campaign, were completely disappointed. If it had been the wish or intention of the British ministers to render the guardian care of the parent state ridiculous, and its supremacy odious to the colonists, they could hardly have selected a fitter instrument for the achievement of this sinister purpose than Lord Loudoun. Devoid of genius, either civil or military; in carriage at once imperious and undignified; always hurried, and hurrying others, yet making little progress

in the despatch of business; quick, abrupt, and forward to project and threaten, but infirm, remiss, and mutable in pursuit and execution; negligent of even the semblance of public virtue; impotent against the enemy whom he was sent to destroy; formidable only to the spirit and liberty of the people whom he was commissioned to defend—he provoked alternately the disgust, the jealousy, and the contemptuous amazement of the colonists of America. In the commencement of the present year, [January, 1757,] he repaired to Boston, where he was met by a council composed of the governors of Nova Scotia, and of the states of New England. To this council he addressed a speech, in which, with equal insolence and absurdity, he ascribed the public safety to the efforts of the English soldiers, and all the recent successes of the French to the misconduct of the American troops, or the provincial governments. It is unlikely, notwithstanding the arrogance of his disposition and the narrowness of his capacity, that he could have expected to stimulate the Americans to a higher strain of exertion, by depreciating their past services, and exalting above their gallant and successful warriors the defeated troops and disgraced commanders of England. Nor, indeed, did he seek to compass any such chimerical purpose. He required that the governments of New England should contribute only 4000 men, which should be despatched to New York, there to unite with the quotas to be furnished by that province and New Jersey, and thereafter to be conducted by him to an enterprise, which he declared that the interests of the British service forbade him at present to disclose, but which, the council might be assured, would not be uncongenial to the views and sentiments of the people of New England. This moderate requisition, far inferior to the exaction which had been anticipated, served at least to silence the murmurs, though it could not appease the discontent and indignation, created by Lord Loudoun's preliminary remarks; and the levies he demanded, having been speedily raised, hastened to unite with the contingents drawn from the other provinces at New York, where, early in the spring, the British commander found himself at the head of more than 6000 American troops.



It was expected by the states of New England, and perhaps was the original purpose of Lord Loudoun himself, that the force thus assembled should be applied to the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but he was induced to depart from this plan, if, indeed, he ever entertained it, by the tidings of an additional armament having been despatched from Britain to Nova Scotia. This armament, consisting of eleven ships of the line, besides transports and bomb-ketches,

under the command of Admiral Holborne and Commodore Holmes, and containing 6000 disciplined soldiers, conducted by George, Viscount Howe, arrived accordingly at Halifax, [July, 1757,] whither Lord Loudoun shortly after repaired, along with the forces he had collected at New York. He now proclaimed his intention of declining, for the present, all active operations against Crown Point or Ticonderoga, and of uniting his whole disposable force in an expedition to Cape Breton, for the conquest of Louisburg. This abandonment of the enterprise on which they had confidently relied, was a severe disappointment to the states of New England; nor was their concern abated by the issue of the design which Lord Loudoun preferably embraced; for it now appeared that he was totally unacquainted with the condition of the fortress he proposed to subdue; and his attack upon it was first suspended by the necessity of gaining this preliminary information, and ultimately relinquished in consequence of the result of his inquiries, and of the accession of force the place received while these inquiries were pursued. It was found that Louisburg was garrisoned by 6000 regular troops, besides militia, and farther defended by seventeen line-of-battle ships moored in the harbor, and which arrived while the British troops lingered inactively at Halifax. Lord Loudoun, accounting the armament he commanded unequal to cope with this force, announced that the enterprise must be deferred until the following year; and having dismissed the provincial troops, he returned in the end of August to New York, there to learn the disaster which his conduct had occasioned in another quarter, and which crowned the disgrace of this inglorious campaign.



MONTCALM, the French commander, availing himself of the unskilful movement by which Lord Loudoun withdrew so large a portion of the troops from New York to Halifax, advanced with an army of 9000 men, and laid siege to Fort William Henry, which was garrisoned by nearly 3000 troops, partly English, and partly

American, commanded by a brave English officer, Colonel Monroe. The security of this important post was supposed to be still farther promoted by the proximity of Fort Edward, which was scarcely fourteen miles from it, and where the English general, Webb, was stationed with a force of 4000 men. Had Webb done his duty, the besiegers might have been repulsed, and Fort William Henry preserved; but though he received timely notice of the approach of the enemy, yet, with strange indolence or timidity, he neither summoned the American governments to aid the

place with their militia, nor despatched a single company of his own soldiers to its succour. Nay, whether or not he desired, so far was he from hoping to avert, its capture, that the only communication he made to Monroe, during the siege, was a letter conveying the faint-hearted counsel to surrender without delay. [August 9, 1757.]



On the other hand, Montcalm, who was endowed with a high degree of military spirit and genius, pressed the assault on Fort William Henry with the utmost vigor and skill. He had infused his own daring ardor into the French soldiers, and roused the fury and enthusiasm of his Indian auxiliaries, by promising revenge proportioned to their losses, and unrestricted plunder as the reward of their conquest. After a sharp resistance, which, however, endured only for six days, Monroe, finding that his ammunition was exhausted, and that hopes of relief were desperate, was compelled to surrender the place by a capitulation, of which the terms were far more honorable to the vanquished than the fulfilment of them was to the victors. It was conditioned that the garrison should not serve against the French for eighteen months; that they should march out with the honors of war; and, retaining their private baggage, be escorted to Fort Edward by French troops, as a security against the lawless ferocity of the Indians. But these savages were incensed at the terms which Montcalm (whether swayed by generous respect for a gallant foe, or apprehensive that Webb might be roused at length from his supine indifference) conceded to the garrison; and, seeing no reason why the French general should postpone the interest of his allies to that of his enemies, were determined, that, if he broke his word with either party, it should not be with *them*. Of the scene of cruelty and bloodshed which ensued, the accounts which have been transmitted are not less uniform than horrid and disgusting. The only point wrapped in obscurity is, *how far* the French general and his troops were voluntarily or unavoidably spectators of the violation of the treaty they stood pledged to fulfil. According to some accounts, no escort whatever was furnished to the British garrison. According to others, the escort was a mere mockery, both in respect of the numbers of the French guards, and of their willingness to defend their civilized enemies against their savage friends. It is certain that the escort, if there was any, proved totally ineffectual: and this acknowledged circumstance, taken in conjunction with the prior occurrences at Oswego, is sufficient to load the character of Montcalm with an imputation of treachery and dishonor, which, as it has never yet been satisfactorily repelled, seems likely to prove as lasting as his name.



Massacre of the Prisoners at Fort William Henry.

No sooner had the garrison marched out, and surrendered their arms, in reliance upon the pledge of the French general, than a furious and irresistible attack was made upon them by the Indians, who stripped them both of their baggage and their clothes, and murdered or made prisoners of all who attempted resistance. About 1500 persons were thus slaughtered or carried into captivity. Such was the fate of eighty men belonging to a New Hampshire regiment, of which the complement was no more than 200. A number of Indian allies of the English, and who had formed part of the garrison, fared still more miserably. They were seized without scruple by their savage enemies, and perished in lingering and barbarous torture. Of the garrison of Fort William Henry scarcely a half were enabled to gain the shelter of Fort Edward in a straggling and wretched condition.



THE British colonists were struck with the most painful surprise and alarm by the tidings of this disaster. Many persons were induced to question the fidelity of General Webb, whose conduct, indeed, though not justly obnoxious to this charge, yet merited the sharpest and most contemptuous censure; and all were inflamed with the highest indignation by the atrocious breach of Montcalm's treaty with the garrison of Fort William Henry. Webb, roused at length from his lethargy, by the personal fear that fell on him, hastily invoked the succour of the states of New England. The call was promptly obeyed; and a portion of the militia of Massachusetts and Connecticut was despatched to check the victorious progress of the French, who, it was feared,

would not only make an easy conquest of Fort Edward, but penetrate to Albany. So zealously was this service undertaken by Massachusetts, that a large extent of her own frontier was stripped of its defenders, and left for a time in a very precarious situation. But Montcalm, whether daunted by this vigorous demonstration, or satisfied with the blow he had struck, and engrossed with the care of improving its propitious influence on the minds of the Indians, refrained from even investing Fort Edward, and made no farther attempt at present to extend the range of his conquests. The only additional operation of the French, during the season, was a predatory enterprise in concert with their Indian allies against the flourishing British settlements at German Flats, in the province of New York, and along the Mohawk River, which they utterly wasted with fire and sword. At sea, from a fleet of twenty-one British merchant-vessels, homeward bound from Carolina, they succeeded in making prizes of nineteen, which were loaded with valuable cargoes. Thus ended a campaign which covered Britain and her cabinet and commanders with disgrace, filled her colonies with the most gloomy apprehension and discontent, and showed conquest blazing with full beams on France.



THE progress of the war in America had been hitherto signalized by the discomfiture of the English and the triumph of the French—a result that was beheld with increasing resentment and impatience in England. It was a circumstance additionally irritating and mortifying to this people, that the few advantages which had been gained over the French were exclusively due to the colonial troops, while unredeemed disaster and disgrace had attended all the efforts of the British forces. The events of the two last campaigns were remarkably unpropitious to Britain, and induced or at least manifestly betokened the decisive preponderance of the power of France in America. By the acquisition of Fort William Henry, the French obtained entire possession of the lakes Champlain and George; and by the destruction of Oswego, they acquired the dominion of the other lakes which connect the St. Lawrence with the waters of the Mississippi. The first afforded the easiest intercourse between the northern colonies and Canada; the last united Canada to Louisiana. By the continued possession of Fort Duquesne, they extended their influence over the Indians, and held undisturbed possession of all the country westward of the Alleghany mountains. The superior strength of Britain, unskilfully exerted, was visibly yielding, in this quarter of the world, to the superior vigor and dexterity of her rival, who, with victorious strides, was rapidly gaining a position, which, if it did not infer the entire conquest of the



William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

British settlements, at least enabled her to intercept their farther growth, to cramp their commerce, and continually to overawe them, and attack them with advantage. The spirit of the English nation, which had been kindling for some time, was in this emergency provoked to a pitch that could brook no longer the languid and inefficient conduct of the operations in America. William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, the most able and accomplished statesman and senator that Great Britain had yet produced, and who had long combated with his powerful rhetoric and majestic eloquence the policy of directing the chief military efforts of England to the continent of Europe, was now, in opposition to the wishes of the king, but in compliance with the irresistible will of the nation, placed at the head of the British ministry. He had received this appointment in the

spring of the preceding year; and again, in the autumn, after a short expulsion from office, was reinstated in it more firmly than before. The strenuous vigor and enlarged capacity of this extraordinary man, whose faculties were equally fitted to rouse the spirit and to wield the strength of a great nation, produced a dawn of hope and joy throughout the whole British empire. His elevation was hailed with enthusiasm, as the pledge of retributive triumph to his country; and in effect it speedily checked the fortune of the enemy, and occasioned a signal revolution in the relative power and predicament of France and England. Lord Loudoun, whether from his general slackness and indistinctness in the conduct of business, or from his personal or political dislike to the minister, conducted his correspondence with him in a very negligent manner; and Pitt is reported to have assigned as the reason for superseding this commander, that *he could never ascertain what Lord Loudoun was doing.*



THE same express which brought the tidings of Loudoun's recall conveyed a circular letter from Pitt to the provincial governors, acquainting them with the resolution of the British cabinet to send a powerful armament to operate by sea and land against the French in America, and inviting them to raise as numerous levies of auxiliary troops as the population of their respective provinces could afford. Arms, ammunition,

tents, provisions, and boats, it was announced, would be furnished by the crown; and the provincial governors, meanwhile, were desired to levy, clothe, and pay their troops, and appoint the officers of their various regiments. They were assured that it was the king's determination, by the most vigorous and expensive efforts, to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign, and to repel, by the blessing of God upon his arms, the dangers impending over his people and possessions in North America; that, for this purpose, the war, which had hitherto been defensive on the part of the British, was now to be carried into the heart of the enemy's territory; and, to encourage the colonists to co-operate in this great and important design, his majesty would recommend to his parliament to grant to the several provinces such compensation for the expenses they might incur, as their vigor and activity should appear justly to merit. At this intelligence, the Americans, and especially the people of New England, were aroused to a generous emulation with the awakened spirit of the parent state; mutual jealousy and

distrust were swallowed up for a season, in common ardor for the honor of Britain and the safety of America; and with the most cheerful confidence and alacrity, all the states of New England vied in exertions to strengthen by their co-operation the promised British armament. In Massachusetts there were raised 7000 men; in Connecticut, 5000; and in New Hampshire, 900. The numbers of the Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey levies have not been specified. These troops were ready to take the field early in May—previously to which time, Admiral Boscawen arrived at Halifax with a considerable fleet, and 12,000 British troops, conducted by General Amherst, an officer of distinguished skill and ability, and under whom a subordinate command was exercised by General Wolfe, one of the most heroic and magnanimous spirits of the age. Abercrombie, on whom the chief command of the entire forces employed in this quarter of the world devolved, was now at the head of the most powerful army that had ever been assembled in America, consisting of 50,000 men, of whom 22,000 were regular troops. He was a person of slender abilities, and utterly devoid of energy and resolution; and Pitt too late regretted the error he committed in intrusting a command of such importance to one so little known to him, and who proved so unfit to sustain it.



THE conquest of Canada was the object to which the most ardent wishes of the British colonists were directed; but they quickly perceived that the gratification of this hope, if ever realized, must be deferred at least till the succeeding year; as the cabinet of England had determined, for the protection of the English commerce against the cruisers and privateers of France, to employ a considerable part of the assembled forces in an attack upon Louisburg, and to commence its

new system of operations by the reduction of that place. Three expeditions were proposed for the present year [1753]: the first, against Louisburg; the second, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, against Fort Duquesne. In prosecution of the first of these enterprises, Admiral Boscawen, sailing from Halifax, [May 28.] with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, conveying an army of 14,000 men conducted by Amherst, of which but a small proportion were provincial troops, arrived before Louisburg on the 2d of June. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier de Drucourt, an intrepid and experienced officer, was composed of 2500 regulars, aided by

600 militia. The condition of the harbor, secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, rendered it necessary for the invaders to land at some distance from the town. From the defensive precautions which the enemy had adopted, this operation was attended with considerable difficulty; but, by the heroic resolution and resistless intrepidity of General Wolfe, it was accomplished with success and little loss; and the troops having been landed at the creek of Cormoran, [June 8,] and the artillery stores brought on shore, Wolfe was detached with 2000 men to seize a post which was occupied by the enemy at Lighthouse Point, and was calculated to afford advantage to the besiegers, by enabling them to annoy the ships in the harbor and the fortifications of the town. On the appearance of Wolfe, the post was abandoned; and there the British soon erected a formidable battery. [June 12.] Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town; and the siege was pressed with a resolute activity characteristic of the English commanders, and yet with a severe and guarded caution, inspired by the strength of the place and the reputation of its governor and garrison, who fully supported the high idea that was entertained of them, by the skilful and obstinate valor they exerted in its defence. In all the operations of the siege, the dauntless courage and indefatigable energy of Wolfe were signally pre-eminent. A heavy cannonade having been maintained against the town and harbor, a bomb, exploding, set fire to one of the large ships, which soon blew up; and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate. The English admiral, in consequence of this success, despatched boats manned with 600 men into the harbor to make an attempt during the night on the two ships of the line which still remained to the enemy. In spite of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, the assailants successfully performed this perilous feat; and one of the ships, which happened to be aground, was destroyed, while the other was towed off in triumph. By this gallant exploit, the English gained complete possession of the harbor; and already more than one practicable breach in the works were produced by their batteries. The governor now judged the place no longer defensible, and offered to capitulate; but his propositions were refused; and it was required that the garrison should surrender at discretion, or abide the issue of an assault by sea and land. These severe terms, though at first rejected, were finally embraced; and in accordance with them, Louisburg, with all its artillery, provisions, and military stores, together with Isle Royale, St. John's, and their dependencies, was surrendered on the 26th of July to the English, who, without farther difficulty, took entire possession of the island of Cape Breton. Four hundred of

the besiegers and 1500 of the garrison were killed or wounded during the siege; and the town of Louisburg was reduced to nearly a heap of ruins. In this town the conquerors found 221 pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, and a vast quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were transported to France in English ships; but the French garrison and their naval auxiliaries were carried prisoners of war to England, where the unwonted tidings of victory and conquest were hailed with demonstrations of the liveliest triumph and joy. The French colors taken at Louisburg were carried in grand procession from Kensington Palace to the Cathedral of St. Paul's; and a form of thanksgiving was appointed to be used on the occasion in all the churches of England. The sentiments of the parent state were re-echoed in America; where the people of New England, more especially, partook of the warmth of an exultation that revived the glory of their own previous achievement in the first conquest of Cape Breton.



BEFORE this conquest was completed, the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point occurred to check the new and victorious career of the British arms in America. This enterprise was conducted by General Abercrombie, who, on the 5th of July, embarked his troops on Lake George in 125 whaleboats, and 900 batteaux. His army consisted of 16,000 effective men, of whom 9000 were provincials, and was attended by a formidable train of artillery. Among other officers, he was accompanied by Lord Howe, a young English nobleman, who exhibited the most promising military talents, and whose valor, courtesy, and good sense had greatly endeared him both to the English and the provincial troops. The mass of mankind are always prone to regard with veneration those titular distinctions, which, having no real substance, afford unbounded scope to the exercise of fancy; and almost universal suffrage is won, when the possessor of such lofty, though unsolid, pretensions appears to justify them by merit and mitigate them by generosity, instead of arrogating them with stern insolence, or reposing on them with indolent pride. Lord Howe seemed to regard his titular distinction less as a proof of noble nature than an incentive to noble action, and as facilitating the indulgence of an amiable politeness by exempting him from all suspicion of mean, obsequious servility. From the day of his arrival in America, he conformed himself, and caused his regiment to conform, to the style of service which the country required. He was the first to encounter the danger to which he conducted others, and to set the example of every sacrifice he required them to incur. While the strict discipline he maintained commanded respect, the kind and graceful



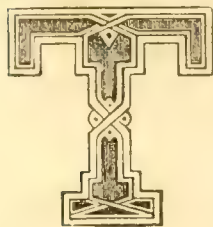
General Abercrombie's Army crossing Lake George.

benevolence of his manners conciliated affection. He was the idol and soul of the army.



THE first operations of Abercrombie were directed against Ticonderoga. Having disembarked at the landing place in a cove on the western side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, of which the centre was occupied by the British and the flanks by the provincials. In this order they marched against the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of one battalion only, destroyed its encampment and made a precipitate retreat. Proceeding from the abandoned post against Ticonderoga, the British columns, bewildered by tangled thickets, and misled by unskilful guides, were thrown into confusion and commingled in a disorderly manner. At this juncture, Lord Howe, advancing at the head of the right centre column, unexpectedly encountered the fugitive battalion of the French, who had lost their way in the woods, and now stumbled upon the enemy from whom they were endeavoring to escape. They consisted of regulars and a few Indians; and, notwithstanding their surprise and inferiority of numbers, displayed a promptitude of action and courage that had nearly reproduced the catastrophe of Braddock. With audacious temerity, which in war is easily mistaken for deliberate confidence, and frequently prevails over superior strength, they attacked their pursuers; and at the first fire Lord Howe with a number of his soldiers

fell. [July 6.] The suddenness of the assault, the terror inspired by the Indian yell, and the grief and astonishment created by the death of Lord Howe, excited a general panic among the British regulars; but the provincials, who flanked them, and who were better acquainted with the mode of fighting practised by the enemy, stood their ground and soon defeated their opponents, with a slaughter, compared to which the loss of the British in point of numbers was inconsiderable. But the death of Lord Howe had depressed the spirit and enfeebled the councils of the army; and to this circumstance its subsequent misfortunes were mainly ascribed. The loss of that brave and accomplished officer was generally deplored in America; and the assembly of Massachusetts, not long after, caused a monument to be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.



THE British forces, without farther opposition, took possession of a post situated within two miles of Ticonderoga, [July 7,] previously occupied by an advanced guard commanded by Colonel Bradstreet, a provincial officer distinguished by his valor, intelligence, and activity. The general, understanding that the garrison at Ticonderoga consisted of about 6000 men, (French, Canadians, and Indians,) and that

a reinforcement of three thousand more was daily expected, resolved on an immediate assault of the place. He directed his engineer to reconnoitre the position and intrenchments of the enemy; and, trusting to a hasty survey and a rash report of their weakness, embraced the dangerous purpose of forcing them without the assistance of cannon. The troops, having received orders to march up briskly, to rush upon the enemy's fire, and to reserve their own until they had passed a breastwork which was represented as easily superable, advanced to the attack with the highest intrepidity. [July 8.] But unlooked-for impediments resisted their progress. The breastwork proved much more formidable than had been reported, and in front of it, to a considerable distance, trees were felled with their branches protruding outward and sharpened to a point; by which obstruction the assailants were not only retarded in their advance, but, becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed in helpless embarrassment and disorder to a galling and destructive fire. The provincials, who were posted behind the regulars, inflamed with impatience, and not sufficiently restrained by discipline, could not be prevented from firing; and notwithstanding their expertness as marksmen, their fire was supposed to have proved more fatal to their friends than their enemies. This sanguinary conflict was protracted during four hours. Of the assailants there were killed and wounded about 2000 men, including 400 of the

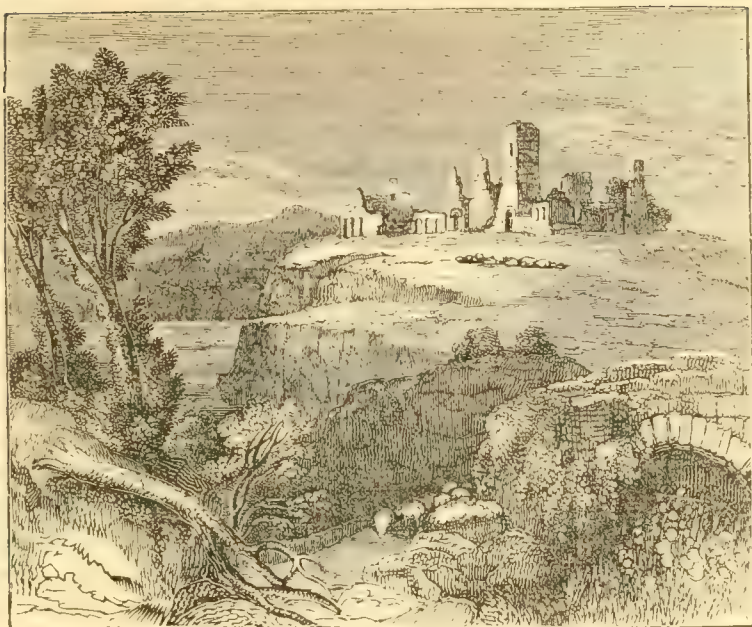
provincials. One half of a Highland regiment commanded by Lord John Murray, with twenty-five of its officers, were either killed or desperately wounded. The loss of the enemy, covered as they were from danger, was comparatively trifling. At length Abercrombie gave the signal to desist from the desperate enterprise; and to an ill-concerted assault succeeded a retreat no less precipitate and injudicious. The British army, still amounting to nearly 14,000 men, greatly outnumbered the enemy; and if the artillery had been brought up to their assistance, might have overpowered with little difficulty the French forces and their defences at Ticonderoga. But Abercrombie, dismayed by his disastrous repulse, and heedless of the remonstrances of the provincial officers, carried the army back by a hasty march to the southern extremity of Lake George. Next to the defeat of Braddock, this was the most disgraceful catastrophe that had befallen the arms of Britain in America.



AS Abercrombie showed himself destitute of the vigor that was requisite to repair his misfortune, Colonel Bradstreet conceived the idea of at least counterbalancing it by an effort in a different quarter, and, with this view, suggested to the general a substitutional expedition which he offered to conduct against Fort Frontignac. Approving the proposal, and relinquishing his designs against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Abercrombie despatched

Bradstreet at the head of 3000 men, of whom all but the trifling handful of 155 were provincials, together with eight pieces of cannon and three mortars, to attempt the reduction of Fort Frontignac. Bradstreet marched to Oswego, embarked on Lake Ontario, and, on the evening of the 25th of August, landed within a mile of the fort. Before the lapse of two days his batteries were opened at so short a distance, that almost every shot took effect; and the French commandant, finding his force overpowered, was compelled to surrender at discretion. [August 27.] The Indian auxiliaries of the French having previously deserted, the prisoners were but 110. But the captors found in the fort 60 pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, together with a collection of military stores, provisions, and merchandise. Nine armed vessels also fell into their hands. Bradstreet, after destroying the fort and vessels, and such stores as he could not carry away, returned to exhilarate the main army with this ray of success.

The reduction of Fort Frontignac facilitated the enterprise against Fort



Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga.

Duquesne, of which the garrison awaited, from the post thus unexpectedly subdued, a large reinforcement of stores and ammunition. General Forbes, to whom the expedition against Fort Duquesne was intrusted, marched with his troops early in July, from Philadelphia; but its progress was so much retarded by various obstructions, that it was not until two months after, that the Virginian forces, commanded by Washington, were summoned to join the British army at Raystown. Among other provincial troops which participated in this expedition was a detachment of the militia of North Carolina, conducted by Major Waddell, a brave and active officer, and a highly respected inhabitant of that state, and accompanied by a body of Indian auxiliaries. Before the combined army advanced from Raystown, Major Grant, an English officer, was detached with 800 men, partly British, and partly provincials, to reconnoitre the condition of Fort Duquesne and of the adjacent country. Rashly inviting an attack from the French garrison, this detachment was surrounded by the enemy, and, after a gallant but ineffectual defence, in which 300 men were killed and wounded, Major Grant and nineteen other officers were taken prisoners. It was with the utmost difficulty that the French were able to rescue these officers from the sanguinary ferocity of their own Indian auxiliaries, who butchered the greatest part of the wounded

and the prisoners. The whole residue of the detachment would have shared the same fate, if Captain Bullet, a provincial officer, with the aid of a small troop of Virginians, had not, partly by stratagem, and partly by the most desperate efforts of valor, checked the advance of the pursuing Indians, and finally conducted the fugitives to the main army, by a skilful, but protracted and laborious retreat. General Forbes, with this army, amounting to at least 8000 men, at length advanced against Fort Dupuesne; but, in spite of the most strenuous exertions, was not able to reach it till near the close of November. Enfeebled by their toilsome march, the British now approached the scene of Braddock's defeat, and beheld the field on which the mouldering corpses of Grant's troops still lay unburied. Anxious to know the condition of the fort and the position of the enemy's troops, Forbes offered a reward of £40 to any man who would make prisoner of a hostile Indian. This service was performed by a sergeant in the North Carolina militia; when the intelligence that was obtained from the captive showed Forbes that his labors were already crowned with unexpected success. The approach of the British force, which was attended with all those precautions of which the neglect proved so fatal to Braddock, had struck the Indians with such terror, that they withdrew from the assistance of the garrison of Fort Duquesne, declaring that the Great Spirit had evidently withdrawn his favor from the French, and his protection from their fortress; and the French themselves, infected with the fears and weakened by the desertion of their allies, as well as disappointed of the stores which they had expected to obtain from Fort Frontignac, judged their post untenable, and abandoning it on the evening before the arrival of Forbes's army, made their escape in boats down the Ohio. The British now took unresisted possession of this important fortress, [November 25,] which had been the immediate occasion of the existing war; and, in compliment to the statesman whose administration had already given a new complexion to the fortune of their country and brought back victory to her side, they bestowed upon it the name of Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg). No sooner was the British flag hoisted on its walls, than deputations arrived from the numerous tribes of the Ohio Indians, tendering their adherence and submission to the victors. With the assistance of some of these Indians, a party of British soldiers were sent to explore the thickets where Braddock was attacked, and to bestow the rites of sepulture on the bones of their countrymen which yet strewed the ground. Forbes, having concluded treaties of friendship with the Indians, left a garrison of provincials in the fort, and was reconducting his troops to Philadelphia, when he died, worn out by the ceaseless and overwhelming fatigues he had undergone.

The French, in concert with some of their Indian allies, made an attempt in the autumn to subdue a frontier fort and ravage a frontier settlement of New England. Their design, to which they were invited by the absence of the provincial forces, engaged in the distant operations of the campaign, was defeated by the vigorous and spirited exertions of Governor Pownall, who, for his conduct on this occasion, received from Pitt a letter expressive of the king's approbation.



THE campaign which thus terminated was, in the main, highly honorable and propitious to Britain, notwithstanding the disgraceful defeat sustained at Ticonderoga. In consequence of this last event, Abercrombie, as he expected, was deprived of a command he no longer desired to retain; and Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in America. If France, whose American policy was the offspring of a vaulting, unmeasured ambition, had been capable of

profiting by the lessons she had latterly received, perhaps the repulse of the British at Ticonderoga was an unfortunate circumstance for her. It was certainly unfortunate, if it deluded her with the hope of pursuing with advantage the contest she had provoked; and not less so in its influence on a powerful and indignant foe, in the first moments of vindictive exertion. It inspired the rulers of Britain with the same persuasion which prevailed among the Americans, that more must yet be done to redeem the honor of the British empire; and it stimulated the particular appetite which the English people had now contracted for trophies and conquests in America. Meanwhile the increased vigor and success with which the arms of Britain were exerted in other parts of the world, rendered it more difficult for France to afford succor to her American possessions.

Among other advantages which the British reaped from the late campaign was the influence it exercised on the sentiments of a great number of the Indian tribes, who began to suspect, that, by the civilities and vaunting representations of the French, they had been induced to espouse a cause which fortune was likely to forsake. Many of these savages had hastily concluded, from the polite, obliging manners of the French in peace, and their promptitude and celerity in war, that, of the two European rivals, they were the more eligible friends and the more formidable enemies; but their opinion began to waver, from a longer experience of the justice of British traffic and the steadiness of British valor. In the close of this year, a grand assembly of Indian nations was held at Easton,

about 60 miles from Philadelphia, and a formal treaty of friendship was concluded between Great Britain and fifteen Indian tribes inhabiting the vast territory extending from the Appalachian Mountains to the lakes. The conferences were managed, on the part of Britain, by Denny, the governor of Pennsylvania, and Francis Bernard, (successor of Belcher, who died in 1757,) the governor of New Jersey, together with Sir William Johnson, the royal superintendent of Indian affairs, a number of the members of council and Assembly of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and a great many citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly of the Quaker persuasion. Much time was spent by the British commissioners in accommodating various feuds and disputes that had recently arisen or been exasperated between the tribes with which they contracted. The Indians also demonstrated a surprising tenacity and precision of memory, in enumerating every past and unsatisfied cause of offence which had been afforded to any of their race by the English; and a feudal nicety and exactitude in defining the pecuniary composition appropriate to every one of their relative claims. At length, after conferences which endured for eighteen days, all the disputes between the two races were satisfactorily compounded; and the treaty of friendship which ensued gave so much content to all parties, that the Indians promised to use their utmost endeavors to extend its influence still more widely among their race. There was purchased by the British a tract of about 3000 acres of land, which received the name of Brotherton, and was vested in the persons of the New Jersey commissioners and their successors, in trust for the use of the Indian natives of New Jersey, southward of the river Raritan.

The British nation, first aroused by resentment, which was not yet satiated, and now inflamed with success and ambition, regarded the recent American campaign as the pledge and harbinger of farther and more signal triumph in the same quarter. [1759.] Whatever hesitation to attempt the entire overthrow of the French colonial empire might yet linger in the minds of the ministers, was overpowered by the force of the predicament in which they were placed, and the difficulty of pausing in a career of immediate conquest and glory. The parliament addressed the throne in terms that denoted the highest approbation of the measures and policy of the cabinet; they applauded the recent conduct of the war, and pledged themselves zealously and cheerfully to support its farther prosecution. In reply to a message from the king, recommending to their consideration the vigorous and spirited efforts which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted in defence of his rights and possessions, they voted £200,000 for enabling his majesty to give proper compensation to the several American provinces for their expenses in levying and main-

taining troops for the public service. One sentiment of eagerness to advance the glory of England, and humble or destroy the American empire of France, pervaded every part of the British dominions; and the officers by whom the forces serving in America were now commanded, were equally zealous and qualified to promote their country's wishes and enlarge her empire and renown. The campaign which they had concerted, and now prepared to commence, embraced the great design of an entire and immediate conquest of Canada; and the plan of operations by which this object was to be pursued was, that three powerful armies should enter Canada by different routes, and attack, at nearly the same time, all the strongholds of the French in that country. At the head of one division of the army, consisting principally of English troops, and aided by an English fleet, General Wolfe, who had gained so much distinction at the recent siege of Louisburg, was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as soon as its navigation should cease to be obstructed by ice, and attempt the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada. General Amherst the commander-in chief, was to march against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and, after reducing these places, and establishing a naval force on Lake Champlain, was to penetrate, by the way of Richelieu River and the St. Lawrence, to Quebec, in order to form a junction with the forces of Wolfe. The third army, conducted by General Prideaux, and consisting chiefly of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and placed under the special command of Sir William Johnson, was to attack the French fort near the falls of Niagara, which commanded, in a manner, all the interior parts of North America, and was a key to the whole continent. As soon as this fort should be carried, Prideaux was to embark on Lake Ontario, descend the river St. Lawrence, make himself master of Montreal, and then unite his forces with those of Wolfe and Amherst. General Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment of troops, which was employed in reducing the French forts on the Ohio, and scouring the banks of Lake Ontario. It was expected that, if Prideaux's operations, in addition to their own immediate object, should not facilitate either of the two other capital undertakings, it would probably (as Niagara was the most important post which the enemy possessed in this quarter of America) induce the French to draw together all their troops which were stationed on the borders of the lakes, in order to attempt its relief, which would leave the forts on these lakes exposed; and this effect was actually produced.

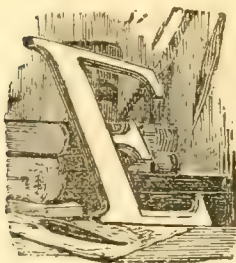
Eager as the Americans were to co-operate with the martial purposes of Britain, they found it difficult to keep pace with her profuse expenditure; and some reluctance was expressed by the people of New England



General Putnam.

to the additional levies required from the provincial governments for the operations of the present campaign. They had been assured, in the commencement of the preceding year, that a single campaign would doubtless be sufficient to terminate the war. The same assurance, now repeated, was no longer able to produce the same effect. They were already laboring under the weight of heavy burdens occasioned by their former exertions; the compensations decreed to them by the British parliament, from time to time, were greatly inferior to their actual expenses; and much disgust and discouragement had been created by the delays, certainly impolitic, though perhaps not easily avoided, by which the public officers in England retarded the apportionment and payment of the parliamentary grants. It was unwise of the British government, while pursuing a course of which the policy required to be justified by the hope of promoting at once the advantage and the grateful loyalty of the Americans, to suffer any thing to be done which could diminish their sense of the

obligation. Britain would, perhaps, have adopted a wiser and more magnanimous course, if she had arrogated to herself the whole conduct, expense, and honor of the war. By the course which she actually pursued, she trained many of the colonists to military exercises, and familiarized them with the idea of a contest with one of the most powerful empires in Europe; she relieved them all from the dangers of a French vicinity; and she disgusted them by the scanty and dilatory compensation by which she repaid their exertions. Connecticut, with some difficulty, was induced to refurnish her last year's contingent of 5000 men. In the records of this colony we find, for the first time, the name of Israel Putnam, one of the most heroic and determined patriots of America, as the colonel of one of the Connecticut regiments. Massachusetts at first declined to raise more than 5000 men; but at length, in compliance with the instances of General Amherst, who was much respected by the colonists, consented to furnish an additional force of 1500. New Hampshire, however, surpassed its exertions of the preceding year, and raised 1000 men.



EARLY in the spring, Amherst transferred his headquarters from New York to Albany, where his troops, amounting to 12,000 men, were assembled in the end of May; yet the summer was far advanced before the state of his preparations enabled him to cross Lake George; and it was not till the close of July, that he reached Ticonderoga. At first the enemy seemed determined to defend this fortress, and Colonel Townsend, a brave and

accomplished English officer, who advanced to reconnoitre it, was killed by a cannon-ball. But perceiving the determined yet cautious resolution, and the overwhelming force, with which Amherst was preparing to undertake the siege, and having received strict orders to retreat from post to post towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than incur the risk of being made prisoners, the garrison, a few days after, dismantled a part of the fortifications, and, evacuating Ticonderoga during the night, retired to Crown Point. Amherst, directly occupying the important post thus abandoned, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York, and secured himself a safe retreat, caused the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. Thence advancing to Crown Point, with a cautious and guarded circumspection which the event showed to have been unnecessary, but which he was induced to observe by remembering how fatal a confident security had proved to other British commanders in this quarter of the world, he took possession of this for-

tress with the same facility which attended his first acquisition, in consequence of a farther retrogression of the enemy, who retired from his approach and intrenched themselves in a fort at Isle-aux-Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. At this place the French, as he was informed, had collected 3500 men, with a numerous train of artillery, and possessed the additional resource of four large armed vessels on the lake. Amherst exerted the utmost activity to create a naval force, without which it was impossible for him to attack the enemy's position; and with a sloop and a radeau, which were built with great despatch, he succeeded in destroying two of their vessels—an achievement, in which the bold and adventurous spirit of Putnam was conspicuously displayed; but a succession of storms and the advanced season of the year compelled him reluctantly to postpone the farther prosecution of his scheme of operations. He established his troops in winter quarters at Crown Point, in the end of October, and confined his attention to strengthening the works of this fortress and of Ticonderoga. Thus the first of the three simultaneous expeditions embraced in the plan of this year's campaign, though attended with successful and important consequences, failed to produce the full result which had been anticipated by its projectors. Amherst, so far from being able to penetrate into Canada, and form a junction with Wolfe, was unable to maintain the slightest communication with him; and only by a letter from Montcalm, in relation to an exchange of prisoners, obtained information that Wolfe was besieging Quebec. With the army which undertook the siege of Niagara, indeed, his communication was uninterrupted; and intelligence of its success had reached him before he advanced from Ticonderoga against Crown Point.



WHILE Amherst's army was thus employed, General Prideaux, with his European, American, and Indian troops embarking on Lake Ontario, advanced without loss or opposition to the fortress at Niagara, which he reached about the middle of July, and promptly invested on all sides. He was conducting his approaches with great vigor, when, on the twentieth of the month, during a visit he made to the trenches, he lost his life by the unfortunate bursting of a colborn. Amherst was no sooner informed of this accident, than he detached General Gage from Ticonderoga to assume the command of Prideaux's army: but it devolved, in the mean time, upon Sir William Johnson, who exercised it with a success that added a new laurel to the honors which already adorned his name. The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a post of such importance, resolved to make an effort for its relief. From their forts of Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle, they

drew together a force of 1200 men, which with a troop of Indian auxiliaries were detached under the command of an officer named D'Aubry, with the purpose of raising the siege or reinforcing the garrison of Niagara. Johnson, who had been pushing the siege even more vigorously than his predecessor, learning the design of the French to relieve the garrison, made instant preparation to intercept it. As they approached, he ordered his light infantry, supported by a body of grenadiers and other regulars, to occupy the road from Niagara Falls to the fortress, by which the enemy were advancing, and covered his flanks with numerous troops of his Indian allies. At the same time, he posted a strong detachment of men in his trenches, to prevent any sally from the garrison during the approaching engagement. About nine in the morning, [July 24,] the two armies being in sight of each other, the Indians attached to the English, advancing, proposed a conference with their countrymen who served under the French banners; but the proposition was declined. The French Indians having raised the fierce wild yell called the war-whoop, which by this time had lost its appalling effect on the British soldiers, the action began by an impetuous attack from the enemy; and while the neighboring cataract of Niagara pealed forth to inattentive ears its everlasting *voice of many waters*, the roar of artillery, the shrieks of the Indians, and all the martial clang and dreadful revelry of a field of battle, mingled in wild chorus with the majestic music of nature. The French conducted their attack with the utmost courage and spirit, but were encountered with such firm, deliberate valor in front by the British regulars and provincials, and so severely galled on their flanks by the Indians, that in less than an hour their army was completely routed, their general with all his officers taken prisoners, and the fugitives from the field pursued with great slaughter for many miles through the woods. This was the second victory gained in the course of the present war by Sir William Johnson, a man who had received no military education, and whose fitness for command was derived solely from natural courage and sagacity. Both his victories were signalized by the capture of the enemy's commanders. On the morning after the battle, Johnson sent an officer to communicate the result of it to the commandant of the garrison at Fort Niagara, and recommend an immediate surrender before more blood was shed, while it was in his power to restrain the barbarity of the Indians; and the commandant, having ascertained the truth of the tidings, capitulated without farther delay. The garrison, consisting of between 600 and 700 effective men, marched out with the honors of war, and were conveyed prisoners to New York. They were allowed to retain their baggage, and, by proper escort, were protected from the ferocity and rapacity of the Indians.

Though 1100 of these savages (chiefly of the confederacy of the Six Nations) followed Johnson to Niagara, so effectually did he restrain them, that not an incident occurred to rival or retaliate the scenes at Oswego and Fort William Henry. The women, of whom a considerable number were found at Fort Niagara, were sent, at their own request, with their children to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not sustain the fatigue of removal, were treated with humane attention. Although the army by which this success was achieved, whether from ignorance of the result of Wolfe's enterprise, or from some other cause more easily conjectured than ascertained, made no attempt to pursue the ulterior objects which had been assigned to its sphere of operation, and so far failed to fulfil its expected share of the campaign; yet the actual result of its exertions was gratifying and important in no ordinary degree. The reduction of Niagara effectually interrupted the communication, so much dreaded by the English, between Canada and Louisiana; and by this blow one of the grand designs of the French, which had long threatened to produce war, and which finally contributed to provoke the present contest, was completely defeated.



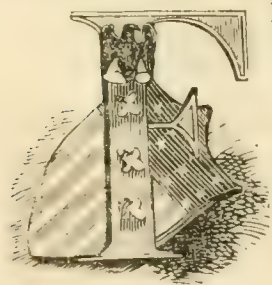
GENERAL WOLFE, meanwhile, was engaged in that capital enterprise of the campaign which aimed at the reduction of Quebec. The army which he conducted, amounting to 8000 men, having embarked at Louisburg, under convoy of an English squadron commanded by Admirals Saunders and Holmes, after a successful voyage, disembarked in the end of June on the Isle of Orleans, a large, fertile island surrounded by the waters of the St. Lawrence, situated a little below Quebec, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, and abounding with inhabitants, villages, and plantations. Soon after his landing, Wolfe distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, acquainting them that the king, his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a powerful armament in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable settlements of France in America. He declared that it was not against industrious peasants and their families, nor against the ministers of religion, that he desired or intended to make war; on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they were exposed by the quarrel; he offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided



General Wolfe.

they would remain quiet, and abstain from participation in the controversy between the two crowns. The English, he proclaimed, were masters of the river St. Lawrence, and could thus intercept all succors from France; and they had, besides, the prospect of a speedy reinforcement from the army which General Amherst was conducting to form a junction with them. The line of conduct which the Canadians ought to pursue, he affirmed, was neither difficult nor doubtful; since the utmost exertion of their valor must be useless, and could serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He protested that the cruelties already exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great Britain in America would sanction the most severe reprisals; but that Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. While he tendered to the Canadians the blessings of peace amidst the horrors of war, and left them by their own conduct to determine their own fate,

he expressed his hope that the world would do him justice, and acquit him of blame, should the objects of his solicitude, by rejecting these favorable terms, oblige him to have recourse to measures of violence and severity. Having expatiated on the power and strength of Britain, whose indignation they might provoke, he urged them to recognise the generosity with which she now held forth the hand of humanity, and tendered to them forbearance and protection, at the very time when France, by her weakness, was compelled to abandon them. This proclamation produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians place much dependence on the assurances of a people whom their priests industriously represented to them as the fiercest and most faithless enemy upon earth. Possessed with these notions, they disregarded the offered protection of Wolfe, and abandoning their habitations, joined the scalping parties of the Indians who skulked among the woods, and butchered with the most inhuman barbarity all the English stragglers they could surprise. Wolfe, in a letter to Montcalm, remonstrated against these atrocities as contrary to the rules of war between civilized nations, and dishonorable to the service of France. But either the authority of Montcalm was not sufficient, or it was not exerted with sufficient energy, to bridle the ferocity of the savages, who continued to scalp and butcher with such increase of appetite for blood and revenge, that Wolfe, in the hope of intimidating the enemy into a cessation of this mode of hostility, judged it expedient to connive at some retaliatory outrages, from which the nobleness of his disposition would otherwise have revolted with abhorrence.



FROM his position in the Isle of Orleans, the English commander had a distinct view of the danger and difficulty by which his enterprise was obstructed. Quebec is chiefly built on a steep rock on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, and additionally defended by the river St. Charles, which, flowing past it on the east, unites with the St. Lawrence immediately below the town, and consequently encloses it in a peninsular locality. Besides its natural barriers, the city was tolerably fortified by art, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition. In the St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose borders are intersected with ravines, there were several armed vessels and floating batteries; and a boom was drawn across its mouth. On the eastern bank of this stream, a formidable body of French troops, strongly intrenched, extended their camp along the shore of Beauport to the falls of the river Montmorency, having their rear covered by

an impenetrable forest. At the head of this army was the skilful, experienced, and intrepid Montcalm, the ablest commander that France had employed in America since the death of Count Frontignac, and who, though possessed of forces superior in number to the invaders, prudently determined to stand on the defensive, and mainly depend on the natural strength of the country, which, indeed, appeared almost insurmountable. He had lately reinforced his troops with five battalions, embodied from the flower of the colonial population; he had trained to arms all the neighboring inhabitants, and collected around him a numerous band of the most ancient and attached Indian allies of France. To undertake the siege of Quebec, against such opposing force, was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but a rash and romantic enterprise. But great actions are commonly transgressions of ordinary rules; and Wolfe, though fully awake to the hazard and difficulty of the achievement, was not to be deterred from attempting it. He knew that he should always have it in his power to retreat, in case of emergency, while the British squadron maintained its station in the river; he cherished the hope of being joined by Amherst; and, above all, though his body, yet in the bloom of manhood, was oppressed and consumed by a painful, lingering, mortal malady, his mind was burning with the resistless fever of renown, and his genius supported by the force of collected judgment and determined will. His ardor was partaken and his efforts ably seconded by many gallant officers who served under him, and particularly by the three brigadier-generals, Monckton, Townsend, and Murray, men of patrician rank and in the prime of life, whom neither affluent fortune nor the choicest domestic felicity could restrain from chasing glory with severe delight amidst the dangers and hardships of war. The safety of the fleet, on whose co-operation he relied, was twice menaced—first, by a violent storm, which, however, it happily surmounted with little damage; and afterwards by a number of fire-ships, which the French sent down the river, but which, by the skill and vigilance of Admiral Saunders, were all intercepted, towed ashore and rendered harmless.

Resolved to attempt whatever was practicable for the reduction of Quebec, Wolfe took possession, after a successful skirmish, of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town; but his fire from this position, though it destroyed many houses, made little impression upon the works, which were too strong and too remote to be essentially affected by it, and, at the same time, too elevated to be reached by a cannonade from the ships of war. Perceiving that his artillery could not be efficiently exerted, except from batteries constructed on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe

soon decided on more daring and impetuous measures. The northern shore of the St. Lawrence, to a considerable extent above Quebec, is so rocky and so precipitous, as to render a landing, in the face of an enemy, impracticable. An offensive attempt below the town, though less imprudent, was confronted by formidable obstructions. Even if the river Montmorency were passed, and the French driven from their intrenchments, the St. Charles must still present a new and less superable barrier against the assailants. Wolfe, acquainted with every obstacle, but heroically observing, that "a victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency and bring Montcalm to an engagement. For this purpose, thirteen companies of English grenadiers and a part of the second battalion of royal Americans were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions, under Generals Townsend and Murray, prepared to cross it by a ford which was discovered farther up the stream. Wolfe's plan was to attack, in the first instance, a redoubt close to the water's edge, and apparently beyond reach of shot from the enemy's intrenchments, in the hope that the French, by attempting to support that fortification, would enable him to bring on a general engagement; or that, if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, he could thence take an accurate survey of their position, and regulate with advantage his subsequent operations. On the approach of the British troops, the redoubt was evacuated; and Wolfe, observing some confusion in the French camp, instantly changed his original plan, and determined to attack the hostile intrenchments without farther delay. Townsend and Murray were now commanded to hold their divisions in readiness for fording the river, and the grenadiers and royal Americans were directed to form on the beach, and await there the reinforcement which was requisite to sustain their exertions; but, flushed with ardor, and negligent of support, these troops made a precipitate charge upon the enemy's intrenchments, where they were received with so steady and sharp a fire from the French musketry, that they were presently thrown into disorder, and compelled to take refuge in the abandoned redoubt. Here it proved, unexpectedly, that they were still exposed to an effective fire from the enemy, and several brave officers, exposing their persons in attempting to reform and rally the troops, were killed. A thunder-storm, which now broke out, contributed to baffle the efforts of the British, without depressing the spirit of the French, who continued to fire, not only upon the troops in the redoubt, but on those who were lying wounded and disabled on the field, near their own intrenchments. The English general, finding that his plan of attack was completely disconcerted, ordered his troops to repass the river and return to the Isle of Orleans. Besides the mortifying check which he

had received, he lost, in this rash, ill-considered attempt, nearly 500 of the bravest men in his army.



OME experience, however, though dearly bought, had been gained; and Wolfe—now assured of the impracticability of approaching Quebec on the side of the Montmorency, while Montcalm retained his station, which he seemed determined to do, till, from the advance of the season, the elements should lend their aid in destroying the invaders—detached General Murray, with 1200 men in transports, to co-operate with

Admiral Holmes above the town in an attempt upon the French shipping, and to distract the enemy by descents on the banks of the river. [August 25.] After twice endeavoring without success to land on the northern shore, Murray, by a sudden descent which he accomplished at Chambaud, gained the opportunity of destroying a valuable magazine, filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions; but the French ships were secured in such a manner as to defy the approach either of the fleet or the army. On his return to the British camp, he brought the consolatory intelligence, obtained from his prisoners, that Fort Niagara was taken; that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been occupied without resistance; and that General Amherst was making preparations to attack the enemy at Isle-aux-Noix. This intelligence, though in itself grateful, afforded no prospect of speedy assistance, and indeed proclaimed the failure of Amherst in seasonably executing the plan of co-operation concerted between the two armies. Nothing, however, could shake the resolution of Wolfe, or induce him to abandon the enterprise which he had commenced. Instead of being disheartened, he was roused to additional energy of purpose and effort by the conviction that success now depended exclusively on himself and his present force, and that it had become absolutely essential to his reputation, already wounded and endangered by the disaster at Montmorency. In a council of his principal officers, assembled at this critical juncture, it was resolved to transfer the scene of operations to the banks of the St. Lawrence above the town. [September 3.] The camp at the Isle of Orleans was consequently abandoned; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part at a spot farther up the river. Admiral Holmes, meanwhile, for several days successively, manœuvred with his fleet in a manner calculated to engage the attention of the enemy on the northern shore, and draw their observation as far as possible from the city. These movements had no other effect than to induce Montcalm to detach 1500 men, under command of Bougainville,

one of his officers, from the main camp, to watch the motions of the English fleet and army, and prevent a landing from being accomplished.



OLFE was now confined to bed by a severe fit of the disease under which he laboured, aggravated by incessant fatigue and by the anxiety inseparable from a combination of difficulties sufficient to have appalled the stoutest courage and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander. In this situation, his three brigadier-generals, whom he invited to concert some plan of operations, projected and proposed to him a daring enterprise, of which the immediate object was to gain possession of the lofty eminences beyond Quebec, where the enemy's fortifications were comparatively slight. It was proposed to land the troops by night under the *Heights of Abraham*, at a small distance from the city, and to scale the summit of these heights before daybreak. This attempt manifestly involved extreme difficulty and hazard. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank of the river lined with French sentinels, the landing-place so narrow as easily to be missed in the dark, and the cliff, which must afterwards be surmounted, so steep that it was difficult to ascend it even in open day and without opposition. Should the design be promulgated by a spy or deserter, or suspected by the enemy; should the disembarkation be disordered, through the darkness of the night, or the obstructions of the shore; the landing-place be mistaken, or but one sentinel alarmed,—the Heights of Abraham would instantly be covered with such numbers of troops as would render the attempt abortive and defeat inevitable. Though these circumstances of danger could not escape the penetration of Wolfe, yet he hesitated not a moment to embrace a project so congenial to his ardent and enterprising disposition, as well as to the hazardous and embarrassing predicament in which he was placed, and from which only some brilliant and soaring effort could extricate him to his own and his country's satisfaction. He reposed a gallant confidence in the very magnitude and peril of his attempt; and fortune extended her proverbial favor to the brave. His active powers revived with the near prospect of decisive action; he soon recovered his health so far as to be able to conduct in person the enterprise on which he was resolved to stake his fame; and in the execution of it, displayed a force of judgment, and a deliberate valor and intrepidity, that rivalled and vindicated the heroism of its conception.

The necessary orders having been communicated, and the preparatory arrangements completed, the whole fleet, upon the 12th of September, moved up the river several leagues above the spot allotted for the assault,

and at various intervening places made demonstrations of an intention of landing the troops; as if the movement had been merely experimental, and no decisive purpose of attack were yet entertained. But an hour after midnight, the troops were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, which, aided by the tide and the stream, drifted with all possible caution down the river towards the intended place of disembarkation. They were obliged to keep close to the northern shore, in order to diminish the danger of passing the landing-place (which, nevertheless, very nearly happened) in the dark; and yet escaped the challenge of all the French sentinels except one or two, whose vigilance, however, was baffled by the presence of mind and ingenuity with which a Scotch officer replied to the call, and described the force to which he belonged as a part of Bougainville's troops employed in exploring the state of the river and motions of the English. Silence was commanded under pain of death, which was, indeed, doubly menaced; and a death-like stillness was preserved in every boat, except the one which conveyed the commander-in-chief, where, in accents barely audible to the profound attention of his listening officers, Wolfe repeated that noble effusion of solemn thought and poetic genius, Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, which had been recently published at London, and of which a copy was conveyed to him by the last packet from England. When he had finished his recitation, he added, in a tone still guardedly low, but earnest and emphatic, — "Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem, than take Quebec:" — perhaps the noblest tribute ever paid by arms to letters, since that heroic era when hostile fury and havoc were remedied or intercepted by respect for the genius of Aristotle and for the poetry of Pindar and Euripides. About an hour before daybreak, a landing was effected. Wolfe was one of the first who leaped ashore; and when he beheld the precipitous height whose ascent still remained to crown the arduous enterprise thus far advanced in safety through the jaws of fate, he coolly observed to an officer near him, — "I doubt if you will get up; but you must do what you can." A detachment of Scotch Highlanders and of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe, (brother of the nobleman who perished at Ticonderoga,) led the way up the dangerous cliff, which was ascended by the aid of the rugged projection of the rocks and the branches of some bushes and plants that protruded from their crevices. The rest of the troops, emulating this gallant and skilful example, followed their comrades up the narrow path, and by break of day the whole army reached the summit. [September 13.]

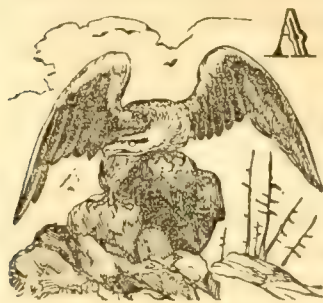
When Montcalm received intelligence that the British force, which he supposed wandering on the river, had sprung up like a mine on the sum-



Wolfe's Army ascending the Heights of Abraham.

mit of the Heights of Abraham, he could not at first credit the full import of the tidings. Accounting it impossible that a whole army had ascended such a rugged and abrupt precipice, he concluded that the demonstration was merely a feint, undertaken by a small detachment, in order to induce him to abandon the position he had hitherto maintained. Convinced, however, by farther observation, of his mistake, he conceived that an engagement could no longer be avoided; and instantly quitting his camp at Montmorency, crossed the river St. Charles, with the purpose of attacking the English army. In thus consenting to give battle, Montcalm was rather confounded by the genius and daring than overruled by the actual success and position of his adversary. Had he retired into Quebec, he might, especially at such an advanced period of the year, and with so numerous a garrison, have securely defied a siege. Wolfe, observing the movement of the enemy, began to form his own line, which consisted of

six battalions and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by Monckton; the left by Murray; the right flank was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers; and the rear and left by Howe's light infantry, which had shortly before achieved the easy conquest of a four-gun battery. As the form in which the French advanced indicated the purpose of outflanking the left of the English army, Townsend was sent to this part of the line, with the regiment of Amherst and the two battalions of royal Americans, which were formed in such a disposition as to present a double front to the enemy. One regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals, formed the English body of reserve. Montcalm's dispositions for the attack were not less skilful and judicious. The right and left wings of his army were composed almost equally of European and of colonial troops; the centre consisted of a column formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, expert and deadly marksmen, advancing in front, and screened by adjoining thickets, began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many officers, whom they preferably aimed at; but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the British. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun which the English seamen contrived to hoist up from the landing-place, and which they employed during the action with considerable effect.



A STRONG and cheering presentiment of victory was, doubtless, entertained by troops who had already exerted so much valor, and vanquished so many obstacles, in order to meet the enemy on a fair field of battle. Their leader had courted fortune, not with languid aspiration, but with confident pursuit; while their enemy's studious precautions against her possible hostility announced little reliance on her probable favor. About

nine in the morning, the main body of the French advanced vigorously to the charge, and the conflict soon became general. Montcalm having chosen for his own station the left of the French army, and Wolfe, for his, the right of the English, the two commanders directly confronted each other in the quarter where arose the hottest encounter of this memorable day. The English troops reserved their fire till the French were within forty yards of their line; and then, by a terrible discharge, spread havoc among the adverse ranks. Their fire was continued with a vigor and deliberation which effectually checked the advance, and visibly abated the audacity of the French. Wolfe, who, early in the action, was wounded

in the wrist, betraying no symptom of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to direct and animate his troops. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin; but, concealing the wound, he was leading his grenadiers to the charge, when a third ball pierced his breast, and brought him to the ground. His troops, incensed rather than disconcerted by the fall of their general, continued the action, with unabated vigor, under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved, but who was soon obliged, by a dangerous wound, to resign it to Townsend. Montcalm, about the same time, while animating the fight, in front of his battalion, was pierced with a mortal wound; and General Senezergus also, the second in command on the same side, shortly after fell. While the fall of Wolfe seemed to impart a higher temper to the courage of the English, and infused a spirit in their ranks that rendered them superior to almost any opposing force, the loss of Montcalm produced a contrary and depressing effect on the French. The British right wing now pressed on with fixed bayonets, determined on vengeance and victory. General Murray, at the same critical instant advancing swiftly with the troops under his direction, broke the centre of the French army; and their confusion was completed by a charge of the Highlanders, who, drawing their broadswords, rushed upon them with resistless fury, and drove them, with great slaughter, partly into Quebec, and partly over the St. Charles. On the left of the British position, the combat was less violent and sanguinary; but here, also, the attack of the French was repulsed, and their attempt to outflank the British defeated. At this juncture, Bougainville, with a body of 2000 fresh troops, approached the rear of the victorious English; but observing the complete rout and dispersion of Montcalm's forces, he did not venture to attempt a renewal of the action. The victory was decisive. About 1000 of the French were made prisoners, and nearly an equal number fell in the battle and in the pursuit; of the remainder, the greater number, unable to gain the shelter of Quebec, retired first to Point-au-Tremble, and afterwards to Trois Rivières and Montreal. The loss of the English, both in killed and wounded, was less than 600 men.

But the fate of Wolfe was deeply and universally deplored. After his last wound, finding himself unable to stand, he leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant, who sat down in order to support him. This officer, seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "They run! they run!" "Who run?" cried Wolfe, with eagerness; for his glazing eye could no longer discern the fortune of the day. Being informed that it was the enemy, he replied with animation, "Then I die happy!"—and almost instantly after expired *in the blaze of his fame*. Intensely studious, and yet



Death of Wolfe.

promptly and vigorously active; heroically brave and determined, adventurous and persevering; of a temper lively and even impetuous, yet never reproached as violent or irascible; generous, indulgent, courteous, and humane—Wolfe was the pattern of his officers, and the idol of his soldiers. The force and compass of his genius enabled him practically to distinguish, what inferior minds never discover at all, the difference between great difficulties and impossibilities; and being undiscouraged by what was merely, however mightily, difficult, he undertook and achieved what others would have accounted and found to be impossible. His life (as was said of Sir Philip Sidney) was indeed, *poetry in action*. He was, for a time, the favorite hero of England, as well as of America; and monumental statues, erected at the public expense, attested his glory, both in the Old World and the New. A marble statue, in particular, was decreed to his memory by the Assembly of Massachusetts. His rival, Montcalm, survived him but a few hours, and met his fate with the most undaunted and enduring courage. When he was informed that his wound was mortal, his reply was, “I am glad to hear it;” and when the near

approach of death was announced to him, he added, "So much the better:—I shall not, then, live to see the surrender of Quebec." He was buried, by his own direction, in an excavation that had been produced by the explosion of a bomb. Unfortunately for his fame, the extent to which he is justly responsible for the treacherous cruelties of the Indian allies of his countrymen, on various occasions, still remains doubtful. It is pretended by some English writers, that Amherst had declared his purpose of treating Montcalm, if he should happen to take him alive, not as an honorable warrior, but as a bandit or robber. But if such sentiments were ever entertained, they were erased from the minds of victorious enemies by the heroic circumstances of Montcalm's death, and the remembrance of his talent and intrepidity—merits, which a wise regard to his own fame, and even more generous sentiment, must ever prompt a conqueror to recognise, and perhaps exaggerate, in a vanquished foe; and when, some time after, the French government desired leave to erect a monument to his memory in Canada, the request was granted by the English minister, Pitt, in terms expressive of a high admiration of Montcalm's character. Monckton recovered of his wound at New York. It was unfortunate, perhaps, for the fame of all the officers who distinguished themselves on either side in these hostilities, that the European states to which they respectively belonged were very soon tempted to regret the effects of the prowess they had exerted in America.



GENERAL TOWNSEND, who now commanded the army of Wolfe, proceeded to fortify his camp, and to construct lines and take other necessary measures for the investment of Quebec; but his operations, which might otherwise have been greatly protracted, if not entirely defeated, were happily abridged by a proposition of the garrison, within five days of the late victory, to surrender the place to the English forces. [September 17.] The discomfiture of Montcalm's plan of defence, and the loss of this commander, whose active genius and despotic authority had rendered him not merely the leader of the French, but the main-spring of all their councils and conduct, seemed to have confounded the spirit and paralyzed the vigor of the garrison, whose early surrender excited general surprise, and was equally grateful to their enemies, and mortifying to their countrymen. The terms of the capitulation were the more favorable for the besieged, as the enemy was assembling a large force in the rear of the British army; as the season had become wet, cold, and stormy, threatening the troops with sickness and the fleet with

danger; and as a considerable advantage was to be gained from taking possession of the town while the walls were yet in a defensible condition. It was stipulated, that the inhabitants, during the war, should be protected in the free exercise of their religion; their future political destiny was left to be decided at the return of peace. This treaty occurred very seasonably for the British, who learned immediately after that the enemy's army had rallied and been reinforced beyond Cape Rouge by two regular battalions which General de Levi had conducted to their aid from Montreal; and that Bougainville, with 800 men and a convoy of provisions, was prepared to throw himself into the town on the very day of its surrender. [September 18.] The capitulation was no sooner ratified, than the British forces took possession of Quebec, which, besides its garrison, contained a population of 10,000 persons. Next day, about 1000 prisoners were embarked on board of transports to be conveyed to Europe.

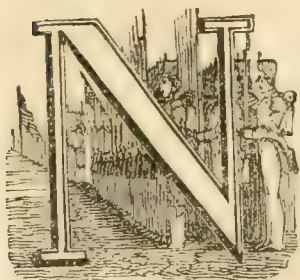
The capital of New France thus reduced to the dominion of Great Britain, received a garrison of 5000 troops commanded by General Murray, whose security was farther promoted by the conduct which the French colonists in the neighborhood now thought proper to adopt; for they repaired in great numbers to Quebec, and, delivering up their arms, pledged themselves by oath to observe a strictly passive neutrality during the continuance of the war. The British fleet, shortly after, took its departure from the St. Lawrence, carrying with it General Townsend, who returned to England.

The operations which had been intrusted to General Stanwix were attended with complete success. By his conduct and prudence, the British interest and empire were established so firmly, to all appearance, on the banks of the Ohio, that the emigrants from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were very soon after enabled securely to resume and advantageously to extend the settlements in this quarter, from which the French had expelled them in the commencement of the war.

Thus brilliantly ended the campaign of 1759. In England its results were hailed with the most enthusiastic triumph and applause. In America, these sentiments were warmly and justly reciprocated.

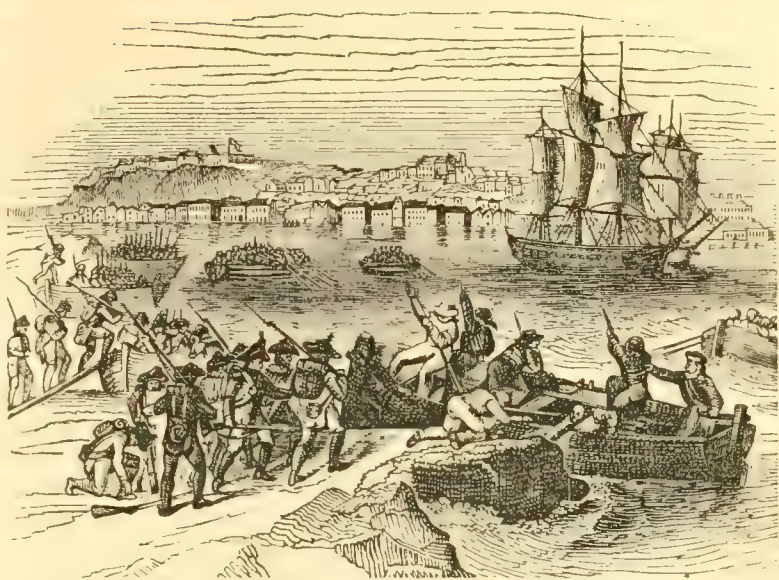
The inhabitants of North America had eagerly indulged the hope that the reduction of Quebec not only betokened, but actually imported, the entire conquest of Canada; but they were speedily undeceived; and, aroused by the spirited and nearly successful attempt of the French to retrieve this loss, they consented the more willingly to a renewed exertion of their resources for the purpose of securing and improving the victorious posture of their affairs. The New England levies this year [1760] were as numerous as they had ever been during the war; the Virginian levies

augmented by the emergency of a war with the Cherokees) amounted to 90 men.



O sooner had the English fleet retired from the St. Lawrence, than Levi, who succeeded to Montcalm's command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. The land forces he possessed were more numerous than the army of Wolfe, by which the conquest of the place had been achieved, and he enjoyed the co-operation of some frigates which afforded him the entire command of the river, as the Eng-

lish had imprudently withdrawn every one of their vessels, on the supposition that they could not be useful in winter. He had hoped that a sudden attack might enable him to take Quebec by surprise, during the winter; but, after some preparatory approaches, which were repulsed, and a survey which convinced him that the outposts were better secured and the governor more active and alert than he had expected, he was induced to postpone his enterprise till the arrival of the spring. In the month of April, when the St. Lawrence afforded a navigation freed from ice, the artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage of the French were embarked at Montreal, and carried down the river under the protection of six frigates; and Levi himself, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point-au-Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec. General Murray, to whom the preservation of the English conquest was intrusted, took prompt and skilful measures for its security; but his troops had suffered so much from the extreme cold of the winter and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that instead of 5000, the original number of the garrison, he could now count on the services of no more than 3000 men. Impelled by overboiling courage, rather than guided by sound judgment, and relying more, perhaps, on the reputation than the strength of his army, he determined, with this once victorious and still valiant, though diminished force, to meet the enemy in the field, although their numbers amounted to more than 12,000; and, accordingly, marching out to the Heights of Abraham, he attempted to render this scene once more tributary to the glory of Great Britain, by an impetuous assault on the neighboring position of the French at Sillery. [April 28, 1760.] But his attack was firmly sustained by the enemy, and after a sharp encounter, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he withdrew his troops from the action and retired into the city. In this conflict the British lost the greater part of their artillery, and nearly 1000 men. The French, though their loss in killed



Retreat of the French from Quebec.

and wounded was more than double that number, had nevertheless gained the victory, which their general lost no time in improving. On the evening of the day on which the battle took place, Levi opened trenches against the town; yet, in spite of all his efforts, it was not till the 11th of May that his batteries were so far advanced as to commence an effectual fire upon the garrison. But Murray had now, by indefatigable exertion, in which he was assisted with alacrity by his soldiers, completed some outworks, and planted so powerful an artillery on the ramparts, that his fire was far superior to that of the besiegers, and nearly silenced their batteries. Quebec, notwithstanding, would most probably have reverted to its former masters, if an armament which was despatched from France had not been outsailed by a British squadron, which succeeded in first gaining the entrance and the command of the St. Lawrence. The French frigates, which had descended from Montreal, were now attacked by the British ships, and, part of them having been destroyed, the rest betook themselves to a hasty retreat up the river. Levi instantly raised the siege, and, retiring with a precipitation that obliged him to abandon the greater part of his baggage and artillery, reconducted his forces (with the exception of a party of Canadians and Indians who became disheartened and deserted him by the way) to Montreal. Here the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, and determined

to make his last stand in defence of the French colonial empire—thus reduced, from the attitude of preponderance and conquest which it presented two years before, to the necessity of a defensive and desperate effort for its own preservation. For this purpose Vaudreil called in all his detachments and collected around him the whole force of the colony. Though little chance of success remained to him, he preserved an intrepid countenance, and in all his dispositions displayed the firmness and forethought of an accomplished commander. To support the drooping courage of the Canadians and their Indian allies, he had even recourse to the artifice of circulating among them feigned intelligence of the successes of France in other quarters of the world, and of her approaching succor.



GENERAL AMHERST, in the meantime, was diligently engaged in concerting and prosecuting measures for the entire conquest of Canada. During the winter, he had made arrangements for bringing all the British forces from Quebec, Lake Champlain, and Lake Ontario, to join in a combined attack upon Montreal. Colonel Haviland, by his direction, sailing with a detachment from Crown Point, took possession of Isle-aux-Noix, which he

found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded towards Montreal; while Amherst, with his own division, consisting of about 10,000 regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New York, and advanced to Oswego, where his force received the addition of 1000 Indians of the Six Nations, marching under the command of Sir William Johnson. Embarking with his entire army on Lake Ontario, he reduced the fort of Isle Royale, one of the most important posts which the French possessed on the river St. Lawrence; and thence, after a difficult and dangerous passage, conducted his troops to Montreal, where on the very day of their arrival, [September 6, 1760,] they were met by the forces commanded by General Murray. In his progress up the river, Murray distributed proclamations among the Canadians inhabiting its southern shore, which produced such an effect that almost all the parishes in this quarter, as far as the river Sorel, declared their submission to Britain, and took the oath of neutrality; Lord Rollo, meanwhile, advancing along the northern shore, disarmed all the inhabitants as far as Trois Rivières, which, though the capital of a large district, being merely an open village, was taken without resistance. By a happy concert in the execution of a well-digested plan, the armies

of Amherst and Murray, on the day after their own simultaneous arrival. [September 7.] were joined by the detachment confided to Colonel Haviland. Amherst had already made preparations for investing Montreal; but Vaudreuil, perceiving, from the strength of the combined armies, and the skilful dispositions of their commanders, that resistance must be ineffectual, hastened to demand a capitulation; and on the following day, [September 8,] Montreal, Detroit, and all the other places of strength within the government of Canada, were surrendered to the British crown. After the capitulation, General Gage was appointed governor of Montreal, with a garrison of 2000 men; and Murray returned to Quebec, where his garrison was augmented to 4000.



British Uniform, 1757.



CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM 1763 UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

THE history of the period between the close of the Seven Years' War and the commencement of the struggle of the colonies for independence is particularly interesting, as displaying the spirit of the colonists, and the immediate causes of that revolution which gave another nation to the world. We have seen that in most of the provinces, the people had become accustomed to electing their assemblies, and that an ardent love of liberty and self-government had been thus cherished. We have seen that the home-government perceived the tendency of such institutions when it was too late to check their influence. Yet the grand object of the policy now pursued towards the colonies was the increase of royal authority, and the complete extinguishment of an independent and republican spirit among the people. The enterprise and valorous conduct displayed by the inhabitants of New England, during the wars with the French and Indians, were viewed with suspicion and jealousy, and considered as evidences of a spirit which should be humiliated.

Immediately after the treaty of Paris had restored peace between the

two nations, the design of the British ministry to support troops in America at the colonial expense was announced in the English papers. The next proceeding was to endeavor, by oppressive measures, to increase the amount of revenue derived from the provinces. In March, 1764, it was debated in the House of Commons, whether they had a *right* to tax the Americans, they not being represented; and the question was decided unanimously in the affirmative. On the 5th of April, parliament passed the "sugar or molasses act," by which offenders against its provisions were deprived of the right of trial by jury. This increased the discontent which had been caused by the quartering of troops in the colonies without their consent.



THE general court of Massachusetts, at its first session, drew up a letter of spirited and decided instructions to Mr. Manduit, the provincial agent in England. After vindicating their cause, and complaining particularly of the rapid passing of acts of parliament, they concluded by observing, that the power of taxing was "the grand barrier of British liberty, and that, this once broken down, all was lost; that, in a word, a people might be free and tolerably happy, without a particular branch of trade; but without the privilege of assessing their own taxes they could be neither." These instructions, with a brief statement of the rights of the colonists which accompanied them, were ordered to be entered on the journals of the house, and measures were adopted to secure the aid of the assemblies of the different colonies, in order to obtain a repeal of the Sugar Act, and prevent the imposition of taxes without due representation.

Early in 1764, James Otis, of Boston, published his powerful essay, entitled, "The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved." In November the house of burgesses, of Virginia, on receiving information of the passage of the act, declaring the right to tax the colonies, prepared an address to the king, a memorial to the House of Lords, and a remonstrance to the House of Commons. The increase of smuggling, consequent upon acts restricting commerce, had become so prejudicial to the revenue, that the British government adopted a regulation, requiring the commanders of vessels, stationed on the coast of England, and even of those ships destined for America, to perform the functions of revenue officers, and to conform themselves to the rules established for the protection of the customs. This law called forth loud complaints from all the colonies. No sooner did they feel its disastrous effects upon their commerce, than the people generally resolved to refrain from purchasing in future any English stuffs, with which they had been accustomed to



Colonel Barre.

clothe themselves. This economy became so general at Boston that the consumption of British merchandise during the year was diminished upwards of £10,000 sterling.

Instead of redressing the grievances of which the colonies complained, the Grenville ministry proceeded one step further. A bill for raising revenue by a general stamp duty was brought into parliament, and after an exciting debate, in which Colonel Barre and the Whig leaders generally, distinguished themselves by pleading the cause of America, passed both houses on the 22d of March. The act was to begin its operation in the following November.

The house of burgesses of Virginia was in session when intelligence of the passage of the stamp act was received. Patrick Henry, already renowned for his eloquence, introduced several spirited resolutions, asserting the colonial rights and denying the claim of parliamentary



Samuel Adams

tion. The legislatures of the other colonies passed similar resolutions. The assembly of Massachusetts, besides keeping the flame of parliament against the colonies, originated a scheme for calling a continental congress, which was approved by most of the other colonies.

On the 7th of October, a congress consisting of 25 delegates from the assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantings, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Delaware counties, Maryland, and South Carolina, convened in the city of New York, and Timothy Baggins, of Massachusetts, was chosen president. The first business of the congress was a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonists. They were declared to be entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural-born subjects within the Kingdom of Great Britain, among the most essential of which are the exclusive power to tax themselves, and the privilege of a trial by jury. The government *fully* was



Stamp Act Riot.

plained of was the act, granting certain stamp duties and other duties in the British colonies, which, by taxing the colonists without their consent, and by extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, was declared to have a direct tendency to subvert their rights and liberties. A petition to the king, and a memorial to each house of parliament, were also agreed on; and it was recommended to the several colonies to appoint special agents, who should unite their utmost endeavors in soliciting redress of grievances. The assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, were prevented by their governors from sending representatives to the congress; but they forwarded petitions to England, similar to those adopted by that body.

In the mean time, the people, in the various parts of the colonies, assumed the controversy without waiting the result of legitimate measures. In August the effigies of Andrew Oliver, the proposed distributor of stamps in Massachusetts, was found hanging on a tree, afterward well known by the name of Liberty Tree, on the main street of Boston, accompanied with emblems designating Lord Bute, and the wicked motives of the obnoxious acts of parliament. At night, the images were taken down, and carried on a bier, amidst the acclamations of an immense collection of people, through the court-house, down King street, to a small brick building, supposed to have been erected by Mr. Oliver for the reception of stamps. This building was soon levelled with the ground, and the rioters, proceeding to Fort Hill to burn the pageantry, next assaulted

Mr. Oliver's house, which stood near that hill, and, having broken the windows, entered it, and destroyed part of the furniture. The next day, Mr. Oliver authorized several gentlemen to announce on the exchange, that he had declined having any concern with the office of stamp-master; but in the evening a bonfire was made, and a repetition of this declaration exacted of him.

On the 26th of the same month the tumults were renewed. The rioters assembled in King street, and proceeded to the house of William Story, deputy register of the court of admiralty, whose private papers, as well as the files and records of the court, were destroyed. The house of Benjamin Hallowell, junior, comptroller of the customs, was next entered and plundered. Intoxicated by liquors, found in his cellar, the rioters, with inflamed rage, directed their course to the house of lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, whose family was instantly dispersed, and who, after attempting in vain to secure himself within doors, was also constrained to depart, by secret passages, to save his life. By four in the morning, one of the best houses in the province was completely in ruins, nothing remaining but the bare walls and floors. The plate, family pictures, most of the furniture, the wearing apparel, about £900 sterling in money, and the manuscripts and books, which Mr. Hutchinson had been 30 years collecting, besides many public papers in his custody, were either carried off, or destroyed. The town of Boston, the next day, voted unanimously, that the selectmen and magistrates be desired to use their utmost endeavors, agreeably to law, to suppress the like disorders for the future, and that the freeholders and other inhabitants would do every thing in their power to assist them. The 1st day of November, on which the stamp act was to begin its operation, was ushered in at Boston by the tolling of bells. Many shops and stores were shut. Effigies of the authors and friends of that act were carried about the streets, and afterward torn in pieces by the populace.



THE Bostonians were not alone in their demonstrations of indignation. On the 24th of August, a gazette extraordinary was published in Providence, with *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, for a motto. Effigies were hung and burnt at Newport. In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the bells were tolled for the decease of Liberty; and in the

course of the day, a funeral procession was formed, and a coffin, bearing the inscription, "Liberty, aged CXLV. years," was carried through the streets to the sound of unbraced drums. Minute-guns were fired, and an oration pronounced in honor of the deceased. When this was con-



Governor Hutchinson.

cluded, the inscription on the coffin was changed to "Liberty Revived," the bells rang a merry peal and every countenance was illumined with joy. Such was the outburst of public feeling, outraged by oppressive measures.

In Connecticut, Mr. Ingersoll, the constituted distributor of stamps, was compelled to resign his office. In New York, the stamp act was contemptuously cried about the streets, under the title of "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America." The stamps were taken by the mob from the place where Governor Colden had secured them, and committed to the flames. The house of Major James, a friend of the stamp act, was plundered, and every article of furniture burned. Ten boxes of stamps were given to the flames. At Philadelphia, on the appearance

of the ships having the stamps on board, all the vessels in the harbor hoisted their colors half-mast high, whilst the bells were muffled and continued to toll until evening. The stamp distributors of Philadelphia, Maryland and Virginia were compelled to resign their offices.



AT various places in the northern colonies, clubs and associations, called the "Sons of Liberty," were formed, and continued to promote and increase the resistance of the colonists to the unjust measures of the British government. Vessels sailed from the ports as usual, and the courts of justice, though suspended for a time in most of the provinces, at length proceeded to business without stamps.

During this eventful year, (1765,) John Adams published a dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Laws, which breathed the purest patriotism, the most fervent love of liberty, and which, in some degree, prepared the colonists for new acts of oppression.

In February, 1766, Dr. Benjamin Franklin was examined before the English House of Commons, in regard to the state of feeling in America, and the repeal of the Stamp Act. His answers were bold, precise, and clear, and displayed his thorough knowledge of the subject.



IT now became necessary, either to enforce or repeal the odious act. Each of these measures had its advocates. Lord Camden, in the house of peers, and William Pitt, in the house of commons, boldly and eloquently pleaded the cause of the colonists, and maintained that taxation and representation were inseparable. Their efforts were crowned with success. On the 18th of March, the stamp act was repealed by

a vote of 275 to 167. The news of the repeal excited great rejoicing in America, where it was celebrated by the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and festivals. The colonists could not but look upon it as a triumph of their own indomitable spirit.

On revoking the stamp act, parliament voted an address to the King, requesting him to instruct the colonial governors to procure from the assemblies compensations to the individuals who had sustained loss in the riots occasioned by the obnoxious statute. With this requisition the assembly of Maryland readily complied: but the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, instead of prompt obedience, complained that the governor had expressed the requisition in stronger terms than his instructions author-



Reception of the News of the Repeal of the Stamp Act.

ized, and told him they would embrace the first opportunity to consider the recommendation. After several delays, they granted the compensations; but inserted in the act a clause of indemnity in favor of the rioters. The assemblies of Rhode Island and New York were not much more obsequious. In the other colonies, no loss had been sustained.

A rage for law-making is the common blunder of statesmen; and even sad experience did not cure the British ministry of their legislative propensities in the management of American affairs. In the same session in which they had repealed the stamp act, and before the ferment of the public mind had time to subside, they, by a clause in the mutiny act, made some innovations in the provision for soldiers stationed in America, who were to be supplied with certain necessaries in their quarters; and they ordered the provincial assemblies to provide the funds for defraying the necessary expense. The governor of New York, on the day after he had communicated to the assembly the repeal of the stamp act, sent a message requiring them to provide quarters for some troops which were marching to the city, and informed them of the enactments of the amended mutiny bill. The assembly were in no haste to enter on the consideration of the message; but at length informed the governor that they would provide for the troops as formerly. This answer was unsatisfactory: the governor sent another message, and, after some correspondence, the assembly refused compliance with the demand; but ultimately found it expedient to submit. A similar refractory spirit manifested itself in the other colonies, particularly in that of Massachusetts Bay.

In July, 1766, a new ministry came into power in England, under the Duke of Grafton. The schemes for raising revenue from the colonies were resumed. In the discussion on the stamp act, a distinction had been made by the opponents of the bill, between external and internal taxation, or between raising money by duties on imports and exports and taxes levied in the way which had been proposed by the stamp act. The ministry, availing themselves of this distinction, procured an act of

parliament, imposing on glass, paper, white lead, painter's colors and tea, payable on the importation of those articles into the American colonies. But it was now too late for such an enactment. The colonists began to entertain more extended views of their rights, and to assert and maintain them with more confidence. They now vigorously opposed what, at one time, they would have submitted to without a murmur.



THE New York Assembly, refusing to make any provision to enforce the act for the maintenance of the king's troops in the province, was prohibited from passing any law until it complied with the provisions of that act. The assembly was awed into submission, yet the other colonies seized upon this as another cause for complaint — another evidence of encroachment upon their rights. In Massachusetts, the indignation of the people at the new tax bill, was almost as deep as at the passage of the stamp act. As if still further to irritate them, a body of British troops was brought into Boston, as was alleged, to secure them from the inclemency of the weather.

On the 20th of January, 1768, the house of representatives of Massachusetts voted a petition to the king, setting forth the terms of the original charter of Massachusetts, the connexion between taxation and representation, and praying that the right of internal taxation should be left to the provincial assembly. To secure the union and co-operation of the other colonies, a circular letter, dated 11th of February, was addressed to the representatives and burgesses of the people throughout the continent. The British ministry dreaded a union of the colonies; and immediately took occasion to condemn the circular as factious. The Massachusetts assembly maintained the justice and propriety of the measure it had adopted, and the governor dissolved that body immediately. (June, 1768.)

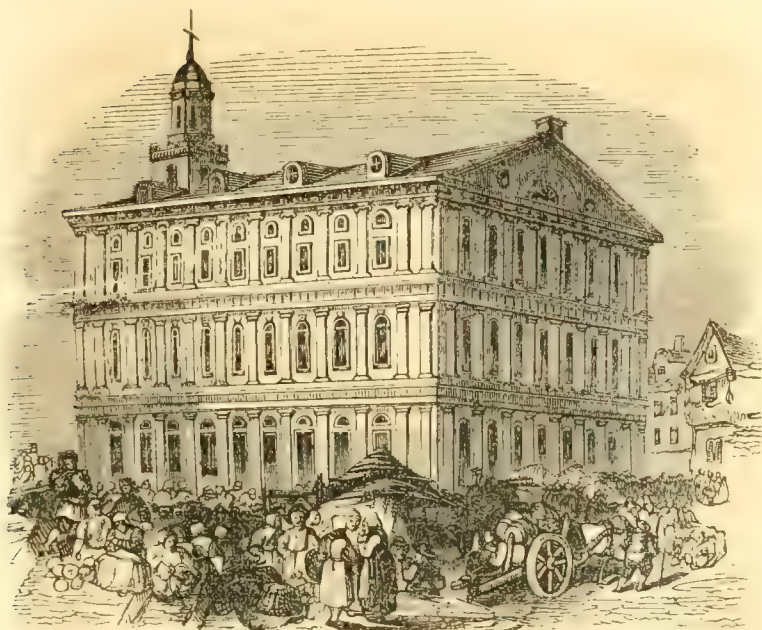
The merchants of Boston, New York and Connecticut, subscribed a paper, in which they engaged not to import nor purchase any kind of goods or merchandize imported from Great Britain, from January, 1769, to January, 1770, except a few enumerated articles. The colonial measures of the British ministry received the sanction of parliament. Early in 1769, the house of lords passed resolutions, censuring the proceedings of the assembly and people of Massachusetts. Both houses, in a joint address to George III., gave him the strongest assurances that they would effectually support him in such measures as might be found



John Hancock.

necessary to enforce the laws in Massachusetts, and proposed to try persons in England for treason beyond the seas.

When intelligence of this address was received in America, the assemblies in the several colonies, north and south, adopted resolutions reaffirming the rights of the people and their representatives. In Massachusetts, the house of representatives refused to provide funds for the support of a standing army in the province. At Boston, fresh grounds of irritation continually arose. The commissioners of customs arrived, and one of their officers was placed on board of a sloop belonging to Mr. Hancock, a zealous patriot and an eminent merchant. The officer, on attempting to exercise his duties, was confined in the cabin, and the whole cargo of Madeira wines was landed during the night. In consequence of this affair, the vessel was condemned and seized; upon which, the



Faneuil Hall.

people rose in tumult, burned a custom-house boat and compelled the commissioners to flee for safety on board the Romney ship-of-war. The assemblies strongly condemned these proceedings, inviting even the government to prosecute; but the prospect of obtaining either witnesses or juries who would convict appeared so small, that no attempt was made.

Another event increased the turbulent state of public feeling. Two regiments were ordered from New York to be quartered in Boston. At the first rumor of this, a town-meeting was held, a committee appointed to wait upon the governor to ascertain the truth of this report, and the convening of the assembly solicited. The governor did not deny the fact, but declared that he was unable to comply with the request without instructions from home. The people then adopted an extraordinary measure. A convention of delegates from all the towns was called, and assembled in the beginning of September. The convention informed the government that it did not assume any authority, but he advised the delegates to separate without delay. After a session of five days, during which a petition to the king, professing loyalty and explaining their grievances, and a report addressed to the people, advising them to abstain from tumult, were adopted, the convention adjourned. The troops now arrived, and no accommodations being provided, the governor was forced



Lord North.

to encamp part of them on the common, and assign to some quarters in the market-hall and Faneuil Hall state-house.

In England, Lord North had been placed at the head of affairs. He opened his career by concession to the provincials. On the 5th of March, 1770, a day rendered remarkable by other occurrences in America, the prime minister proposed to withdraw the duties recently imposed, retaining only that on tea, as an assertion of the right of parliament to tax the colonists. The measure was carried through both houses, after a violent opposition. Yet, on account of other government proceedings, it failed to restore tranquillity to the colonies.

The presence of the military force in Boston was a constant source of irritation and complaint. The people viewed it as a clear violation of civil liberty, and as intended to awe them into submission. Frequent

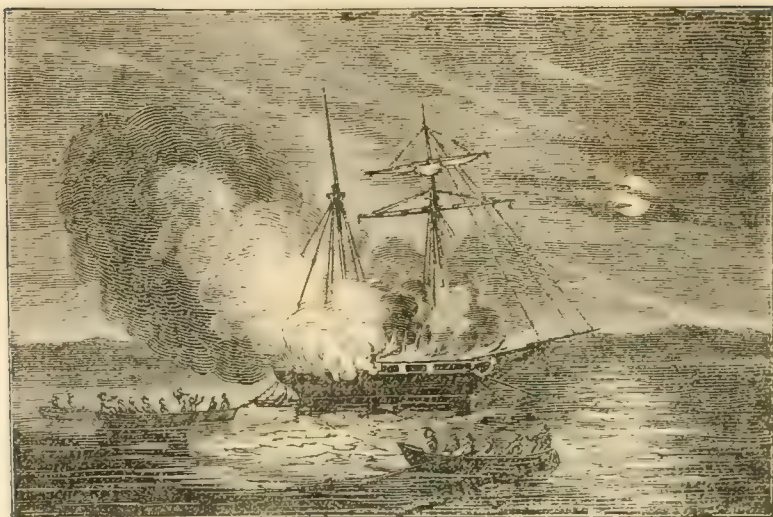


Boston Massacre.

quarrels occurred between the troops and the inhabitants, but nothing serious, until the 5th of March, 1770. About 8 o'clock on the evening of that day, a considerable number of people assembled in the vicinity of the barracks, the soldiers were insulted and pelted, and in revenge fired upon the mob. Three men were killed, and several others severely wounded, one of whom afterwards died. The consequent excitement may be imagined. The four persons killed were buried in one vault, with the highest marks of respect, and followed to the grave by a vast multitude of people. Captain Preston and the party of soldiers were committed to jail, and all were afterwards tried. Through the noble exertions of the zealous and eloquent patriots, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, who volunteered to act as counsel for the defence, the captain and six men were acquitted, and only two convicted of manslaughter. This event strengthened the patriotism of the people of Massachusetts, and made them more firm and more uncompromising in their demands than the other colonists. The Boston Massacre, as it was called, did much to forward the great struggle. The troops were soon after removed from that town.

In the middle and southern colonies, although the people were dissatisfied with the measures of parliament, and there were many zealous patriots, the same active, vigilant and daring spirit of resistance did not prevail as in New England. The cavalier settlers submitted more quietly to the enactments of the home governments than the descendants of the Puritans. Yet we shall see that when the blow had been struck, and they became aware that the cause of Massachusetts was the common cause of the colonies, the people of the southern provinces were able and willing to meet the issue.

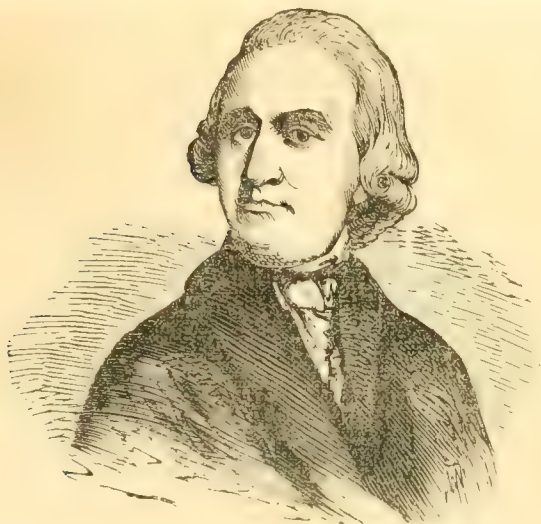
Meantime, a daring act of some of the colonists caused considerable



Burning of the Gaspee.

trouble. Lieutenant Dudington, commander of the armed schooner *Gaspee*, stationed off Rhode Island, was remarkably active in executing the laws against smuggling, and in searching for contraband goods. By this conduct, and by compelling the packets to lower their colors in passing him, he had become the object of much ill-will. On the evening of the 9th of June, 1772, the *Providence* packet, with passengers on board, came up with colors flying, and refusing to lower them, the lieutenant fired a shot at her; which, being disregarded, he gave chase. It was near full tide, and the packet stood closely in to the land, for the purpose of drawing the *Gaspee* into shallow water: the design succeeded, and the schooner got fast aground, about seven miles below Providence. The packet proceeded to the town, where the resolution was soon formed of attacking and destroying the *Gaspee*. Accordingly, about two in the morning, a body of armed men, in several whale-boats, boarded the *Gaspee*, which was still aground, forced the lieutenant, who was wounded in the scuffle, with his crew, ashore, and burned the schooner and her stores. Government offered a reward of £500 for the discovery and conviction of the perpetrators of this daring outrage; but evidence could not be procured against the party, although the leaders were not unknown.

The British ministry were incapable of deriving wisdom from experience; for, after all the mischief which had resulted from their American acts, they still indulged the passion for colonial legislation. Hitherto the assembly of Massachusetts Bay had voted a scanty allowance to the



Samuel Adams.

judges and to the law officers of the crown ; but, about the beginning of the year 1772, in order to render the judges more independent, the crown granted them liberal salaries out of the American revenue. The measure was proper, but the time unseasonable ; for every act of government was looked on with distrust and jealousy by the colonists ; and, in the irritable state of the public mind at that time, the grant of salaries to the judges, being viewed as the wages of subserviency, created much alarm and agitation in the province.

The ministers now revived the old struggles in the colonies, against the right of the governor to be supported by the crown. A bill for this purpose passed parliament, and in July, 1772, the Massachusetts legislature passed resolutions expressing great dissatisfaction with the new regulations. They declared the measure to be an "infraction of their charter." The governor endeavored in an elaborate message to invalidate the reasoning, by which the house had arrived at this conclusion.

The Boston people now assembled in town-meeting, November 2d, when on motion of Mr. Samuel Adams, a committee consisting of twenty-one, was appointed to "state the rights of the colonies, and of this Province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects : to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this Province and to the World, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been or from time to time may be made." The sentiments of all the other towns were desired.

The committee on the 19th of November made a report, in which, after a statement of rights, they pointed out the infringements and violation of them by the parliamentary assumption of the right of legislating for the colonies in all cases whatever; by the appointment of a number of new officers to superintend the revenues; and by granting salaries out of the American revenue to the governor, judges of the superior court, the king's attorney and solicitor-general. This report was accepted, and 600 copies printed for distribution. Most of the towns concurred in the Boston Report and Address.

A new project now occurred to the British premier. In consequence of the successful exclusion of tea, that article had accumulated in the warehouses of the Indian company, to their great loss. It was now proposed that the British duty of a shilling a pound should be drawn back on the import into America, where one of only three pence was to be imposed. It was hoped, that in this manner the colonists might be manœuvred out of the principle for which they had so obstinately contended. The minister mistook the character of the colonists. The vigilant patriot leaders saw the object of the measure, and, by exposing it, prepared their friends for resistance to its execution.



THE East India Company, confident of finding a market at the reduced prices, freighted several ships with tea and sent them to the several ports of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Charleston. The people of New York and Philadelphia sent the ships back to London. In Charleston, the tea was forcibly taken by the populace, and stored in damp cellars, till unfit for use. At

Boston, the inhabitants tried every way to send back the three ships which had arrived there, but without success. The vessels lay for some days in the harbor, watched by a strong guard of citizens, who despatched the most decided commands to the ship-masters not to land the cargoes. At length the popular rage could no longer be restrained, and the consignees, apprehending violence, took refuge in Castle William; while on the 16th of December, a body of men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels and threw the tea into the dock. In the space of two hours the contents of 342 chests of tea, valued at £18,000 sterling, were thus destroyed. The principal actors in this affair are now known to have been members of the Lebanon club of "Sons of Liberty." Their leader was named Lendall Pitts. They were bold men, and had resolved to prevent the landing of the tea, or to perish in the attempt.

The ministry of Britain had long watched for an opportunity of pun-



Destruction of the Tea.

ishing the people of Boston for the leading part they had taken in resisting their measures. As soon as the news of the destruction of the tea reached England, it was determined to proceed to extreme measures. A bill passed both houses of parliament, which ordered the port of Boston to be closed, and that no goods should be shipped or landed. This interdict was to continue until the citizens should express a due sense of their error, and make full compensation to the company; when the crown, if it should see sufficient reason, might restore its lost privilege. This port bill, so big with important consequences, was followed by two others; one prohibiting town-meetings, unless by consent of the governor; the other directing that offenders against the state should be sent to Britain or another colony for trial.

The news of the passage of the Port Bill reached Boston on the 10th of May. The measure was totally unexpected, and therefore created the greater ferment. The other acts increased the excitement, and were regarded as forming part of a system of tyranny. General Gage, the commander of the military forces in America, being appointed governor of Massachusetts, in place of Hutchinson, arrived at Boston on the 13th of May, and was very well received.

The next day, at a numerous town-meeting called to consider the Port Bill, it was resolved, "that it is the opinion of this town, that if the

other colonies come into a joint-resolution to stop all importation from, and exportation to, Great Britain, and every part of the West Indies, till the act be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity and cruelty of the act exceed our powers of expression. We therefore leave it to the just censure of others, and appeal to God and the World." Copies of this resolution were transmitted to each of the colonies.

The Port Bill arriving in different parts of the colonies excited universal indignation. In Philadelphia and other places, collections were taken up in aid of the sufferers in Boston. This example was everywhere soon followed; and the great distress occasioned by the bill was speedily relieved.



THE Virginia assembly, moved by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, espoused the cause of Massachusetts, and resolved to observe the first day of the operation of the bill as a fast; for which act, Governor Dunmore, who had succeeded Lord Botetourt as governor, dissolved them. Previous to their separation, however, they proposed a general congress, to deliberate on those measures which the common interest of America might require. The spirit of resistance became violent and universal throughout the southern colonies, and they gave assurance of assistance to the oppressed and suffering people of Boston.

The necessity of a general congress was soon perceived, and measures were adopted to call one. On the 4th of September, 1774, delegates from eleven colonies appeared at Philadelphia; and the next day, having formed themselves into a congress, in Carpenters' Hall, unanimously chose Peyton Randolph, president. After much discussion, it was determined that each colony should have only one vote, whatever might be the number of its deputies. A declaration of rights was soon agreed upon; the several acts infringing and violating those rights recited, and the repeal of them resolved to be essentially necessary to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. In the hope that peaceful measures might effect the object, a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement was made. On the 1st of October, it was resolved to prepare an address to the king, and on the 11th of that month, it was further resolved to prepare addresses to the people of the colonies and Great Britain. The great ability of the members of the committees appointed to prepare the address ensured powerful productions. Lord Chatham, speaking of the addresses in the house of lords, said:



Carpenters' Hall.

“When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation, and it has been my favorite study, I have read Thucydides, and studied and admired the master states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such complication of circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia.” The committees which produced the addresses were composed of Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, Patrick Henry, John Jay and John Rutledge—all renowned for literary attainments and oratorical ability.

After a session of eight weeks, the Continental Congress dissolved itself; but not without recommending that another Congress should be held on the 10th of May following, at Philadelphia, unless a redress of grievances was previously obtained. The resolutions of the Congress were generally sanctioned by the provincial assemblies.*

In Massachusetts the progress of affairs betokened a gathering storm. Soon after Gage's arrival, two regiments of foot, with a small detachment

* It ought not to be forgotten that the first Continental Congress was opened with a prayer by Dr. Dache. The practice thus commenced has been continued to the present day.



The First Prayer in Congress.

of artillery, and some cannon, were landed at Boston, and encamped on the common; and they had been gradually reinforced by several regiments from Ireland, New York, Halifax and Quebec. Things assumed a warlike aspect; a guard was stationed on Boston neck, and the fortifications at the entrance of the town were repaired and manned. On the 1st of September, Gage sent a detachment to take possession of the powder in the arsenal at Charleston. These measures carefully noted by an irritated people, rendered consultation necessary. Delegates assembled for that purpose in Suffolk, and passed a number of spirited resolutions, declaring "their intended opposition to the parliamentary measures," and that "no obedience is due from the province to either or any of the said acts, but that they should be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration, to enslave America." These bold resolutions were subsequently adopted by the Continental Congress.



IN the month of August, a copy of the act of parliament altering the constitution of Massachusetts Bay, and commissions from the king to those who were to compose the new council, in room of that which had been chosen by the assembly, reached Boston, and threw the town and neighborhood into a state of the greatest fermentation and confusion. The

courts of justice were suspended, because the grand juries refused to take the oaths; and the petty juries declined serving, because Mr. Oliver the chief justice had been impeached by a late house of commons of the province, and because the judges of the superior court had been made dependent on the crown. In some places the people assembled in large bodies, and took possession of the court-houses and avenues leading to them, so that neither judge nor officer could gain admittance; and when the sheriff commanded them to make way for the court, they replied, "We know no court, nor any other establishment, independent of the ancient laws and usages of our country; and to no other will we submit or give way on any account."

General Gage endeavored to call in religion to the aid of his government; but the irritation of his temper defeated the scheme of his policy. He issued a proclamation to encourage piety and virtue, and to prohibit and punish profaneness and immorality; classing *hypocrisy* among the immoralities. This the people of Boston considered a gross insult; and probably felt the insinuation the more keenly, in proportion to their deep estimate of religious observances.

The events of almost every day tended not only to keep alive but to

increase the mutual irritation. The inhabitants of Salem were invited by a hand-bill to meet on the 25th of August, in order to concert measures for opposing the late acts of parliament. On the 24th, the governor issued a proclamation prohibiting the meeting. But the proclamation was disregarded: the people assembled. Troops were sent to disperse them; but before the arrival of the troops the business was finished, and the assembly dissolved.

It was clear that the time for protesting and remonstrating was over. The colonists had boldly asserted their rights, during a long period of consummate tyranny, in which the British government had acted as if the provinces were only valuable in proportion to the amount they yielded to swell the enormous revenue of the mother country. The safety and happiness of the people seemed to them a secondary object. They were now to feel the vengeance of those "who knew their rights and knowing, dared maintain them." The patriot statesmen had done all in their power to secure redress for the wrongs of the colonists, by peaceable measures. But wisdom and eloquence had reached the ears of the British ministry only to be disregarded, and they had now no remedy but to appeal to the sword—and trust in the justice of their cause and the strength of armies.



Old Monument on Beacon Hill, Boston, Erected to commemorate the Events of the Revolution.



The Minute-man.

CHAPTER XXV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.



THE purpose of the colonists, in the struggle they foresaw, was to throw upon the British the responsibility of the first appeal to force. In this they were successful. A considerable quantity of military stores having been collected at Concord, a town in the interior, about eighteen miles from Boston, General Gage determined to seize them. On the night preceding the 19th of April, 1775, he detached Lieutenant-colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, with 800 grenadiers and light infantry for the execution of this design. At about 11 o'clock, the troops crossed the river Charles and commenced a silent and rapid march for Concord. In spite of the precautions of the British, the patriot leaders of Boston found means to alarm the country, and on the arrival of the troops at Lexington, about five in the morning, upwards of 70 men—the minute-men of that town—were found on parade, under arms. Major Pitcairn, who led the van of the regulars, galloped up to them, and called out, "Disperse, disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse!" The sturdy yeomanry remaining firm, he advanced nearer, fired his pistol, and ordered his troops to fire, which they did,



Affair at Lexington.

with a loud huzza. Several of the provincials fell, and the rest dispersed. The firing continued, however, and the fugitives returned it as they fled. In all, eight Americans were killed, and several wounded.

THE British detachment proceeded to Concord. The minutemen had received the alarm, and drew up in order for defence. But seeing the number of the regulars, they retreated over the north bridge, a short distance from the town. A party of British light infantry followed, while the main body proceeded to destroy the stores. Two 24 pounders were spiked, 500 pounds of balls thrown into the river and wells, and 60 barrels of flour broken in pieces. Meanwhile, the militia being reinforced, Major Buttrick, of Concord, assumed the command, and they advanced towards the bridge. The light infantry now retired to the Concord side of the river, and commenced pulling up the bridge. As the militia approached, the regulars fired upon them, killing a captain and one of the privates. The provincials returned the fire, and, after a short but severe contest, forced the regulars to commence their retreat to Boston. But the whole country was now alarmed, and the retreating troops were exposed to a destructive fire in the rear and on the flanks. The militia, sheltering themselves behind trees, fences and stone-walls, and availing themselves of their superior knowledge of the country, kept up a galling fire, until



Provincials harassing the British on their retreat.

the regulars, much exhausted, reached Lexington, where they were joined by Lord Percy, with 900 men and two pieces of cannon.



THE British force, now numbering 1800 men, soon resumed its march, and the provincials simultaneously renewed their fire, with as terrible effect as before. A little after sunset, the regulars reached Bunker's Hill, where, exhausted with their rapid retreat, they remained during the night, and the next morning went into Boston. In this disastrous expedition, 65 of the regulars were killed, 180 wounded, and 28 made prisoners. Of the provincials, 50 were killed, 34 wounded, and four missing.

The battle of Lexington excited the war spirit throughout Massachusetts, and soon communicated the flame to the other colonies. The next day after the battle, the provincial congress of Massachusetts met, and prepared an address to the people of Great Britain, in which occurred the strong expression, "Appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free," and made every arrangement for the immediate raising of a large army. The country was aroused. The hardy yeomanry in every quarter left the plough in the furrow, and hastened where their bold hearts and strong hands were needed. Forts, magazines and arsenals were seized and appropriated to the use of the provincials. An army of 20,000 men appeared in the environs of Boston, and formed



Lord Percy.

a line of encampment from Roxbury to the river Mystic. A large body of troops from Connecticut, under the veteran Colonel Putnam, soon joined the main army, and then the royal forces were closely confined to the peninsula of Boston.

A bold scheme was at once formed by a few men in Connecticut, to get possession of the important fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. About 40 volunteers marched to Castleton, where they were joined by Colonel Ethan Allen, with some hardy mountaineers, which increased the number of men to 270. Colonel Benedict Arnold, who had meditated the same project, now joined the assembled volunteers, but the chief command was retained by Colonel Allen. Proceeding on the expedition, they arrived, on the night of the 9th of May, on the shore of Lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga. Allen and Arnold, with 83 men, crossed the Lake without being discovered, and at break of day, entered



Benedict Arnold.

the fort, the garrison being yet asleep. Three loud huzzas roused them to a sense of their danger, and a slight skirmish ensued. De la Place, the commander, was required to surrender the fort. "By what authority?" he asked. "I demand it," replied Allen, "in the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress." The fort was instantly surrendered. Crown Point was easily surprised and captured by Colonel Seth Warner, with a small party of men, and the pass of Skeensborough was seized at the same time, by some volunteers from Connecticut. A sloop-of-war lying at St. John's, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain, was surprised and seized by Arnold; and thus, without the loss of a man, two very important posts, a large quantity of military stores, and the command of Lakes George and Champlain, were acquired by the daring of a few provincials.

Towards the end of May, a considerable reinforcement, with Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston. General Gage now prepared to act with more decision. He issued a proclamation, offering



Allen demanding the surrender of Trowderga.

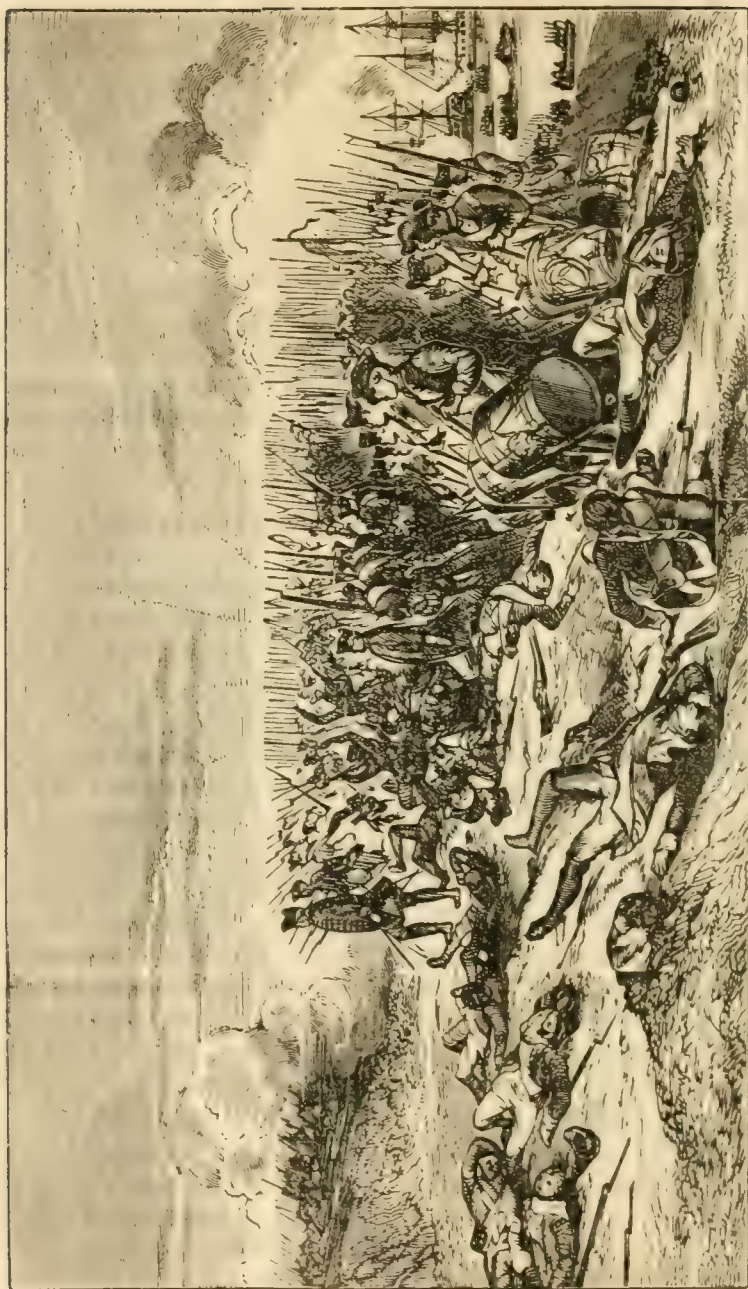
pardon to all who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceful subjects, excepting only, Samuel Adams and John Hancock. The effect of the proclamation was to unite and embolden, rather than intimidate those to whom it was addressed.



TO prevent the British from marching into the interior, the provincial council of war thought it necessary to take measures for the defence of Dorchester Neck, and to occupy Bunker's Hill. Accordingly, on the evening of the 16th of June, a detachment of 1000 men, under Colonel Prescott, moved from Cambridge, and passing silently over Charlestown Neck, ascended, through some mistake, Breed's Hill, reaching the top of it unobserved. Having brought entrenching tools with them, the whole party labored diligently and silently, and by dawn of day, completed a breastwork, and a redoubt eight rods square. When they were discovered, a tremendous fire was opened upon them from the ships-of-war in the harbor, and from the battery on Copp's Hill, in Boston.

General Gage, deeming it expedient to drive the Americans from their position, detached Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Pigot, at noon, with ten companies of grenadiers, ten of light-infantry, and some artillery, to perform this service. After landing at Moreton's Point, Howe formed his men and waited for reinforcements. These arrived towards three o'clock, when, being 3000 strong, the British moved up the hill to the attack. Meanwhile, the Americans had been reinforced by about 500 men, under Dr. Joseph Warren and Colonel Pomeroy. The British advanced slowly, in two lines, with the artillery preceding them. By their direction, Charlestown, a village of about 400 houses, was set on fire, and in a short time, the town was wrapped in flames. This spectacle added an awful grandeur to the scene which was now presented to the eyes of an immense multitude, who, thronging all the house-tops and heights in and around Boston, eagerly awaited the coming struggle.

The Americans permitted the enemy to approach unmolested, until within less than 100 yards of the breastwork, and then poured upon them such a deadly and incessant fire of musketry, that the British line was broken and fell back precipitately to the landing place. By the vigorous exertions of their gallant officers, they were again formed and brought to the attack. But the Americans met them as before, and again drove them back. General Clinton, arriving at this juncture from Boston, united his exertions with those of General Howe and other officers, and with extreme reluctance, the troops once more advanced to the charge,

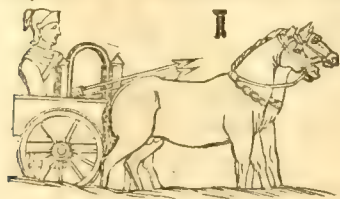


Battle of Breed's Hill.



Death of Warren.

the fire from all their batteries and ships-of-war being redoubled. The British brought some of their cannon to bear so as to rake the breast-work from end to end, and the redoubt, attacked on three sides at once, was carried at the point of the bayonet. The provincials, though ordered to retreat, delayed, and with the butt-end of their guns, disputed the ground inch by inch, until the assailants half-filled the redoubt. They then made their way over Charlestown Neck with trifling loss, although exposed to the fire of the Glasgow man-of-war, and two floating batteries.



IN this memorable battle, the loss of the British was reported to be 1054 men killed or wounded; of which number 89 were commissioned officers. Of the Americans, 139 were killed, and 314 wounded and missing. Among the killed was Dr. Warren. Although he had been

appointed a major-general four days previous to the battle, he assumed command, but, with musket in hand, fought as a common soldier. He was shot in the head while bringing off the rear of the Americans. His death was deeply and universally lamented by his countrymen, as his courage, learning, eloquence and general ability, had marked him for their leader in the struggle for liberty. Warren had been among the first and most eloquent of those orators, who had excited their fellow-men to maintain their rights, and daringly denounced the usurpations of the British government. When appointed major-general he was president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in which position he had won the love and admiration of his fellow-patriots. The fall of such a man in such a cause makes it sacred in the eyes of its supporters, and fixes their determination never to forsake it.



General Joseph Warren.

The necessity of a second congress had been rendered evident by the battle of Lexington. On the 10th of May, the delegates from twelve colonies met at Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph was chosen president, but that gentleman being obliged to return home on the 24th of the month, John Hancock was placed in the chair. The delegates did not hesitate in regard to the course to be pursued. They unanimously determined, that, as hostilities had actually commenced, and large reinforcements to the British army were expected, the colonies should be immediately put in a state of defence; "but as they wished for a restoration of the harmony formerly subsisting between the mother country and the colonies," they resolved that, "to the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his majesty." Besides this second petition to the king, they prepared a second address to the inhabitants of Great Britain; another to the people of Canada; and another to the assembly of Jamaica. These addresses were composed in a masterly manner, and were well calculated to procure friends to the colonies. Congress voted, that 20,000 men should be immediately equipped; unanimously chose George Washington, then a delegate from

Virginia, to be general and commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and all the forces now raised, or to be raised by them; proceeded to organize the higher departments of the army; and emitted bills of credit to the amount of 3,000,000 of Spanish milled dollars to defray the expenses of the war, and pledged the TWELVE UNITED COLONIES for their redemption. Articles of war for the government of the continental army were formed.

Washington accepted his high appointment with great diffidence. He had used neither solicitation nor influence of any kind to procure the appointment; and when the president informed him of his election, and of the request of congress that he would accept the office, he stood up in his place, and addressed the president in the following terms:—"Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me by this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience are not equal to the arduous trust. But, as the congress desire it, I will enter on the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my cordial thanks for this high testimony of their appro-

bation." He besought congress to remember that he thought himself unequal to the command with which they had honored him; that he expected no emolument from it, but that he would keep an exact account of his expenses.

Soon after Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, Congress appointed four major-generals—Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam; one adjutant-general, with the rank of brigadier—Horatio Gates; and eight brigadier-generals—Seth Pomeroy, David Wooster, William



General Artemas Ward.

Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene.

The people of Massachusetts were advised by the congress to elect delegates to an assembly, and that assembly to elect a council in order to secure a certain form of government. This advice was followed, and the assembly thus chosen met at Watertown, on the 20th of July. On the 6th of July the Continental Congress agreed to a Declaration, in the

form of a manifesto, setting forth the causes and the necessity of the people taking up arms, yet disclaiming any intention of establishing independent states. In the early part of July, a convention in Georgia resolved to support the common cause of the colonies, thus making the whole number of British provinces represented in the Continental Congress, thirteen.

On the 2d of July, General Washington, accompanied by General Lee and others, arrived at Cambridge. He immediately applied himself to obtain a knowledge of the strength and situation of the enemy, and to inspect the condition of the Americans.

The main body of the British army under the immediate command of General Howe, was strongly intrenching itself on Bunker's Hill, about a mile from Charlestown, and about half a mile in advance of the works that had been thrown up by the Americans on Breed's Hill; the other division of it was deeply intrenched and strongly fortified on Boston Neck, leading to Roxbury. The American army lay on both sides of Charles River. Its right occupied the high ground about Roxbury, whence it extended toward Dorchester; and its left was covered by Mystic River, a space of at least twelve miles. Intrenchments were thrown up on Winter and Prospect hills, about a mile from that division of the enemy, which lay on the peninsula of Charlestown, and in full view of it. Easterly of the works on Winter Hill, towards Mystic River, redoubts were thrown up, to prevent the passage of the enemy up that river in their rear, or their landing opposite to the fort. At Ploughed Hill, much in advance of Prospect Hill, and within about half a mile on a direct line of Bunker's Hill, a breastwork was thrown up, while the enemy were incessantly cannonading the provincial troops. In November, General Putnam was ordered to erect fortifications on Cobble Hill, about the same distance from the British works on Charlestown Heights, as Ploughed Hill, but nearer to Boston. When the Americans were perceived at this work, the British ships-of-war then lying in Charles River, as well as the forts on Bunker's Hill, opened a severe fire upon them; but the fort was soon built; and it was called "Putnam's impregnable fortress." Soon after, strong fortifications were erected at Lechmere's Point. A strong intrenchment was also thrown up at Sewell's farm; and the intermediate points on the river, where troops might be landed, were occupied and strengthened. At Roxbury, where General Thomas commanded, a strong work had been erected on the hill, about 200 yards from the church. Troops from New Hampshire and Rhode Island amounting to nearly 2000 men, occupied Winter Hill. About 1000 men, a part of the Connecticut line, commanded by General Putnam, were on Prospect Hill. The residue of the



Burning of Falmouth.

Connecticut troops, and nine regiments from Massachusetts, making in the whole between 4000 and 5000 men, were stationed at Roxbury; the residue of the Rhode Island troops, at Sewall's farm; and the residue of the Massachusetts troops, excepting about 700 men dispersed along the coast, were placed at Cambridge.

In compliance with a resolve of the provincial congress to prevent Tories from conveying out their effects, the inhabitants of Falmouth, in the northeastern part of Massachusetts, had obstructed the loading of a mast ship. The destruction of the town was determined on, as a vindictive punishment. Captain Mowat, detached for that purpose with armed vessels by Admiral Greaves, arrived off the place on the evening of the 17th of October. He gave notice to the inhabitants, that he would give them two hours "to remove the human species," at the end of which term, a red pendant would be raised at the main-top-gallant-mast-head; and that on the least resistance, he should be freed from all humanity, dictated by his orders or his inclination. Upon being inquired of by three gentlemen, who went on board his ship for that purpose, respecting the reason for this extraordinary summons, he replied, that he had orders to set on fire all the seaport towns from Boston to Halifax, and that he supposed New York was already in ashes. He could dispense with his orders, he said, on no terms but the compliance of the inhabitants to deliver up their arms and ammunition, and their sending on board a supply of provisions, four carriage guns, and the same number of the principal

persons in the town, as hostages, that they should engage not to unite with their country in any kind of opposition to Britain; and he assured them, that on a refusal of these conditions, he should lay the town in ashes within three hours. Unprepared for the attack, the inhabitants by entreaty obtained the suspension of an answer till the morning, and employed this interval in removing their families and effects. Considering opposition as unavailing, they made no resistance. The next day, Mowat commenced a furious cannonade and bombardment; and a great number of people, standing on the heights, were spectators of the conflagration, which reduced many of them to penury and despair: one hundred and thirty-nine dwelling-houses and two hundred and seventy-eight stores were burnt. Other seaports were threatened with conflagration, but escaped: Newport, on Rhode Island, was compelled to stipulate for a weekly supply, to avert it.



VERY favorable position was fortified and vigilantly guarded, so that the British could find no point of egress from Boston. Washington and the other generals exerted themselves to equip and discipline the army. There was no lack of courage and zeal among the officers and men, but they were generally unaccustomed to the subordination and discipline of the camp, and destitute of the requisite arms and ammunition. In the beginning of September, the army received a supply of 7000 pounds of powder from Rhode Island, and powder-mills were erected at various places, to supply the demand. Washington boldly grappled with the many difficulties of his situation. He perceived that the expense of maintaining an army far exceeded the estimates of Congress, and that the short term for which the men were enlisted threatened serious consequences. The new enlistments were made to serve until the 1st of December, 1776.

The British troops in Boston, amounting to about 10,000 men, were reduced to a very uncomfortable condition. The country people generally refused to sell them any provisions, and their naval supplies were intercepted by the armed vessels which the Massachusetts assembly had fitted out for the defence of the coast. On the 10th of October, General Gage left Boston for England, and the command devolved on General Howe. Several vessels, containing a large quantity of stores for the British army, were captured by the Massachusetts privateers, and afforded a seasonable supply to the Americans.

On the 13th of December, Congress resolved to fit out thirteen ships-of-war, which formed the germ of the American navy. It had been also resolved to raise a large army, and each of the colonies had agreed to



Siege of Boston.

furnish a considerable number of men ; but recruiting went on slowly. No bounty was offered until February, and on the last day of December, when the old army was disbanded, Washington learned that but 9650 men had been enlisted for the campaign of 1776. Compelled to submit to inactivity, his means of acting on the offensive were magnified, and doubts of his ability and integrity rewarded his constant anxiety. Congress desired that the town should be attacked ; but a council of war decided against the measure.

It was now deemed expedient to get possession of Dorchester Heights, and the night of the 4th of March was fixed upon for the attempt. A covering party of 800 men led the way. These were followed by the carts, with the intrenching tools, and 1200 of a working party, commanded by General Thomas. In the rear there were more than 200 carts, loaded with fascines, and hay in bundles. While the cannon were playing in other parts, the greatest silence was kept by this working party. The active zeal of the industrious provincials completed lines of defence by morning, which astonished the garrison. The difference between Dorchester Heights on the evening of the 4th, and the morning of the 5th, seemed to realize the tales of romance. The admiral informed General Howe, that if the Americans kept possession of these heights, he would not be able to keep one of his majesty's ships in the harbor. It was therefore determined in a council of war, to attempt to dislodge

them. An engagement was hourly expected. It was intended by General Washington, in that case, to force his way into Boston with 4000 men, who were to have embarked at the mouth of Cambridge River. The militia had come forward with great alertness, each bringing three days' provision, in expectation of an immediate assault. The men were in high spirits, and impatiently waiting for the appeal.



THEY were reminded that it was the 5th of March, and were called upon to avenge the death of their countrymen killed on that day. The many eminences in and near Boston, which overlooked the ground on which it was expected that the contending parties would engage, were crowded with numerous spectators; but General Howe did not intend to attack until the next day. In the night, a most violent storm, and, towards morning, a heavy flood of rain came on. A carnage was thus providentially prevented, that would probably have equalled, if not exceeded, the fatal 17th of June at Bunker's Hill. In this situation, it was agreed by the British, in a council of war, to evacuate the town as soon as possible.

In a few days after, a flag came out of Boston, with a paper signed by four selectmen, stating, "that they had applied to General Robertson, who, on an application to General Howe, was authorized to assure them, that he had no intention of burning the town, unless the troops under his command were molested, during their embarkation, or at their departure, by the armed force without." When this paper was presented to General Washington, he replied, "that as it was an unauthenticated paper, and without an address, and not obligatory on General Howe, he could take no notice of it;" but at the same time intimated his good wishes for the security of the town.

A proclamation was issued by General Howe, ordering all woollen and linen goods to be delivered to Crean Brush, Esq. Shops were opened and stripped of their goods. A licentious plundering took place. Much was carried off, and more was wantonly destroyed. These irregularities were forbidden in orders, and the guilty threatened with death; but, nevertheless, great mischief was committed.

The British, amounting to more than 7000 men, evacuated Boston, March, 17th, 1776; leaving their barracks standing; a number of pieces of cannon spiked; four large iron sea-mortars; and stores to the value of £30,000. They demolished the castle, and knocked off the trunnions of the cannon. Various incidents caused a delay of nine days after the evacuation, before they left Nantasket road.



Halifax.

This embarkation was attended with many circumstances of distress and embarrassment. On the departure of the royal army from Boston, a great number of the inhabitants, attached to the royal cause, and afraid of public resentment, chose to abandon their country. From the great multitude about to depart, there was no possibility of procuring purchasers for their furniture; neither was there a sufficiency of vessels for its convenient transportation. Mutual jealousy subsisted between the army and navy; each charging the other as the cause of their common distress. The army was full of discontent. Reinforcements, though long promised, had not arrived. Both officers and soldiers thought themselves neglected. Five months had elapsed since they had received any advice of their destination. Wants and inconveniences increased their ill humor. Their intended voyage to Halifax subjected them to great dangers. The coast, at all times hazardous, was eminently so at that tempestuous equinoctial season. They had reason to fear, that they would be blown off to the West Indies, and without a sufficient stock of provisions. They were also going to a barren country. To add to their difficulties, this dangerous voyage, when completed, was directly so much out of their way. Their business lay to the southward; and they were going northward. Under all these difficulties, and with all these gloomy prospects, the fleet steered for Halifax. Contrary to appearances, the voyage thither was both short and prosperous. They remained there for some time, waiting for reinforcements and instructions from England.

When the royal fleet and army departed from Boston, several ships were left behind, for the protection of vessels coming from England; but



The Medal presented to General Washington.

the American privateers were so alert, that they nevertheless made many prizes. Some of the vessels which they captured, were laden with arms and warlike stores. Some transports, with troops on board, were also taken. These had run into the harbor, not knowing that the place was evacuated. The boats employed in the embarkation of the British troops, had scarcely completed their business, when General Washington with his army marched into Boston. He was received with marks of approbation more flattering than the pomps of a triumph. The inhabitants, released from the severities of a garrison life, and from the various indignities to which they were subjected, hailed him as their deliverer. The evacuation of Boston had been previously determined upon, by the British ministry, from principles of political expediency. Being resolved to carry on the war, for purposes affecting all the colonies, they conceived a central position to be preferable to Boston. Policy of this kind had induced the adoption of the measure; but the American works on Roxbury expedited its execution.

For his services in expelling the British from Boston, Congress passed a vote of thanks to General Washington and the army, and presented the general with a gold medal commemorating the event.

In the meantime, the struggle had begun in the other colonies. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, by intemperate measures, strengthened the party he designed to crush. He threatened to set up the royal standard, seize the magazines and arm the negroes against their masters. This roused the inhabitants, and public meetings were held in various places.

Some gentlemen of Hanover armed themselves, and under the lead of Patrick Henry, marched towards Williamsburg, with the design of seizing the public treasury. They were prevented from accomplishing their object for the time by negotiation. The governor convened the general assembly, but its spirit was rebellious; and the people becoming louder in their complaints, Lord Dunmore took refuge on board of the *Towey* man-of-war. On the 15th of October, he landed with a small party at Norfolk, destroyed seventeen pieces of ordnance and carried off two more. He afterwards landed several times and destroyed or carried off the stores of the provincials. His efforts only strengthened the number and zeal of the people.

In the Carolinas, the royal governors were forced to fly, and the people took the government into their own hands. Governor Martin afterwards exerted himself to reduce North Carolina, and employed a large force under General M'Donald. But General Moore, with a body of provincials, marched against the royalists; several skirmishes ensued; M'Donald was taken prisoner and his men dispersed. In South Carolina, a provincial assembly was elected, forts built, regiments raised, and the militia trained. The royal party was easily overpowered, and the governor took refuge on board of a man-of-war. In Georgia, after a short contest, the colonial cause triumphed. The royal governors of New York, Maryland and New Jersey, contrived to maintain a show of authority, but dared not attempt active measures. As for Pennsylvania, we know that the Continental Congress sat in Philadelphia, and the spirit of the people had always been firm and independent."



Boston, from Dorchester Heights.



CHAPTER XXVI.

EXPEDITION TO CANADA.



THE co-operation of the people of Canada was deemed, by some of the American statesmen, necessary for securing a triumph in the struggle of the colonies for their rights. Accordingly, addresses had been sent, from time to time, to the Canadians, stating the grievances which had caused the outbreak, and inviting them, as they cherished their own privileges, to aid the other colonies in obtaining their just

demands. These addresses had produced no perceptible effect, however, and the arrival of the active and judicious Sir Guy Carleton, who had been appointed governor of the province, seemed to ensure the loyalty of the people. Still it was thought they would assist an army sent from the revolting colonies; and it was therefore resolved to despatch a sufficient force to attempt the conquest. The security of Ticonderoga and Crown Point was also considered in the proposed expedition.

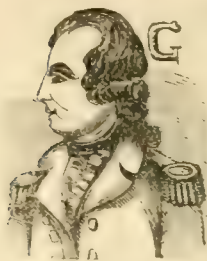
The management of military affairs in this northern department, had been committed to the generals Schuyler and Montgomery. General Schuyler addressed the inhabitants, informing them, "that the only views of Congress were to restore to them those rights, which every subject of



General Carleton

the British empire, of whatever religious sentiments he may be, is entitled to, and that in the execution of these trusts, he had received the most positive orders to cherish every Canadian, and every friend to the cause of liberty, and sacredly to guard their property." On the 10th of September, about 1000 American troops effected a landing at St. John's, the first British post in Canada, lying 115 miles only to the northward of Ticonderoga; but found it advisable to retreat to Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. John's. An extremely bad state of health soon after inducing General Schuyler to retire to Ticonderoga, the command devolved on General Montgomery. That enterprising officer in a few days returned to the vicinity of St. John's, and opened a battery against it. The reduction of Fort Chamblee, by a small detachment, giving him possession of six tons of gunpowder, enabled him to prosecute the siege of St. John's with vigor. General Carleton advanced against him with

about 800 men; but, in attempting to cross the St. Lawrence with the intention of landing at Longueil, he was attacked by Colonel Warner with 300 Green Mountain boys, and compelled to retire with precipitancy. This repulse induced the garrison of St. John's to surrender, on honorable terms of capitulation. While the siege of St. John's was depending, Colonel Ethan Allen was taken prisoner by the British, near Montreal, with about 38 of his men. He was loaded with irons and sent to England.



GENERAL MONTGOMERY next proceeded towards Montreal. On his approach, the few British troops there repaired on board the shipping, in hopes of escaping down the river; but General Prescott and several officers, with about 120 privates, were intercepted, and made prisoners on capitulation; eleven sail of vessels, with all their contents, fell into the hands of the provincials. Governor Carleton was conveyed away in a boat with muffled paddles to Trois Rivières, whence he proceeded to Quebec. General Montgomery, leaving some troops in Montreal, and sending detachments into different parts of the province to encourage the Canadians and to forward provisions, advanced with his little army, and expeditiously arrived before Quebec.

General Washington, early foreseeing that the whole force of Canada would be concentrated about Montreal, had projected an expedition against Quebec in a different direction. His plan was, to send out a detachment from his camp before Boston, which was to march by the way of the Kennebec River; and, passing through the dreary wilderness lying between the settled parts of the province of Maine and the St. Lawrence, to penetrate into Canada about 90 miles below Montreal. This arduous enterprise was committed to Colonel Arnold, who, with 1100 men, consisting of New England infantry, some volunteers, a company of artillery, and three companies of riflemen, commenced his march on the 13th of September. The soldiers were often obliged to carry their boats and rafts on their backs for miles along the Kennebec, on account of the rocks and shoals in that river. In passing the swampy grounds, after traversing the length of the Kennebec, they became sickly. Provisions also began to fail them. So great were their distresses, that Colonel Enos returned to Cambridge with his whole division, which, it is believed, must otherwise have starved. One or two dogs were afterward killed and eaten by the soldiers; a few of whom ate their cartouch-boxes, breeches, and shoes. After sustaining almost incredible hardships, Arnold in six weeks arrived on the plains of Canada, and immediately

encamped at Point Lévi, opposite to Quebec. The unexpected appearance of an army, "emerging out of the depths of an unexplored wilderness," threw the city into the greatest consternation. In this moment of surprise and terror, Arnold might probably have become master of the place, could he have crossed the St. Lawrence; but the small crafts and boats in the river were removed out of his reach. A delay of several days was by this untoward circumstance rendered inevitable; and the critical moment was lost. The inhabitants, English and Canadians, though discontented before, now united for their common defence. Alarmed for the immense property which Quebec contained, they became voluntarily embodied and armed. The sailors landed, and were at the batteries to serve the guns. Colonel M'Lean at the mouth of the Sorel, receiving intelligence of the danger that threatened the capital, advanced by forced marches to Quebec, where he arrived on the evening of the 13th of November, with a body of new-raised emigrants. On the 14th, Arnold, having at length been supplied with canoes by the Canadians, crossed the St. Lawrence in the night; and ascending the same abrupt precipice which Wolfe had climbed before him, formed his small corps on the heights near the memorable plains of Abraham. The defenders by this time were considerably superior in number to the assailants. Arnold had no artillery. An offensive operation was therefore impracticable. Neither the number nor condition of his troops would justify him in hazarding an action. His men amounted to no more than 700; nearly one-third of their muskets had been rendered useless in the march through the wilderness; and their ammunition had sustained great damage. In these circumstances, his only hope must have been founded on the defection of the Canadians. He accordingly paraded some days on the heights near the town, and sent two flags to summon the inhabitants; but they were fired at, and no message was admitted. Thus frustrated in his last hope, he drew off his detachment to Point aux Trembles, 20 miles above Quebec, and there waited the arrival of Montgomery.

General Montgomery, having sent several small detachments into the country to strengthen his interest with the Canadians and obtain supplies of provisions, proceeded expeditiously with the residue of his army, amounting to about 300 men, to Point aux Trembles, where he joined Colonel Arnold, and marched directly to Quebec. General Carleton, who was now in the city, had taken the best measures for its defence, and was prepared to receive him. In a few days, the American general opened a six-gun battery within about 700 yards of the walls; but his artillery was too light to make a breach, and he could do nothing more than amuse the enemy and conceal his real purpose. After continuing the siege



General Montgomery.

nearly a month, he resolved on a desperate attempt to carry the place by escalade. To distract the garrison, two feigned attacks were made on the upper town by two divisions of the army under majors Brown and Livingston, while two real attacks on the opposite sides of the lower town were made by two other divisions under Montgomery and Arnold. Early in the morning of the last day in the year, the signal was given; and the several divisions moved to the assault, in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which covered the assailants from the sight of the enemy. Montgomery at the head of the New York troops, advanced along the St. Lawrence, by Aunee de Mere, under Cape Diamond. The first barrier to be surmounted, on that side, was defended by a battery in which were mounted a few pieces of artillery, in front of which were a block-house and picket. The guard at the block-house, after giving a random fire, threw away their arms, and fled to the barrier; and for a time the battery itself was deserted. Enormous piles of ice impeded the progress of the Americans, who, pressing forward in a narrow defile, reached at length the block-house and picket. Montgomery, who was in front, assisted in cutting down or pulling up the pickets, and advanced



Death of Montgomery.

boldly and rapidly at the head of about 200 men, to force the barrier. By this time, one or two persons had ventured to return to the battery; and, seizing a slow match, discharged one of the guns. Casual as this fire appeared, it was fatal. The American front was within 40 paces of the piece; and General Montgomery, Captain M'Pherson his aid, and Captain Cheeseman, two valuable young officers near his person, together with his orderly sergeant and a private, were killed on the spot. Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, precipitately retired with the remainder of the division.

In the mean time, Colonel Arnold, at the head of about 350 men, made a desperate attack on the opposite side. Advancing with the utmost intrepidity along the St. Charles, through a narrow path, exposed to an incessant fire of grape-shot and musketry as he approached the first barrier at the Saut des Matelots, he received a musket-ball in the leg, which shattered the bone; and he was carried off to the camp. Captain Morgan, who commanded a company of Virginia riflemen, rushed forward to the batteries, at their head, and received a discharge of grape-shot, which killed one man only. A few rifles were immediately fired into the embrasures, and a British soldier was wounded in the head. With the aid of ladders, the barricade was mounted; and the battery was instantly deserted. The captain of the guard, with the greater part of his men, fell into the hands of the Americans. Morgan formed his men; but,



Funeral of Montgomery.

from the darkness of the night, and total ignorance of the situation of the town, it was judged inadvisable to proceed. He was soon joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Green, and majors Bigelow and Meigs, with several fragments of companies amounting collectively to about 200 men. At day-light, this gallant party was again formed; but, after a bloody and desperate engagement, in which they sustained the force of the whole garrison three hours, they were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

All enmity to Montgomery, on the part of the British, ceased with his life; and respect to his private character prevailed over all other considerations. His body was taken up the next day. An elegant coffin was prepared, and he was afterward decently interred.—Richard Montgomery was a gentleman of good family in Ireland, who, having married a lady and purchased an estate in New York, considered himself as an American, and had served with reputation in the late French war. His estimable qualities procured him an uncommon share of private affection; his abilities, of public esteem. His loss was deeply regretted in Europe and America. “The most powerful speakers in the British parliament displayed their eloquence in praising his virtues and lamenting his fate;” while they condemned the cause in which he fell. Congress directed a monument to be erected to his memory, with an inscription, expressive of their veneration for his character, and of their deep sense of his “many signal and important services; and to transmit to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprise,

insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death." A monument of white marble, with emblematic devices, has accordingly been erected to his memory, in front of St. Paul's church, in New York.



THE failure of the assault on Quebec was complete. But Colonel Arnold, under all the discouragements of want and sickness, continued to blockade the city. At length, in a council of war, it was unanimously determined that the troops were in no condition to resist an assault, and the army was removed to a more defensible position. At this juncture,

the Canadians received considerable reinforcements, and the Americans were compelled to relinquish one post after another, until, by the 18th of June, they had evacuated Canada. The expedition had been attended from the first with difficulties that would have daunted men of less spirit than the heroic Montgomery and the enterprising Arnold. Marches through the wilderness, want of clothing and provisions, insubordination of the men, and the scourge of the small-pox, were things few would willingly encounter and fewer overcome. The expedition cost the Americans about 600 men, including generals Montgomery and Thomas, and other valuable officers.

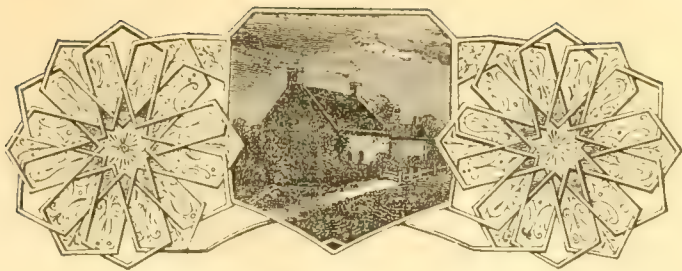
General Carleton had resolved to dispossess the Americans of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but he deemed it necessary first to get command of the lakes, to possess which he laboured with unwearied assiduity in constructing a fleet. In three months his efforts were crowned with success. Early in October, 1776, he had a formidable fleet, which rose as if by magic, upon lake Champlain; it consisted of five vessels mounting sixty-three guns, besides howitzers, and twenty gun-boats, each carrying a brass cannon, with other armed vessels, and a great number of transports and tenders. The fleet was manned with 700 choice seamen, under the command of Captain Pringle. To oppose this, the Americans had only two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three galleys, and eight gondolas. The largest schooner mounted only twelve, six, and four-pounders. Arnold had the command of it, as a man of desperate courage was necessary to oppose such an inferior force to the British fleet.

About the middle of October, Pringle sailed up the lake in quest of the American fleet. The wind was unfavorable to the British, and this circumstance lessened the inequality of the forces when the engagement commenced. The conflict was maintained with desperate valor by Arnold for about six hours. As night approached, he resolved to attempt to reach Ticonderoga. He had lost a schooner and a gondola, and felt his

inability to renew the fight the next day. Pringle pursued and brought the Americans to action near Crown Point. After a two hours' fight, a portion of the fleet escaped to Ticonderoga; but with only one galley, and five gondolas, Arnold would not surrender. He ran his ships ashore, landed his men and set the vessels on fire. The valor he displayed upon this occasion won him the highest reputation. On the 15th, Carleton took possession of Crown Point, the garrison retreating to Ticonderoga. He did not attempt to get possession of the latter post.



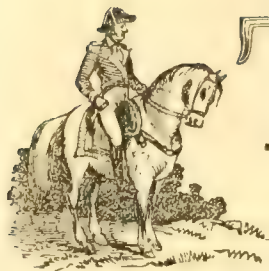
British Uniform, 1775.



Washington's Head-Quarters at Gowanus, Long Island.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1776.



HE triumphant issue of the campaign of 1775, in the neighborhood of Boston, was a source of gratification to the colonists. Washington was cordially hailed as the deliverer of Massachusetts, and received a vote of thanks and a gold medal from Congress. But the power of Britain was yet to be felt. During the last session of parliament, the plan for the reduction of the colonies

was fixed. The Americans were declared out of the royal protection, and, by treaties concluded between Great Britain and three states of Germany, 17,000 mercenaries were hired to aid in effecting their reduction.

The intelligence of these measures decided the question of independence. Protection and allegiance being considered reciprocal, the refusal of the one justified the withholding of the other. Reason and the passions were successfully appealed to by the leading patriots; and a pamphlet, entitled *Common Sense*, written by Thomas Paine, arguing in plain language the advantages and necessity of independence, effected a complete revolution in the feelings and sentiments of the great mass of the people.

The plan of the campaign, formed by the British generals, included three objects—the relief of Quebec and the recovery of Canada; the possession of New York as the centre of operations; and the reduction of the southern colonies. The chief command of the forces was given to Sir William Howe, a prudent, rather than an enterprising general.



Sir William Howe.

We have seen that Sir Guy Carleton effected the complete recovery of Canada. Before the main expedition could be got ready, it was determined to send an armament to reduce the southern colonies.

A squadron under command of Sir Peter Parker, conveying 2800 troops, under Sir Henry Clinton, arrived at Cape Fear in May, and it was then determined to attack Charleston, South Carolina, by sea and land. Meanwhile, the inhabitants had received intelligence of the approach of the armament, and made every exertion to put the capital in a state for defence. A fort was erected on Sullivan's Island, which is situated so near the channel leading up to the town, as to be a convenient post for annoying vessels approaching it. The garrison, consisting of 375 regulars and a few militia, was placed under the command of Colonel Moultrie.

On the 28th of June, 1776, Sir Peter Parker, with his formidable



Sir Peter Parker.

squadron appeared before the fort, and between ten and eleven o'clock on that day, commenced the attack. The garrison made a gallant and resolute defence. Their fire was well-aimed and rapid. The ships were very much cut up, and the killed and wounded on board exceeded 200 men. The fort, being built of soft palmetto wood, was little damaged, and the loss of the garrison only ten men killed, and twenty-two wounded.

Some time before the attack on the fort, General Clinton with a body of troops, landed on Long Island, with the intention of crossing the narrow passage which divides the two islands, and attacking the fort in the rear. But General Charles Lee, who had been sent to take command of the forces at Charleston, stationed Colonel Thompson, with 700 or 800 men, at the east end of Sullivan's Island to oppose the crossing, and the project was abandoned. The inhabitants were fully prepared to meet the



Defence of Fort Moultrie.

enemy if they should attempt to land, and dispute every inch of ground with noble resolution. In the evening the firing ceased, the ships slipped their cables, and before morning they had retired about two miles from the island. Within a few days, the whole armament sailed for New York, having signally failed to accomplish its object. Congress passed a vote of thanks to General Lee, and Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, for their gallant conduct during the attack; and the fort was from that time called Fort Moultrie. The unsuccessful attack upon a slightly built fort by a powerful British armament could not but give the colonists a higher opinion of their own capability and tend to lower their estimation of their adversaries. The event relieved the southern states from the apprehension of invasion for more than two years, while the northern states were suffering the calamities of war.

We now return to the operations of the main army under Washington. Even while besieging Boston, the commander-in-chief foresaw that New York would be the centre of the enemy's attacks and subsequent operations, and General Lee was detached from Cambridge, to put Long Island and the city in a posture for defence. Early in April, Washington reached New York, and fixed his head-quarters there. The greater part of the army was under his immediate command; the remainder in Massachusetts and Canada. Seeing the necessity of raising a more formidable force than had yet been brought into the field, Congress, in June, instituted a flying camp, to consist of an intermediate corps between regulars and militia, and called for 10,000 men from the states of Pennsylvania,



Washington's Head-Quarters at Cambridge.

Maryland and Delaware, to be in constant service to the 1st day of the ensuing December. At the same time, Congress called for 13,800 of the common militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey. The men for the flying camp were procured without much difficulty, but there were great deficiencies in the militia, and many of those who obeyed the call manifested a reluctance to submit to the discipline of camps. The want of arms and ammunition was severely felt by the Americans, and the utmost exertions of Washington could not supply them.

The command of the force which the British government designed to operate against New York, was given to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother Sir William, both of whom were empowered to act as commissioners for the settlement of difficulties. On the 28th of June, a portion of the British fleet, under Sir William Howe, arrived off Sandy Hook. But nothing of an offensive character was attempted. Lord Howe joined his brother with the remainder of the armament, before the middle of July. While at sea, he had written a circular letter to the late royal governors in the colonies, accompanied by a declaration, setting forth his authority as commissioner from the king, and the terms proposed for a



Lord Howe.

reconciliation. The terms amounted to nothing more than a promise of pardon and favor to those who should return to their allegiance and assist in restoring public tranquillity. Washington despatched the papers to Congress, which body ordered them to be published. There was no hope for reconciliation—the Declaration of Independence had been signed, and published to the world.

On the 14th of July, Lord Howe despatched a letter to the American camp, directed to *George Washington, Esq.*, which the commander-in-chief declined to receive, as derogating from his official dignity. A few days after, General Howe wrote to Washington repeating the same superscription. This letter also was refused; and the business being of a pressing nature, the British general was obliged to send his adjutant-general, Colonel Patterson, bearing a letter addressed to *George Washington Esq., &c., &c., &c.* The letter was unopened, but a personal interview between Washington and the bearer took place, which was so satisfactory to both parties, that from that time all letters addressed by the British commanders to General Washington bore his proper titles. This affair illustrates the dignity and firmness of the commander-in-chief.

While the British general waited for further reinforcements, Washington

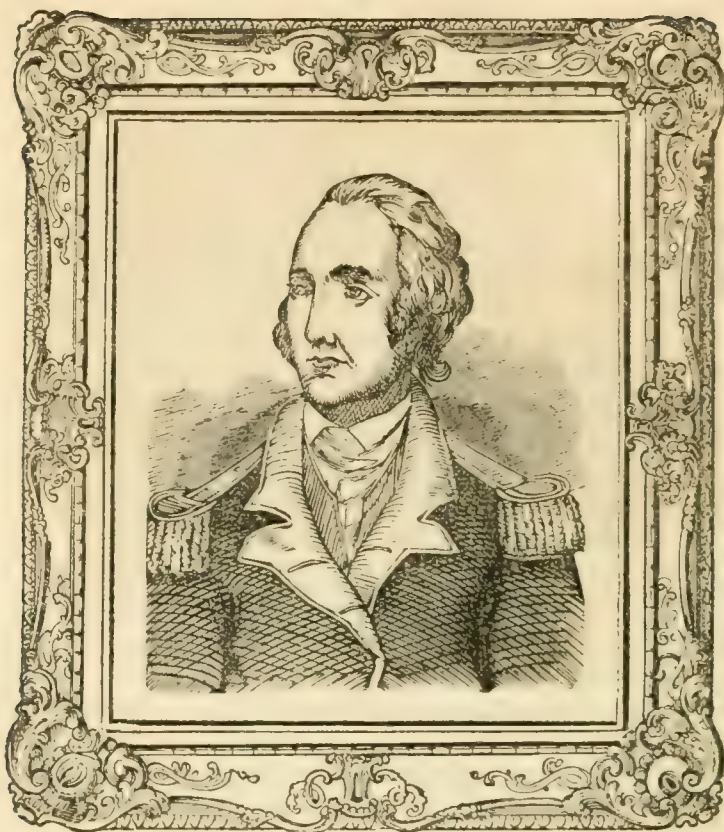


Washington declining to receive Lord Howe's Letter.

employed himself in strengthening the defences of New York Island. Forts Washington and Constitution were begun on the east and west banks of the Hudson, and afterwards Fort Lee. Between these forts, the channel of the river was obstructed by hulks of vessels and chevaux-de-frise. Batteries and redoubts were erected at favorable points, and plans were even formed for attacking the British as they lay at Staten Island.

By the middle of August, General Howe's army consisted of more than 24,000 regular troops, well provided with every thing necessary for the equipment of an efficient force. The fleet was numerous and well-furnished. To encounter this formidable force, General Washington had an army which amounted nominally to 20,500 men; of which number, only 11,100, besides officers, were fit for duty. Many of these were militia, unaccustomed to the discipline of the camp; and on account of the local partialities of officers and men, much jealousy and dissension prevailed, which was somewhat checked by the firmness and energy of the commander-in-chief. The army occupied a district extending about fifteen miles—from Brooklyn to Kings-bridge. While in expectation of an attack by the enemy, about 8,000 militia from Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware, joined Washington, and were distributed among the most important posts.

On the 22d of August, the British began to land upon Long Island, between the Narrows and Sandy Hook. In anticipation of this move-

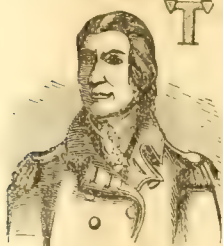


General Sullivan.

ment, Washington had ordered works to be constructed at Brooklyn, under the superintendence of General Greene. As that officer fell ill of a fever, the command upon Long Island devolved first upon General Sullivan and then upon General Putnam. The British army soon occupied the plain on the other side of a range of hills, extending in a line from the Narrows to Flatbush. The left wing was commanded by General Grant, the centre, composed of Hessians, by General De Heister, and the right wing by General Clinton.

Before daylight on the morning of the 27th of August, a report was brought to the American camp, that the British were in motion on the road leading along the coast from the Narrows. A detachment under Lord Stirling was immediately ordered out to meet them, and General Sullivan was sent to the heights above Flatbush, on the middle road. In the meantime, Clinton led the British right wing by a circuit into the

Jamaica road, with the intention of gaining the rear of Sullivan's division. Before this could be accomplished, both Sullivan and Stirling had been reinforced.



Lord Stirling.

THE attack was begun by Grant and De Heister, but maintained with little spirit until Clinton reached the rear of the Americans. As soon as this was known, the battle became warm and general. About 5000 Americans were opposed to 15,000 British and Hessians, well provided with artillery. The troops under Lord Stirling fought bravely against the superior numbers of the enemy, until brought between two fires, when they retreated within their lines. Sullivan's division, on the heights above Flatbush, being attacked by De Heister on one side and Clinton on the other, after an obstinate resistance of about three hours, was obliged to surrender. The day was disastrous for the Americans. About 1100 of their troops were either killed, wounded or captured. Among the prisoners were General Sullivan and Lord Stirling. The loss of the British and Hessians was about 450 men. Washington is said to have witnessed the rout and slaughter of the troops with the keenest anguish, as he was unable to send them any assistance without exposing his camp.

The next day, a heavy rain kept the main body of the enemy in their camp. Occasional skirmishes took place between light parties near the lines. A council of war was now called, which decided that it was no longer prudent to maintain the post at Brooklyn; and it was then resolved to withdraw the troops from Long Island. Boats were collected and other preparations made, and on the morning of the 30th, the whole army, amounting to 9000 men, and nearly all the artillery and military stores, were safely landed in New York. With such silence and secrecy was every thing conducted, that the last boat was crossing the river before the retreat was discovered by the enemy, although parties were stationed within 600 yards of the lines. This masterly retreat would alone be sufficient to shed lustre upon the activity and skill of Washington.

The disastrous action of the 27th produced alarming consequences in the American camp. The troops were generally dispirited, the militia deserted by companies, and their example infected the regular regiments. In this state of affairs, Washington saw the plans of General Howe unfolded. The British fleet came into the harbor; and it was clear that Howe wished to encompass the Americans on the land side, and thus compel a general engagement. To avoid this it became necessary for the Americans to evacuate the city. A council of general officers was called,



Retreat from Long Island.

but much difference of opinion prevailed in regard to the course to be pursued. Finally, it was resolved to disperse the troops in such a manner, as to be prepared to resist any attack upon the upper part of the island and retreat with the remainder when it became necessary. Nine thousand men were stationed at Mount Washington, Kings-bridge and the smaller posts in the vicinity of those places, 5000 continued in the city and the residue occupied the intermediate space, ready to support either of these divisions.



General Howe.

THESE arrangements were matured by General Washington about the time an interview occurred between Lord Howe and a committee from Congress, consisting of Dr. Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge, with the hope of effecting a reconciliation between the states and the mother country. The interview, however, was fruitless; and the British commanders prepared for more active operations. Several ships-of-war anchored about a mile above the city, and parties of British troops landed on Buchanan's Island. A breastwork had been erected in the vicinity of Kipp's Bay; and a party stationed in it; but the men were driven from it by the firing of the British

vessels. Two brigades were ordered to their support, but, to the mortification of Washington, who made every exertion to induce them to maintain their ground, these troops fled, in the greatest confusion, to the main body on Haerlem Plains.



GENERAL PUTNAM'S division evacuated New York with much difficulty. Fifteen men were killed and more than 300 taken by the British. A large quantity of baggage, stores and provisions was left behind. General Washington then drew all his forces together within the lines on the heights of Haerlem. After sending a detachment to take possession of the city, General Howe encamped near the American lines, his right resting on the East River, and his left on

the Hudson;—thus forming a line across the island.

The next day, (16th of September,) a skirmish took place between some companies of rangers and Virginia troops, under Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch, and two battalions of light-infantry and Highlanders, under General Leslie. After an obstinate conflict, in which Colonel Knowlton was killed and Major Leitch mortally wounded, the Americans drove their adversaries from the field. The loss of the British was reported to be fourteen men killed, and eight officers and seventy privates wounded. The loss of the Americans was fifteen killed and forty-five wounded. The victory raised the spirits of the troops, as constant retreating had much depressed them.

The British army lay inactive on the plains below the American lines for more than three weeks. Haerlem Heights appeared too formidable to be attacked. Washington employed his time in strengthening his defences, and in entreating Congress to organize the army upon a more permanent and formidable footing. His appeals and representations produced their effect, and Congress resolved to raise a force in accordance with his suggestions. The new army was to consist of 88 battalions, apportioned in quotas to the several states, according to their ability. The men were to serve during the war; colonels and all subordinate officers were to be appointed by the states, but commissioned officers by Congress; the pay of officers and men was raised, and bounties of money and land offered to encourage enlistment. The states were urged to complete their quotas without delay. But in their haste, they offered additional bounties, which by causing an inequality in the pay of officers

and men, proved to be a source of considerable murmuring and complaint afterwards.

General Howe, having now prepared his plans for gaining the rear of the American army, began active operations. By sending some vessels of war up the Hudson, he secured a free passage to the Highlands, and prevented any supplies from reaching the Americans by water. Soon after, the greater part of the royal army passed through Hell Gate into the Sound and landed at Frog's Point. A detachment under Earl Percy was left at Haerlem, to cover the city of New York. Howe waited five days at Frog's Point, and then re-embarked, landed at Pell's Point and advanced to the high grounds between East Chester and New Rochelle.

Washington, to counteract these movements, arranged his army in four divisions, commanded respectively by major-generals Lee, Heath, Sullivan and Lincoln. In a council of war, it was decided that the army should leave New York Island, and be extended into the country, so as to out-flank Howe's columns. At the same time it was agreed that Fort Washington should be retained as long as possible. Two thousand men were left for that purpose. The different divisions then crossed Kings-bridge and formed a line of detached camps stretching along the west side of the river Brunx, from Valentine's Hill to White Plains. General Washington proceeded to White Plains, where he formed a fortified camp, and proposed to risk a general engagement if pushed by the enemy.



As Howe advanced, the Americans were concentrated at White Plains. The British army appeared on the 28th of October, within two miles of the American camp, but no general attack was made. A battery on Chatterton's Hill, defended by a small party of militia, was captured, but not without a considerable loss on the part of the British detachment. On reconnoitring the American camp, General Howe thought it prudent to wait for reinforcements before commencing the attack. These arrived in two days, and the 31st of October was appointed for the attack. Heavy rains, however, caused it to be again deferred; and in the meantime, Washington drew all his troops into such a strong position among the hills in the rear, that Howe gave up the idea of battle, as hopeless, and began a retreat.

As the British approached, the Americans retired from Fort Independence, destroyed the bridge over Haerlem River, and withdrew to the lines near Fort Washington. Howe resolved to assault that fort from four different points. Colonel Magaw, the commander of the garrison,



Retreat of the Americans through the Jerseys.

was summoned to surrender, but replied that he would defend the fort to the last extremity. On the morning of the 16th of November, General Knyphausen, with a body of Hessians, advanced to the north of the fort and began the attack. The outer lines on the south were nearly at the same time assailed by Earl Percy. Two other parties crossed the Haerlem River, and forced their way up the rugged ascents on that side. The Americans defended every part of their lines with great determination; but after a resistance of four or five hours, the men were driven into the fort, and Colonel Magaw was compelled to surrender. The American loss was about 50 killed, and 2818 prisoners. The loss of the enemy was upwards of 1200 men, killed and wounded. This was a severe blow to the Americans, and its consequences were disastrous. The post had been retained by the advice of General Greene, and against the judgment of Washington.

Shortly after the surrender of Fort Washington, Cornwallis passed over to the opposite Jersey shore to attack Fort Lee. The garrison saved itself by an immediate evacuation, leaving the artillery and stores. The American army retreated across the Hackensack, and thence across the Passaic, constantly decreasing in numbers, in consequence of the desertion of the militia, and the expiration of the term of service of the men composing the flying camp. About 3000 men, destitute of tents or blankets, and altogether in a most forlorn condition, remained under the command of General Washington. Notwithstanding the severity of the winter and the badness of the roads, Lord Cornwallis pursued the retreating "phantom of an army," hoping to annihilate it. Newark, Brunswick, Princeton and Trenton, were successively reached and abandoned to the victors. The pursuit was so rapid that the rear of the one army, pulling down



General Lee's Head-Quarters at Basking Ridge, where he was Captured.

bridges, was often within sight and shot of the van of the other, building them up. Finally, on the 8th of December, Washington crossed the Delaware. The British general did not attempt to follow him. But content with having overrun New Jersey, he cantoned his troops at Pennington, Trenton, Bordentown and Burlington.



CONGRESS, on the approach of the enemy, adjourned to Baltimore, and soon after invested Washington with power "to order and direct all things relating to the department and operations of war;" thus constituting him a *military dictator*. This measure was justified by the necessity of the time, and the patriotism and ability of the commander-in-chief.

On the day the American army crossed the Delaware, a British armament, under Sir Peter Parker, took possession of Rhode Island and thus blocked up the American squadron, under Commodore Hopkins, in Providence River.

A new occurrence added to the difficulty in recruiting for the American service. The friends of Congress had entertained a high opinion of the military talents of General Lee, from his late success in defending Charleston. While Washington was retreating through the Jerseys, he earnestly desired Lee, who had been left at North Castle, to hasten his



General Charles Lee.

march to the Delaware, and join the main army. But notwithstanding the critical nature of the case, and the pressing orders of his commander, Lee seemed in no haste to obey. Reluctant to give up his separate command, and subject himself to superior authority, he marched slowly to the southward, at the head of about three thousand men; and his sluggish movements and unwary conduct, proved fatal to his own personal liberty, and excited a lively sensation throughout America. He lay carelessly, without a guard, three miles from his troops, at Basking Ridge, in Morris county, where, on the 13th of December, Colonel Harcourt, who, with a small detachment of light-horse, had been sent to observe the motions of that division of the American army, by a gallant act of partisan warfare, made him prisoner, and conveyed him rapidly to New York. He was closely confined for some time, and considered not as a prisoner of war, but as a deserter from the British service, because he

had entered the American army before his resignation of his commission in the British army had been accepted. The capture of General Lee was regarded as a great misfortune by the Americans, whose esteem and confidence he enjoyed; on the other hand the British exulted in his captivity, as equal to a signal victory, declaring that "they had taken the American palladium." Sullivan, who had been exchanged for General Prescott, now took command of Lee's division, and joined the main army.

The campaign had thus far been disastrous for the cause of freedom. The British had gained possession of Rhode Island, Long Island, New York, Staten Island, New Jersey, and were now waiting for the River to freeze in order to cross into Pennsylvania. Washington's army appeared insufficient for even defensive purposes, amounting to no more than 5000 men. In the midst of the general despondency, many persons took advantage of the proclamation issued by General Howe, and deserted what seemed a hopeless though a righteous cause.

The energy and determined spirit of Washington sustained the little band of patriots which he commanded. He made earnest appeals to Congress to re-organize the army, and devoted himself to recruiting his forces. Conceiving that a bold offensive movement would raise the drooping spirits of the Americans, he eagerly watched for the opportunity. Three regiments of Hessians, amounting to about 1500 men, and a troop of British light-horse, were posted at Trenton. This force, Washington resolved to attack, and the night of the 25th of December was fixed for the attempt. Cadwalader was to cross the river near Bristol, Washington above Trenton, and Ewing a little below.

The division under Washington crossed the river nine miles above Trenton, and by four o'clock in the morning was safely landed and formed upon the opposite bank. Sullivan, with one portion of the troops, then marched by the road near the river, and Washington and Greene, with the other, moved down the Pennington road. The roads entered the town at different points, and it was intended that the attacks should begin simultaneously. At eight o'clock both divisions reached the town and commenced the onset. The Hessians were taken by surprise, and being close pressed on all sides, the greater part surrendered after a short resistance. The British light-horse and a body of Hessians escaped, and fled to Bordentown. The victory was complete. About 1000 prisoners, six brass field-pieces and 1000 stand of arms were taken. Colonel Rahl, the brave Hessian commander, was mortally wounded; six other officers and between twenty and thirty men were killed. The American loss was two privates killed, two frozen to death, and a few officers wounded.



Battle of Trenton.



General Mifflin.

The divisions of Cadwalader and Ewing did not succeed in crossing the river; and the enemy being in force at Princeton and Brunswick, Washington recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners the same day, and regained his encampment.

This sudden blow astonished the British general, and revived the confidence of the Americans. Recruiting went on more rapidly. About 1400 men, whose term of service was about to expire, agreed to serve six weeks longer. The British line of cantonments was broken up and driven back.

On the 30th of December, Washington again crossed the Delaware, fixed his head-quarters at Trenton, and was soon after joined by about 3600 militia under Generals Cadwalader and Mifflin. General Howe, alarmed for the security of his conquests, resolved to commence active operations immediately. Lord Cornwallis was ordered to take command of the troops in New Jersey. That officer hastened to Princeton, and on the morning of the 2d of January, it was ascertained that the enemy's battalions were marching towards Trenton. Washington immediately withdrew to the east side of the creek which runs through the town, and



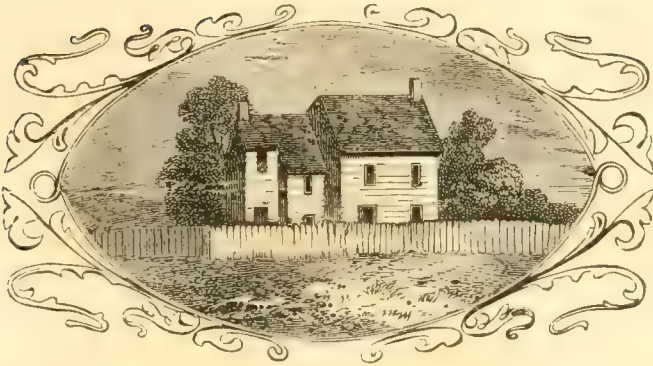
Battle of Princeton.



Monument to General Mercer at Laurel Hill Cemetery

commenced entrenching himself. The British attempted to cross in several places, when some cannonading and skirmishing ensued, which continued until nightfall.

Washington now found himself in a critical situation. If he remained in his position he would be obliged to encounter a greatly superior force, and defeat was almost certain. With his usual sagacity and boldness, he adopted an extraordinary scheme. Kindling his camp-fires as usual, and leaving a small guard to deceive the enemy, he quietly despatched his heavy baggage to Burlington; and then, by a circuitous route, gained the rear of the enemy, and pushed rapidly forward towards Princeton with the design of attacking an inferior force stationed at that place. On the road, he suddenly met the British detachment, under Colonel Mawhood, advancing to join Cornwallis. Ignorant of the number of the Americans, Mawhood charged boldly, and threw the Pennsylvania militia into confusion; but Washington by great personal exertions rallied them, and Mawhood discovered that he was almost surrounded. After a brave resistance, the British regiment broke through their enemies and retreated towards Brunswick, having lost 100 men killed and about 300 prisoners. The American loss was much less than that of the British, but among



The House where General Mercer died.

the killed was the highly esteemed General Mercer and other valuable officers.*

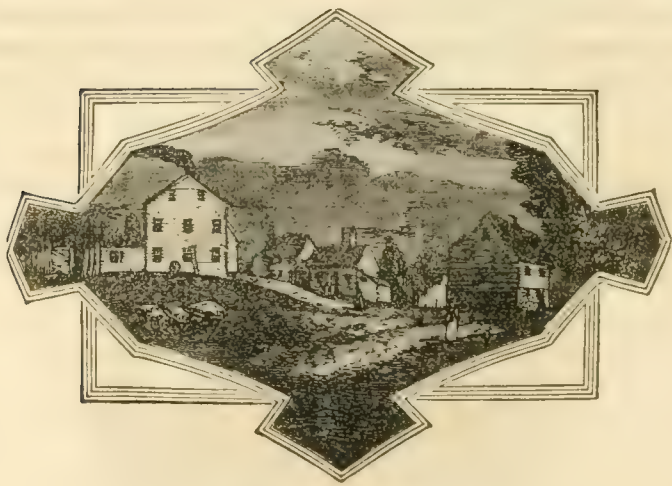
As soon as Cornwallis discovered the secret movement of Washington, he perceived his plans and resolved to follow him. Alarmed for the safety of Brunswick, he marched rapidly; but Washington with his almost exhausted army reached Pluckemin in safety, gave his men rest and refreshment, and then proceeded to Morristown, where he established



Washington's Head-Quarters at Morristown.

* After the battle of Princeton was over, General Mercer was found upon the field, bleeding and insensible, by his aid, Major Armstrong, the son of the colonel, under whom Mercer had served at Kittaning. He was carried to a neighboring farm-house, where he lingered in extreme suffering until the 12th of January, when he expired in the arms of Major Lewis, the nephew of Washington. His body was brought to Philadelphia on the 14th of January, and buried in Christ Church graveyard; whence it was taken, on the 26th of November, 1840, and reinterred with appropriate ceremonies at Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia.

his winter-quarters. Unprovided as his men were with the necessities for a winter campaign, he did not remain idle; but sent out detachments to assail and harass the enemy. In a short time, with the aid of the militia of the country, he completely drove the British from all their posts except Brunswick and Amboy. Such were the splendid results of the skill, vigilance, and consummate generalship of Washington. The brilliant termination of a campaign which had been considered disastrous and hopeless by the patriots, breathed new life into them and raised their confidence in the ability of the commander-in-chief.



Battle-ground, Trenton.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE POLITICAL EVENTS OF 1776.



URING the first year of the war of the Revolution, the great majority of the Americans had no thought or intention of separating the provinces from the mother country. They looked upon the war as a necessary resistance to measures of the British government which struck at the very root of their liberties; as an insurrection that would be terminated either by an overpowering force or by conciliation. But some of the most distinguished British statesmen foresaw that independence would be the result of the struggle; and many of the leading patriots conceived from the outset, that there was no hope for the maintenance of the freedom of the Americans while they remained under the authority of the British laws.

As the war proceeded, the advantage and even the necessity of independence began to be more freely discussed, and the supporters of the cause gradually gained strength. Yet its opponents were in a large majority until January, 1776, when intelligence reached America, that the colonists had by act of parliament been thrown out of British protection, and that foreign troops had been employed to subdue them. These measures seemed to prove that they might constitutionally declare themselves independent; as being discharged from their allegiance by the refusal of protection, and compelled to defend themselves from invasion

by foreign troops, there was but a choice between unconditional submission and the formation of an independent government.



Thomas Paine.

While the public mind was agitated upon the subject, the "Common Sense" pamphlet of Thomas Paine appeared, and by its rude but powerful reasoning, turned the scale in favor of the separation. At the annual election in Massachusetts, in May, the voters were requested to instruct their representatives on the subject of independence, and these instructions were unanimous in its favor.

On the 7th June, the subject was introduced in Congress. Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved "that the United Colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain is, and ought to be dissolved." The motion was debated with great ability. The mover, Lee, and John Adams, earnestly supported it, while it was opposed as premature, by John Dickinson and several others. It passed by a majority of one. To secure greater unanimity, the subject was postponed till the 1st of July; but meanwhile, a committee was appointed consisting of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston, to prepare a declaration. A Board of War was established about the same time, John Adams being appointed chairman.

Conventions held in the several states instructed their delegates to vote for the declaration; and when the committee reported, and laid that document before the Congress, it was apparent that its friends were in a large majority. After some amendment, the Declaration was adopted on the 4th of July. It was prepared chiefly by Mr. Jefferson. After a general assertion of the natural rights of mankind, and an enumeration of the tyrannical acts of the British king, it concluded with this declaration:—

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority, of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right out to be, **FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES**; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and



Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

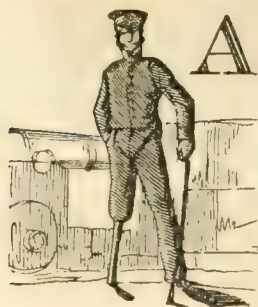
The Declaration of Independence was read publicly in all the states, and received with many demonstrations of joy. A new character was given to the struggle. It was now a war between independent empires; and the flattering future seemed to call the people to fresh and more determined exertions. The army received it with particular satisfaction; for it secured them from suffering as rebels, and promised a full recompense for the toils and dangers of war.

In Great Britain, the act of separation, was the subject of much animadversion. Many of those who had previously supported the cause of the Americans, and by their eloquence stimulated them to continue the struggle, now gave an earnest support to those measures by which the ministers hoped to reduce them to submission. The party which had always been opposed to them, now congratulated themselves upon their sagacity, in predicting that the Americans intended to declare themselves



The Declaration of Independence read to the Soldiers.

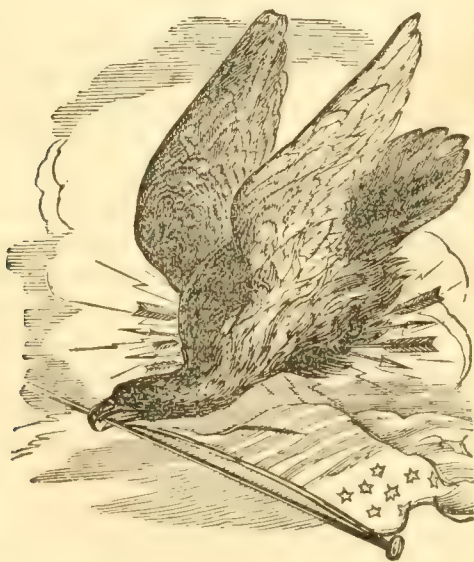
independent. Their majority in both houses of parliament was sufficient to carry through every measure proposed by the ministry of Lord North.



ALL political connection between the states and Great Britain being dissolved, it became necessary to institute new forms of government; and, accordingly, Congress had recommended to the people of the several states to adopt such governments as would best conduce to their happiness and welfare. All agreed in appointing a supreme executive head to each state with the title either of governor or president. In New York and the eastern states, the governors were elected by the

inhabitants in their respective towns or counties, and in the other states by the legislatures; but in no case was the smallest title of power exercised from hereditary right. New York was the only state which invested its governor with executive authority, independent of a council. The prompt and decided character of an executive, free from the trammels of a deliberate and perhaps divided council, was considered to outweigh any disadvantages thereby incurred. All the state governments agreed in prohibiting hereditary honors and distinctions. Some retained a constitutional distinction between Christians and others; but the idea of supporting one denomination at the expense of the others, or of any kind of union of church and state was universally condemned. By the supreme authority of written constitutions, the people vindicated their own power, and left very little to the arbitrary will of those whom they chose to administer the government.

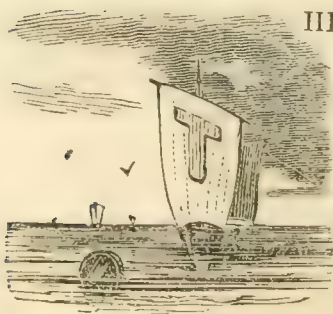
But the Declaration of Independence not only produced the necessity for state governments, but also for some common bond of Union. The nature and extent of the authority of the Continental Congress had to be settled, that it might not conflict with the state legislatures, and proceed more firmly and energetically. A committee was appointed to prepare a plan for a union. But such was the difficulty of coming to an agreement concerning the principle of representation and defining the powers of Congress, that the Articles of Confederation, as they were called, were not ready for presentation to the several state legislatures for sixteen months after the Declaration of Independence was adopted. By the Articles, each state was to have but one vote in Congress. That body was to have the power to determine on peace or war; to send and receive ambassadors; to enter into treaties and alliances; to determine disputes between the states; to regulate the currency and trade; to establish post-offices; to issue bills of credit; to build and equip a navy, and call upon the states for their quotas of men for the land forces, in proportion to the number of the white inhabitants. No coercive power was given to the general government. Thus was the whole system of government changed and derived from its proper source—the people.





CHAPTER XXIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777, IN THE MIDDLE STATES.

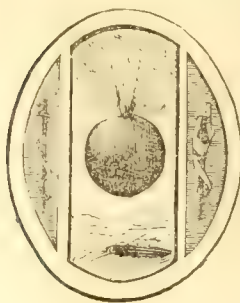


THE head-quarters of Washington being at Morristown, the central division of the army was encamped for the winter near that place, in huts temporarily constructed for the purpose. Cantonments were also established at various points from Princeton on the right to the Highlands on the left. Skirmishes often occurred between foraging parties of the adverse armies; but for several months no considerable enterprise was undertaken by either the British or Americans.

The whole force at Morristown and the several outposts, did not exceed 1500 men. Yet the British did not attempt to attack them, and suffered the interval between the disbanding of one army and the raising of another to pass away while they were posted at Brunswick and Amboy. Hitherto there had been a deficiency of arms and ammunition, as well as of men; but early in the spring, a French vessel arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with 11,000 stand of arms and 1000 barrels of powder.

Ten thousand stand of arms arrived at the same time in another part of the United States.

Before Howe took the field in prosecution of the more important business of the campaign, two enterprises for the destruction of the stores of the Americans were undertaken. On the 23d of March, Colonel Bird, with about 500 men, landed at Peekskill, 50 miles from New York. The few Americans stationed at that place as a guard, set fire to the store-house as the British approached, and retired to a position two or three miles distant. A considerable quantity of provisions and military stores was thus destroyed.



On the 26th of April, Major-General Tryon, with about 2000 men, landed between Fairfield and Norwalk, Connecticut. Marching to Danbury without interruption, he burned and destroyed a large quantity of valuable stores. Generals Sullivan, Wooster and Arnold, having hastily collected several hundred men, made such dispositions as would enable them to annoy the enemy as they returned to their ships. Arnold, with 500 men, rapidly marched to Ridgefield, in their front,

barricaded the road, and for some time bravely withstood the attack of the whole British force. When obliged to retreat, detached parties harassed the rear of the enemy, and kept up a destructive fire upon them until they reached their ships. In this expedition the British had between 200 and 300 men killed, wounded and taken. The American loss was about 20 killed, and 40 wounded. General Wooster was mortally wounded and died very soon after. Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory, and that a horse, properly caparisoned, should be presented to the gallant Arnold, whose horse had been killed under him during one of the encounters.

Meanwhile, Cornwallis commenced his operations by a well-laid plan of surprising Boundbrook, where General Lincoln was stationed with about 500 men. The post was about seven miles from Brunswick, and Lincoln had to guard an extent of five or six miles. Cornwallis chose the morning of the 13th of April for effecting his object. Though the American commander was cautious, he succeeded in crossing the Raritan with 1000 men, and captured the three pieces of American artillery, and Lincoln's baggage and papers. Another detachment of 1000 men advanced upon the American front. But Lincoln skilfully passed between the closing columns of the enemy, and escaped with the loss of not more than 60 killed, wounded and taken.



General Wooster.

In retaliation for the destruction of the stores at Danbury, Colonel Meigs, with about 270 Americans, crossed the Sound in whale-boats, burned 12 brigs and sloops belonging to the British, destroyed a large quantity of stores at Sagg Harbor, killed six soldiers, and brought off 90 prisoners, without losing a man. For this bold and successful enterprise, Colonel Meigs received an elegant sword from Congress.

A spirited adventure also took place in Rhode Island, which not only fully retaliated the surprisal of General Lee, but procured his exchange. Lieutenant-Colonel Barton, of a Rhode Island militia regiment, with other officers and volunteers, to the number of 40, passed, on the night of July 10th, from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island, and, though they had a passage of ten miles by water, eluded the watchfulness of the ships of war and guard-boats that surrounded the island. They conducted their enterprise with such silence and dexterity as to surprise General Prescott,



General Lincoln.

in quarters, about one mile from the water-side, and five from Newport. Barton found him in bed, and barely gave him time to dress himself, while one of his aids, hearing a noise in the house, leaped from the window into the hands of the guard surrounding the building. They were both hurried to the boats, and brought to the continent, which they had nearly reached before there was any alarm among the enemy. This adventure, which with impartial judges must outweigh Harcourt's capture of Lee, produced much exultation on one side, and much regret on the other, from the influence it would necessarily have on Lee's destination. Hitherto Sir William Howe had obstinately refused to make any arrangements for the release of General Lee; but he was now glad to exchange him for General Prescott, and Lee was restored to the American cause.

As spring advanced, the American army was much strengthened by the successive arrivals of recruits. Nevertheless, at the opening of the



Baron de Kalb.

campaign, it amounted to only 7272 men. Towards the end of May, Washington quitted Morristown and took a strong post at Middlebrook. Soon after the British extended their van as far as Somerset court-house, but in a few days returned to Brunswick, in consequence of the spirited movements of the Jersey militia. Howe then endeavored to provoke Washington to a general engagement; but the American commander knew the full value of his situation, and that it was not prudent to risk the fortunes of his country upon a single action.



UDDENLY, Howe abandoned his position in front of the Americans, and retired to Amboy. Washington advanced to Quibbletown, and then the British general returned, expecting to bring his opponent to an engagement on equal ground. But Washington, by falling back into a strong position, again foiled him. Convinced that the attempt to bring on a battle was hopeless, and that it would be hazardous to

undertake to pass the Delaware, Howe returned to Amboy, and thence passed over to Staten Island, with the intention of prosecuting the objects of the campaign by another route. During these movements, Washington



Lafayette offering his services to Dr. Franklin.

could not discover the designs of the British general, and was therefore much embarrassed.

While the Americans were moving towards Trenton, intelligence of the invasion by Burgoyne's army was received, and Washington despatched some troops to reinforce the northern army. At length, the main body of the royal forces, amounting to about 16,000 men embarked at Sandy Hook, and steered southwardly. Learning soon afterwards that the fleet was seen off the Capes of the Delaware, Washington moved to Germantown, in order to protect Philadelphia. Another period of doubt ensued, as it was ascertained that the British fleet had proceeded further southward. The doubt was soon merged into certainty, however, when intelligence reached Washington that the enemy were proceeding up Chesapeake Bay, and intended to approach Philadelphia by that route.

Several French and Polish officers entered the American service about this time. Among them were Du Portail, La Radiere, Du Govion, Kosciusko, Count Pulaski, Baron de Kalb, and the Marquis de Lafayette. The last mentioned was a youth of nineteen, belonging to one of the most illustrious families in France. He had received a military education, and though possessed of an ample fortune he had been so fired with the



Washington's Head-Quarters at Brandywine.

desire to aid the Americans in their struggle for liberty that he offered his services to the commissioners of the States in Paris, fitted out a ship at his own expense, and left the luxuries of home for the dangers of war in America. In consideration of his zeal and disinterested character, Congress gave him the commission of major-general. Most of the other foreign officers were distinguished for their services in Europe.

Washington now advanced to Newport. The royal army approached with rapidity, until they were within two miles of the Americans. Constant skirmishing took place between the light parties of the opposing armies, in which the Americans gained some advantages, and took some prisoners. As Howe's movements indicated his intention to outflank the right of the Americans, Washington retired from his position, crossed the Brandywine and took possession of the high grounds near Chad's Ford. His right wing, so posted as to guard the ford above, was commanded by Sullivan, and the Pennsylvania militia, under Armstrong, was stationed on the left about two miles below.

With all his late reinforcements, Washington was still much inferior to his opponent. He had about 15,000 men; but the sick were very numerous, and the effective force did not exceed 11,000 men. The British army was about 16,000 strong, well equipped with every thing necessary for offensive operations. Yet to satisfy the expectations of the Americans, Washington was compelled to risk a battle.

At daybreak, on the 11th of September, the British advanced in two columns; one, under Knyphausen, approached Chad's Ford and threatened



Lafayette wounded at the Battle of Brandywine.

the Americans in front ; while the other, under Cornwallis, making a circuit to the left, about seventeen miles, crossed the Brandywine higher up, with the intention of gaining the American rear. Sullivan, with three divisions, marched to intercept Cornwallis, but deceived by false information, he was late in coming up, and before his line was well formed it was attacked by the enemy. The extreme right soon began to give way. The impetuosity of the British then forced the whole line to retreat. Greene now brought up the reserve, checked the enemy and covered Sullivan's retreat. While the main body of the Americans was compelled to give way, Wayne, with a single division, bravely defended Chad's Ford against one half of the British army, under Knyphausen. But he too was compelled to retreat. The Americans then retired to Chester, the next day to Philadelphia, and thence to Germantown. The British loss in killed and wounded was about 600 men. The loss of the Americans was about 1000 in killed, wounded and prisoners. The Marquis de Lafayette was wounded in the leg while attempting to rally the troops. The defeat of the Americans at that time was attributed to the conduct of Sullivan and other officers. But it was evidently the result of circumstances which could not have been foreseen.

Washington has been censured by military critics for not attacking the British while divided. He contemplated that usually successful movement, but could not ascertain whether Cornwallis had actually crossed the Brandywine. He surely would not have been justified in advancing to attack the enemy, while believing their divisions within supporting distance.

On the 16th of September, Washington recrossed the Schuylkill with the intention of again engaging the enemy ; thus showing that no defeat could dampen his spirit. The armies met about 20 miles from Philadelphia, and the advanced parties were already engaged, when a violent storm



General Wayne.

arrested the combatants. The arms of the Americans were rendered unserviceable by the rain, and Washington, to secure opportunity for repairs, retired across the Schuylkill. Wayne's division, however, was left concealed in a wood on the British left, to form a junction with some Maryland militia. The British general, receiving information of Wayne's position, sent a detachment under General Grey, to surprise him. This was effected so completely, that about 300 Americans were killed, while the British lost but seven men. This event is known as the Massacre of Paoli.

On the 22d of September, Howe crossed the Schuylkill, and placed himself between the American army and Philadelphia. The necessity for abandoning the city was apparent. The hospitals and magazines had already been removed; and Congress now adjourned to Lancaster, having first vested Washington with extraordinary powers. The British took possession of the city on the 25th. The bulk of their army, however,



Attack upon Chew's House.

was posted at Germantown. The fleet of the enemy was prevented from coming up the Delaware by the strong posts of forts Mifflin and Mercer, and the armed vessels and floating batteries in the river.

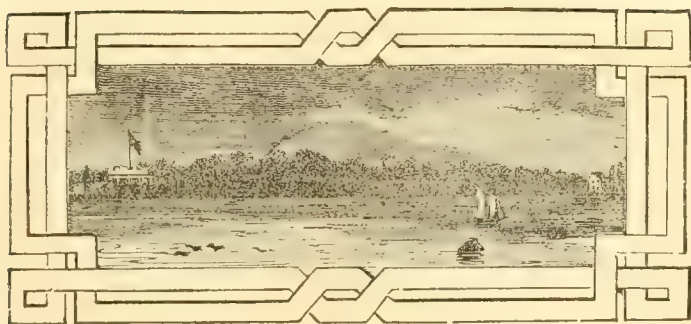
Washington, while encamped fourteen miles from Germantown, conceived the design of attacking the British stationed at that place. The 4th of October was fixed for the execution of the plan. The troops were to march in four columns; two, composed of militia, were to gain the enemy's rear, and attack each flank; the other two, composed of Continentals, commanded by Sullivan and Greene, were to attack in front. The two latter columns marched all night, and entered Germantown about sunrise. The enemy were surprised; and in spite of the morning being very foggy, the Continentals seemed likely to carry every thing before them. The British were forced to retreat, and were rapidly pursued. Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrove, with six companies, however, took post in Mr. Chew's strong stone house. The Americans, under Lord Stirling, immediately attacked the house, but could not dislodge the enemy. While the troops were thus occupied, the British had time to recover from their surprise, and as the fog interfered with the movements of the assailants, the day was soon turned against them. The militia were easily repulsed, and in spite of the efforts of the general officers, the whole army retreated hastily from the field. The loss of the Americans exceeded 1000 men, of which number about 400 were captured. Among the killed was Brigadier-General Nash. The loss of the royal army was

about 500 men, including among the slain, Brigadier-General Agnew and Colonel Bird.

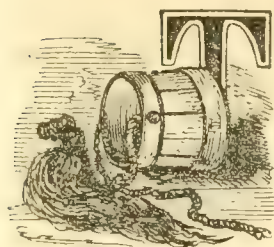
Although Washington had been repulsed, where he confidently expected to succeed, the battle of Germantown revived the hopes of the Americans, and convinced them that the spirit and energy of the commander-in-chief and his troops had not been diminished by defeat. The event is said to have had considerable influence upon the conclusion of a treaty of alliance between France and the States; as Count de Vergennes, the French minister, thought such a daring attack upon regular troops by an army raised within a year promised every thing for the cause.* Washington retired about twenty miles into the country, where he was soon after reinforced by troops from the Highlands.

Soon after this battle, the British turned their principal attention towards opening a free communication between their army and their shipping. Much industry and ingenuity had been exerted for the security of Philadelphia on the water side. Thirteen galleys, two floating batteries, two zebeques, one brig, one ship, besides a number of armed boats, fire ships and rafts, were constructed or employed for this purpose. The Americans also had built a fort on Mud Island, to which they gave the name of Fort Mifflin, and erected thereon a considerable battery. This island is admirably situated for the erection of works to annoy shipping on their way up the Delaware. It lies near the middle of the river, about seven miles below Philadelphia. No vessels of burden can come up except by the main ship channel, which passes close to Mud Island, and is very narrow for more than a mile below. Opposite to Fort Mifflin there is a height, called Red Bank. This overlooks not only the river, but the neighboring country. On this eminence, a respectable battery was erected. Between these two fortresses, which were half a mile distant from each other, the American naval armament, for the defence of the river Delaware, made its harbor of retreat. Two ranges of chevaux-de-frise were also sunk in the channel. These consisted of large pieces of timber, strongly framed together, in the manner usual for making the foundation of wharves, in deep water. Several large points of bearded iron projecting down the river, were annexed to the upper parts of the chevaux-de-frise, and the whole was sunk with stones, so as to be about four feet under water at low tide. Their prodigious weight and strength could not fail to effect the destruction of any vessel which came upon them. Thirty of these machines were sunk about 300 yards below Fort Mifflin, so as to stretch in a diagonal line across the channel.

* Sparks' Life of Washington.



Red Bank.



THE only open passage left was between two piers lying close to the fort, and that was secured by a strong boom, and could not be approached but in a direct line to the battery. Another fortification was erected on a high bank on the Jersey shore, called Billingsport. And opposite to this, another range of chevaux-de-frise was deposited, leaving only a narrow and shoal channel on the one side. There was also a temporary battery of two heavy cannon, at the mouth of Mantua Creek, about half way from Red Bank to Billingsport.

The British were well apprised, that, without the command of the Delaware, their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. They therefore strained every nerve, to open the navigation of that river. To this end Lord Howe had early taken the most effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round, from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle.

Early in October, a detachment from the British army crossed the Delaware, with a view of dislodging the Americans from Billingsport. On its approach the place was evacuated. As the season advanced, more vigorous measures for removing the obstructions were concerted between the general and the admiral. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore, to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud Island. At the same time, Count Donop with 1200 men, having crossed into New Jersey, opposite to Philadelphia, marched down on the eastern side of the Delaware, to attack the redoubt at Red Bank, which was defended by about 400 men, under the command of Colonel Greene. The attack immediately commenced by a smart cannonade, under cover of which the count



Battle of Red Bank.

advanced to the redoubt. This place was intended for a much larger garrison than was then in it. It had therefore become necessary to run a line through the middle and evacuate a part of it. That part was easily carried by the assailants, on which they indulged in loud huzzas for their supposed victory. The garrison kept up a severe, well-directed fire on them, by which they were compelled to retire. They suffered not only in the assault, but in the approach to, and retreat from the fort. Their whole loss in killed and wounded was about 400. Count Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Congress resolved to present Colonel Greene with a sword for his good conduct on this occasion. An attack, made about the same time on Fort Mifflin, by men-of-war and frigates, was not more successful than the assault on Red Bank. The *Augusta* of 64 guns, and the *Merlin*, two of the vessels which were engaged in it, got aground. The former was fired, and blew up. The latter was evacuated.

Though the first attempts of the British, for opening the navigation of the Delaware, were unsuccessful, they carried their point in another way that was unexpected. The *chevaux-de-frise*, having been sunk some considerable time, the current of the water was diverted by this great bulk into new channels. In consequence thereof, the passage between the islands and the Pennsylvania shore was so deepened as to admit vessels of considerable draught of water. Through this passage, the *Vigilant*, a large ship, cut down so as to draw but little water, mounted with 24 pounders, made her way to a position from which she might enfilade the



Henry Laurens.

works on Mud Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the post was no longer tenable. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, who had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September, to the 11th of November, being wounded was removed to the main. Within five days after his removal, Major Thayer, who as a volunteer had nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous post, was obliged to evacuate it. This event 'did not take place till the works were entirely beat down, every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near, that she threw grenadoes into the fort, and killed the men uncovered on the platform. The troops, who had so bravely defended Fort Mifflin, made a safe retreat to Red Bank. Congress voted swords to be given to Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, and Commodore Hazlewood, for their gallant defence of the Delaware.



Encampment at Valley Forge.

Within three days after Mud Island was evacuated, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red Bank, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a large force prepared to assault it. Some of the American galleys and armed vessels escaped, by keeping close in with the Jersey shore, to places of security above Philadelphia: but 17 of them were abandoned by their crews, and fired. Thus the British gained a free communication between their army and shipping. This event was to them very desirable. They had been previously obliged to draw their provisions from Chester, a distance of fifteen miles, at some risk, and a certain great expense. The long-protracted defence of the Delaware deranged the plans of the British for the remainder of the campaign, and consequently saved the adjacent country.

In this month, (November,) Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, succeeded John Hancock as President of Congress; John Adams was sent to supersede Silas Deane, as commissioner at the court of France, and the Articles of Confederation were adopted by Congress, and sent to the several states for ratification. Nearly \$34,000,000, in Continental bills, had been thus far issued. The depreciation was so rapid that it became evident Congress would have to look abroad for loans to defray the expenses of the war.

While the British were in possession of comfortable winter-quarters, they were much straitened for forage. Occasionally, strong parties ventured out, but they were met by the light parties of the Americans, and compelled to skirmish constantly. Washington established his winter quarters at Valley Forge, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. His troops were destitute of even the necessities of camp life. Many were barefooted, most, miserably clothed, and all, in a condition truly lamentable. Log huts were built in sufficient number to accommodate 11,000



General Conway.

men. Fourteen hundred men were stationed at Wilmington, and the principal part of the cavalry, under Pulaski, was sent to Trenton.

While Washington was exerting himself to the utmost to procure supplies for his army, and preserve it from disorganization, a conspiracy was formed to remove him from the chief command. The principal persons who engaged in it appear to have been generals Conway, Mifflin and Gates. A considerable party in Congress favored their plans, believing that Washington had displayed a lack of energy and general fitness for the chief command. But no sooner was the scheme known to the army and the people, than a general burst of indignation overwhelmed the conspirators, and told them how deeply rooted in the affections of the people Washington had become.



Washington's Head-Quarters at Valley Forge.



General Burgoyne.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1777, IN THE NORTHERN STATES.



IT was the plan of the British government to separate the New England from the Middle States, by sending an army from Canada to get possession of the American posts on Lake Champlain and then co-operate with the royal forces stationed at New York. For this purpose, an army of 8000 British and German troops was collected in Canada, and the command given to General Burgoyne.

The northern army of the Americans was in no condition to meet the formidable force preparing to invade them. At least 10,000 men were necessary for the defence of Ticonderoga alone; but St. Clair, who commanded at that post, had only 3000 very poorly equipped men, and the posts in the rear were correspondingly weak.

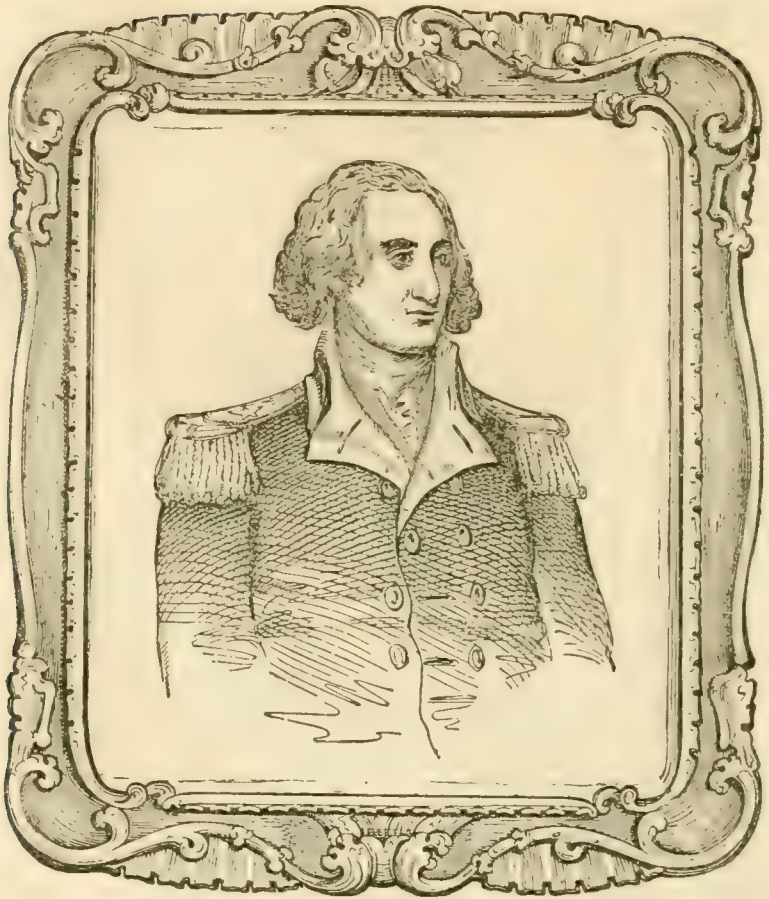
Burgoyne started on this expedition, attended by a large number of



General St. Clair.

Canadian boatmen, laborers and skirmishers. Near Crown Point he met the Six Nations in council, and after a feast and a speech, some 400 of their warriors joined his army. On the 29th of June, he issued a proclamation, setting forth the power of the British arms, the difficulty of restraining the fury of the savages, and threatening all who should presume to resist his progress, with the extremities of war.

On the 1st of July, Burgoyne appeared before Ticonderoga, and occupied a steep hill which overlooked the fort, and which St. Clair had neglected to fortify. The American commander saw that to retreat was his only chance of safety. The baggage and stores, in batteaux, were despatched up the southern extremity of the lake, under the convoy of five armed galleys. The troops then retired towards Skenesborough, pursued by the enemy. All the baggage and stores of the Americans fell into the hands of the invaders. On the morning of July 7th, General



General Schuyler.

Frazer, with a detachment of royal troops, overtook the rear of the Americans at Hubbardtown. Two regiments under Colonels Francis and Warner made a stout resistance, but being deserted by the remainder of the troops, they were soon compelled to give way. Colonel Francis and a large number of men were killed and wounded, and about 200 taken prisoners.

General St. Clair, with the remnant of his troops, joined General Schuyler on the 12th of July, at Fort Edward, on the Hudson. The loss of Ticonderoga and the other posts on Lake Champlain created alarm and surprise throughout the neighboring states. St. Clair was generally charged with neglect, but a court of inquiry acquitted him. The army under Schuyler now amounted to only 4400 men, about half of

which number were militia, and the whole was ill-clothed, ill-armed, and dispirited.

With that force General Schuyler could not face the British army; and to gain time was to him a matter of the utmost importance. For this purpose, he ordered detachments of his men to obstruct the navigation of Wood Creek above Fort Anne; to break down bridges; to cut trees so as to fall across the road from opposite sides, and intermingle their branches, particularly at places where the line of road could not be altered; and to throw every obstacle in the way, in order to retard General Burgoyne's progress. He ordered all the horses and cattle out of the way of the royal army; and brought off from Fort George all the ammunition and stores, of which he stood much in need.

While General Schuyler made every effort to retard the progress of his opponent, he exerted himself vigorously to strengthen his own army. He solicited reinforcements of regular troops; he called on the militia of New England to join the army; and used all his personal influence in the surrounding country to inspire the people with military ardor and patriotic enthusiasm. As the danger was alarming, his unwearied exertions were actively seconded by General Washington and the civil authorities. General Schuyler had never been popular among the militia of New England, and they were unwilling to serve under him; therefore General Lincoln, who in a high degree possessed their confidence, was appointed to raise and command them. Arnold, who had a high reputation for gallantry in the field, was directed to join the northern army; and Colonel Morgan, with his corps of riflemen, was ordered to the same quarter. Colonel Warner with his regiment was sent towards the left of the British army, to threaten its flank and rear, and to assist in raising the militia. Tents, artillery, ammunition, and other necessities, were diligently provided.

While General Schuyler made every exertion to strengthen and equip his army, General Burgoyne, who was equally active and indefatigable, was obliged to halt at Skenesborough, in order to give some rest to his exhausted troops, many of whom had been two days without provisions, and all of them without tents; to re-assemble and re-organize his army, which had been thrown into some disorder, and considerably scattered, by his rapid movements; to bring forward his artillery, baggage, and military stores; and to make all the necessary preparations for advancing towards Albany.

During his halt at Skenesborough, General Burgoyne issued a second proclamation, summoning the people of the adjacent country to send deputies to meet Colonel Skene at Castletown, in order to deliberate on



Lake George.

the measures which might still be adopted to save from destruction those who had not yet conformed to his first proclamation. General Schuyler issued a counter proclamation, warning the people to be on their guard against the insidious designs of the enemy, and assuring them that they would be considered traitors, and punished accordingly, if they complied with his propositions.

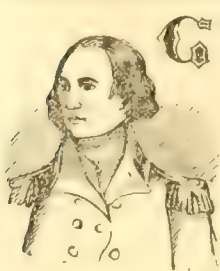
But this war of proclamations was soon followed by more active measures; for, after the necessary rest to his army in the vicinity of Skenesborough, General Burgoyne, much elated with his past success, and cherishing sanguine anticipations of future victory, began to advance towards the Hudson. On proceeding up Wood Creek, he was obliged to remove the impediments with which General Schuyler had encumbered the channel, and afterwards to restore the roads and bridges which he had destroyed. The labor was great: above forty bridges were constructed and others repaired, one of which, entirely of logwork, was over a morass two miles wide. This prodigious labour, in a sultry season of the year, and in a close country swarming with tormenting insects, the army performed with cheerfulness and untiring perseverance. At length, with little opposition from the Americans, on the 30th of July it reached Fort Edward, which General Schuyler had quitted a short time before, and retreated to Saratoga. General Burgoyne might have much more easily reached Fort Edward by the way of Lake George; but he had been led up the South River in pursuit of the fleeing enemy; and he persevered in that difficult route, lest he should discourage his troops by a retrograde movement.



Battle of Oriskany.

At Fort Edward, Burgoyne was compelled to pause in his career. He wished to make a rapid movement down the Hudson; but he was delayed by the want of the facilities for transportation, Schuyler having judiciously removed every thing of the kind. The rear and flanks were at the same time threatened by the militia, under Lincoln.

While moving down Lake Champlain, Burgoyne had detached Colonel St. Leger, with about 1000 regulars, rangers and Indians, into the Mohawk country. He ascended the St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario and laid siege to Fort Schuyler, near the head of the Mohawk. This important post was held by Colonel Gansevoort, with two New York regiments. General Herkimer raised about 800 militia in Tryon county, and advanced to its relief. About six miles from the fort, owing to want of proper caution, Herkimer fell into an ambush at Oriskany. After a terrible conflict, Colonel Willet came to the aid of the militia with a detachment from the fort, and repulsed the Tories and Indians. Herkimer was mortally wounded, and about 400 of his men were killed, wounded or captured.



GENERAL SCHUYLER, deeming it a matter of importance to prevent the junction of St. Leger with Burgoyne, despatched Arnold with a considerable body of regular troops to relieve Fort Schuyler. Arnold apprehended an American of some wealth and influence, who, he believed had been acting the part of a traitor, but promised to spare his life and fortune on condition of his going into the British camp before Fort Schuyler, and alarming the Indians

and others by magnifying the force which was marching against them.



General Stark.

This the person undertook and executed. Some Indians, who were friendly to the Americans, communicated similar information, and even spread a report of the total defeat of General Burgoyne's army.

Fort Schuyler was better constructed, and defended with more courage than St. Leger had expected; and his light artillery made little impression on it. By this time, also, the Indians began to display that fickleness so common to the untutored mind, and which renders all alliances with them so very precarious. His savage confederates liked much better to take scalps and plunder than to besiege fortresses, and in the present prospects of reverses and defeat, became very unmanageable. The loss which they had sustained in the encounters with Herkimer and Willet deeply affected them: they had expected to be witnesses of the triumphs of the British, and to share with them the plunder. Hard service and little reward caused bitter disappointment; and when they heard that a strong detachment of continentals was marching against them, they resolved to seek safety in flight. St. Leger employed every argument and artifice to detain them, but in vain; part of them went off, and all the rest threat-



The Battle of Bennington.

ened to follow if the siege were persevered in. Therefore, on the 22d of August, St. Leger raised the siege, and retreated with circumstances indicating great alarm: the tents were left standing, the artillery was abandoned, and a great part of the baggage, ammunition, and provisions, fell into the hands of the garrison, a detachment from which pursued the retreating enemy. St. Leger retired to Montreal, whence he proceeded to Ticonderoga, with the intention of joining General Burgoyne.



GENERAL ARNOLD reached Fort Schuyler two days after the retreat of the besiegers; but finding no occasion for his services, he returned to camp.

Another important check was given to the tide of success which had hitherto attended the royal army. For the purposes of trying the affections of the country, and obtaining horses to mount Reidesel's dragoons, Burgoyne despatched Colonel Baum, with two pieces of artillery and 800 men, dismounted

Germans and British marksmen, to penetrate the country known as the

New Hampshire Grants. The intelligence of this expedition alarmed the country.



GENERAL STARK had lately arrived at Bennington, with a company of militia. Hearing of Baum's approach, he called in the militia of the neighboring country, and appeared so formidable that Baum halted about six miles from Bennington, began to intrench himself, and sent back to Burgoyne for reinforcements. Having been joined by a body of Berkshire militia, under Colonel Simmons, Stark approached the enemy on the 16th of August. "We beat to-day, or Molly Stark's a widow," said the general, and the assault began about noon. After a hot action of about two hours, the intrenchments were carried, the Germans mostly killed or captured, and the Indians driven to the woods. The victory being won, the militia dispersed to collect the spoils. About four in the afternoon, another detachment of Germans under Breyman arrived. Colonel Warner's regiment fortunately reached the field about the same time. The battle was renewed and kept up till dark, when the German troops abandoned their artillery and baggage, and fled. The loss of the enemy in this brilliant affair was about 200 killed, a large number wounded, and about 600 prisoners. A thousand stand of arms, four pieces of artillery, a large number of swords, and other articles of military equipment, fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss was only about 100 men killed and wounded. General Stark received the thanks of Congress and the appointment of a brigadier in the regular army.

The battle of Bennington revived the spirit of the people of the New England states. It was the first link in that chain of events which led to the capture of the whole British army. Meanwhile, reinforcements poured into the American camp. The militia were inspirited. Morgan's rifle corps, 500 strong, arrived, and owing to the constant exertions of Schuyler, the army was considered sufficiently formidable to cope with the invaders. The position of the Americans was upon the islands at the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson.

On the 22d of August, Schuyler, much to his mortification, was superseded by General Gates. He had toiled hard to create an army in the north, and was displaced just as he expected to reap the harvest of his exertions. Like a true patriot, however, he continued to do all in his power to advance the cause he had espoused. Soon after Gates entered on the command of the northern army, a correspondence was opened between him and General Burgoyne, not of the most pleasant character.



General Gates.

The British general complained of the harsh treatment of the loyalists, and hinted at retaliation. The American general recriminated by expatiating on the horrid atrocities perpetrated by the Indians who accompanied the British army. One barbarous act, though it involved a case of merely individual suffering, made a deep impression on the public mind, and roused a general feeling of indignation and resentment.

Lieutenant Jones, of the British army, had gained the affections of Miss Jane M'Crea, a young lady of amiable character and spotless reputation, residing near Fort Edward. The parties were engaged to be married. While Burgoyne was advancing towards the American army, a party of Indians attacked the house in which Miss M'Crea resided, and captured the young lady and a widow friend, named M'Neil. The Indians separated and took different directions for the British camp, each party having a prisoner. It happened that a black woman had escaped from the house at the time of the attack. She immediately conveyed the intelligence to the garrison at the neighboring fort, and a party was sent in pursuit of the savages. The Indians who had Miss M'Crea in charge asserted that she was mortally wounded by the fire of the American party, and that they then tomahawked and scalped her; and there is every



Murder of Miss M'Crea.

reason to believe their story, as they received more pay for prisoners than for scalps. The scalp of Miss M'Crea was taken to the British camp, and recognised by Lieutenant Jones, who purchased it, and soon after deserted from the royal cause. This tragic story was misrepresented at the time, and the body of the Americans believed the savages had killed Miss M'Crea in a quarrel for her possession.

Gates now left his island camp and occupied Behmus's Heights, a spur from the hills on the west side of the Hudson, close upon the river. His camp, the segment of a circle, the convex side towards the enemy, was connected with the river by a deep intrenchment, covered by batteries. The right was covered by a thickly wooded ravine. Strong batteries were placed at favorable positions in advance. By most untiring exertions Burgoyne brought down thirty days' provisions and crossed the Hudson to Saratoga. His army then approached the Americans in two columns—the British on the right, the Germans on the left. Between the two armies were two deep, thickly-wooded ravines.

About noon on the 19th of September, an alarm being given that the enemy were approaching upon the left, Morgan, with his rifle corps, was sent forward to skirmish and reconnoitre. Having driven in a picket, his



Arnold at Behm's Heights.

men, in the ardor of pursuit, were unexpectedly met by the main column of the British and thrown into confusion. Two New Hampshire regiments soon came to his assistance, and about three o'clock the action became general. The British had four field-pieces, and were strongly posted on a rising ground. The conflict became fierce and the slaughter dreadful. The Americans, among whom General Arnold was the leading spirit, captured the artillery of the enemy several times, but were forced to abandon the pieces as the owners rallied. The firing was incessant. The field was lost and won a dozen times during the day. Upon the approach of night, the Americans withdrew to their camp. The British encamped upon the field. Both parties claimed the victory, though it was apparent the Americans would reap all the advantages of a triumph. The British loss was nearly 500 men; the American, less than 300.

On the 17th of September, a body of New England militia, under Colonel Brown, had surprised the posts at the outlet of Lake George, taking 300 prisoners and a fleet of armed vessels. Uniting with another party of militia, under Colonel Johnson, they laid siege to Ticonderoga, cut off Burgoyne's communications, and thus created much alarm in the British camp. The fodder and provisions of the British began to



Burgoyne's Camp on the Hudson.

grow scarce, and their difficulties increased every day. The American army was daily strengthened by the arrival of the militia, who now anticipated the capture of the royal army. General Lincoln received the command of the right wing: Arnold, for some quarrel or jealousy on the part of Gates, was deprived of the command of the left wing after the battle of the 19th, Gates assuming it in person.

Burgoyne was now, in a great measure, deserted by the Indians and Tories, who had expected an uninterrupted career of victory and conquest to attend the British arms. He had but one hope left. On the 21st of September, he received intelligence in cypher, from Sir Henry Clinton, the commander of the troops at New York, that he intended to make a diversion in his favor, by attacking the American posts on the Hudson River. While waiting for this relief, the British troops were placed on short allowance of provisions; and their situation became so alarming that it was necessary either to retreat or find relief by another battle. The latter alternative was chosen, as more congenial to the pride of the royal general.

On the morning of the 7th of October, General Frazer, with 1500 picked men, advanced to within a mile of the American camp to make a reconnoissance. As soon as Burgoyne's position was discovered, his left



Colonel John Brooks.

was furiously assailed by Pavis' New Hampshire brigade. The attack soon spread to the right, where Morgan strove to separate Fraser from the British camp. Though without any regular command, Arnold appeared upon the field, and displayed a desperate valor, which animated the whole American line. The British right was compelled to retreat, and the left, overwhelmed by the numbers and impetuosity of the Americans, began to yield ground. Fraser, the soul of the British army, was mortally wounded by the riflemen of Morgan's corps. By the greatest exertions, the British regained their camp. The Americans followed close upon them, and amid a murderous storm of grape and musketry assaulted the right of the British works. Arnold forced an entrance, but was wounded and his horse shot under him as he rode into one of the sally ports. His column was driven back; but Colonel Brooks, with a Massachusetts regiment, turned the intrenchments of the Germans, forced them from



Battle-ground of Saratoga.

the ground and captured their baggage and a large quantity of ammunition. The British failed to dislodge him, and he remained at night in possession of the works. Darkness terminated the combat. The Americans slept upon their arms, prepared to renew the contest the next morning. Their victory was brilliant and decisive. The British had lost 400 men, in killed, wounded and prisoners, besides artillery, ammunition and camp equipage. The loss of the Americans did not exceed 100 men.

During the night, Burgoyne skilfully drew back his dispirited troops to some high grounds in the rear. The 8th of October was spent in skirmishes. General Lincoln was severely wounded while reconnoitring. The gallant Fraser was buried on a hill which he had designated, amid a shower of balls from the Americans, they being ignorant of the funereal purpose of the procession.

To avoid being surrounded, the British general was obliged to abandon his new position, with the loss of his hospital and wounded, and fall back to Saratoga. This retreat was effected with considerable difficulty, owing to the torrents of rain and the impassable character of the roads in consequence. Gates now saw that the royal army might be conquered without another battle, and his measures were taken accordingly. Detachments were posted at every commanding place, and Burgoyne found that Fort Edward was in possession of his enemies. A fleet of batteaux, containing baggage and provisions, was attacked by the militia and many of the boats captured. The camp itself was exposed to the shot of the Americans.

The situation of the British army was truly deplorable. Although Clinton had moved up the Hudson and captured the American posts in the Highlands, Burgoyne was not aware of it. His effective force was now reduced to 4000 men, who were surrounded by an enemy thrice as



Burgoyne's Retreat on the Hudson River.

numerous and flushed with success. There was no hope of forcing a passage for retreat. The provisions were almost exhausted, and the troops were dispirited. A council of war decided that a treaty of capitulation was necessary.

The American commander demanded an unconditional surrender. But Burgoyne would not submit to that; and Gates, eager to hasten the capitulation before Clinton could relieve the royal army, agreed that the troops should march from their camp, with the honors of war, should lay down their arms, be conducted to Boston, thence to proceed to England, upon an engagement not to serve against the United States till exchanged. Burgoyne hesitated to ratify the treaty; and delayed it till Gates threatened to renew hostilities, when the capitulation was completed. (October 16th.) In the convention, the following stipulations were made:

“The troops under General Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honors of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest: and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of



Surrender of Burgoyne.

the transports to receive the troops, whenever General Howe shall so order. The army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest route, and to be quartered in or near to Boston. The troops to be provided with provisions by General Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and no baggage to be molested or searched. The officers not to be separated from their men. The officers to be quartered according to their rank. All corps whatever of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's army, to be included in the above articles. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, and other followers of the army, to be permitted to return to Canada; to be conducted to the first British post on Lake George; to be supplied with provisions as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest. Passports to be granted to three officers, to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and



Governor George Clinton.

to Great Britain. The officers to be admitted on their parole, and to be permitted to wear their side-arms."

Such were the embarrassments of the royal army, incapable of subsisting where it was, or of making its way to a better situation, that these terms were rather more favorable than they had a right to expect. On the other hand, it would not have been prudent for the American general at the head of an army, which, though numerous, consisted mostly of militia or new levies, to have provoked the despair of even an inferior number of brave, disciplined, regular troops. General Gates rightly judged, that the best way to secure his advantages was to use them with moderation. Soon after the convention was signed, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there till the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy, with which this business was conducted, reflected honor on the American general. Nor did the politeness of Gates end here. Every circumstance was withheld, that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive general was received with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers, of both armies, met at General Gates's quarters, and for a while seemed to forget, in social and convivial pleasures, that



Defence of Fort Clinton.

they had been enemies. The conduct of General Burgoyne in this interview with General Gates was truly dignified: and the historian is at a loss whether to admire most, the magnanimity of the victorious, or the fortitude of the vanquished general.

The British troops partook liberally of the plenty that reigned in the American army. It was the more acceptable to them, as they were destitute of bread and flour, and had only as much meat left, as was sufficient for a day's subsistence.

By the convention which has been mentioned, 5790 men were surrendered prisoners. The sick and wounded left in camp, when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4689. The whole royal force, exclusive of Indians, was probably about 10,000. The stores which the Americans acquired, were considerable. The captured artillery consisted of 35 brass field-pieces. There were also 4657 muskets, and a variety of other useful and much wanted articles, which fell into their hands. The Continentals in General Gates's army were 9093, the militia 4129; but of the former 2103 were sick, or on furlough, and 562 of the latter were in the same situation. The number of the militia was constantly fluctuating.

In the meantime, Sir Henry Clinton and General Vaughan, with a strong detachment of British troops, proceeded up the North River, with the object of making a diversion in favor of Burgoyne. The Highland posts, forts Clinton and Montgomery, were situated near each other on



Defence of Fort Montgomery.

the west bank of the Hudson. They would have been almost impregnable, if garrisoned by the regular number of men. But Governor Clinton, and his brother, General James Clinton, who commanded, had only about 600 militia for both forts. The British boldly assaulted the works, and after a brave resistance they were captured. The brothers Clinton, with the greater part of the garrison, made their escape, leaving about 250 men killed, wounded and prisoners. The loss of the assailants was about 300 men. General Putnam was then forced to abandon Peekskill, and all the stores at that place were captured by the British detachment. General Vaughan destroyed the beautiful town of Esopus, and wasted the country; but the intelligence of the surrender of Burgoyne made the return of the whole detachment imperatively necessary. It reached New York in safety.

The capture of the British army under Burgoyne, excited great rejoicings throughout the country. The hopes of the friends of independence were raised, and their confidence in their own powers increased proportionately. The British ministry were astonished and mortified, and the opposition to their measures much strengthened. While the event divided and weakened the councils of Great Britain, it secured to the Americans powerful friends on the continent of Europe, and thus led the way to that consummation they so devoutly wished. Congress ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to General Gates, in commemoration of the great event.

In a short time after the convention was signed, General Gates moved

forward to stop the devastations on the North River, but the British had already retired. About the same time, the British garrison abandoned Ticonderoga and fled to Canada. Thus the Americans were completely triumphant in the north. Burgoyne's troops were conducted to Boston; but a difficulty concerning their accommodations occurring, Congress prohibited them from leaving the country until the convention was ratified by the British government. This measure was rendered expedient, by the strong probability that the troops intended to violate their parole.



Fort Clinton.



CHAPTER XXXI.

THE POLITICAL EVENTS AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1778.



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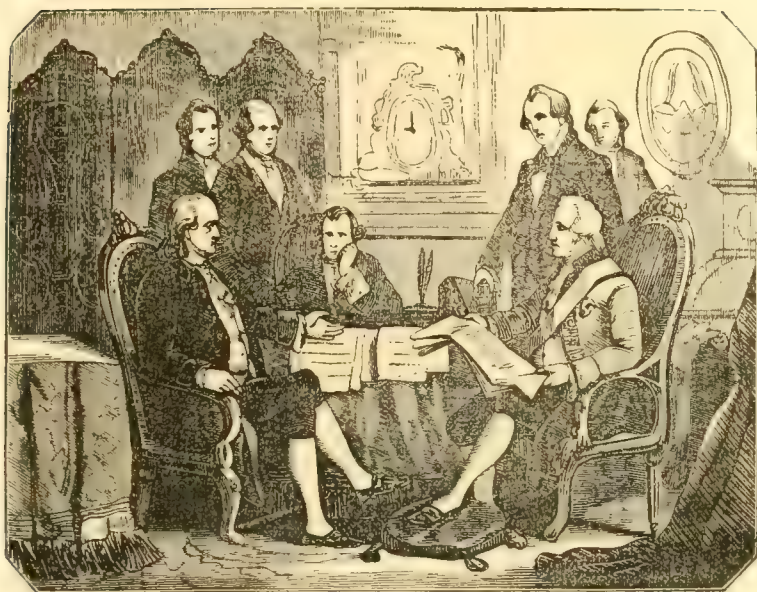
HE consequences of the triumph of the American arms in the north were soon apparent, to the great exultation of the friends of independence, and the depression of their adversaries. After the Declaration of Independence was adopted, the leading patriot statesmen perceived that an alliance with any of the great powers of Europe would be an effectual step towards securing that independence upon a firm basis. Their eyes at once turned to France. It was clearly the policy of that indomitable rival of Britain to encourage the dispute between the mother country and the colonies, and to aid in their total separation.

Early in 1776, Silas Deane had been sent to France, to sound the ministry upon the subject of the American controversy, and to procure military stores. He was successful in procuring supplies, and found that the French government looked with a favorable eye upon the struggle of the Americans. At the end of September of the same year, Congress agreed on the plan of a treaty to be proposed to foreign powers, and elected Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, commissioners to propose and solicit its acceptance at the court of France. The fame of Dr. Franklin as a philanthropist and a philosopher was more extensive than that of any other American, and smoothed the way to a favorable reception of the proposals of Congress.



Silas Deane.

On the 28th of December, the commissioners arrived at Paris and opened negotiations. Count de Vergennes, the minister with whom they had to deal, was a man of extensive political information and great ability. He knew that France was not ready for a war with Great Britain, and therefore that the course of prudence was not to be hasty in openly espousing the cause of the colonists, but to encourage them in their struggle while pretending to be indifferent to it. At the same time, private agents of the United States armed and equipped vessels in the French ports to annoy the British commercial marine, and thus bring on a war between the two powers. The news of the capitulation at Saratoga reached France early in December, 1777. This event determined the policy of the ministry, convincing them that an alliance with a people who had captured a British army was a desirable consummation.



Conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance between France and the United States.



ON the 16th of December, 1777, the commissioners of Congress were informed by Mr. Gerard, one of the secretaries of the king's council of state, "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to make a treaty with them; that in the treaty no advantage would be taken of their situation, to obtain terms which, otherwise, it would not be convenient for them to agree to; that his Most Christian Majesty desired the treaty once made should be durable, and their amity to subsist forever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find an interest in its continuance, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended, that the terms of the treaty should be such as the new-formed states would be willing to agree to, if they had been long since established, and in the fulness of strength and power, and such as they should approve when that time should come; that his Most Christian Majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support their independence; that in doing this he might probably soon be engaged in a war; yet he should not expect any compensation from the United States on that account. Nor was it pretended that he acted wholly for their sakes, since besides his real good-will to them, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be



Louis XVI. and Maria Antoinette.

diminished, by the separation of the colonies from its government. The only condition he should require, and rely on, would be, that the United States, in no peace to be made, should give up their independence and return to the obedience of the British government." At any time previously to the 16th of December, 1777, when Mr. Gerard made the foregoing declaration, it was in the power of the British ministry to have ended the American war, and to have established an alliance with the United States, that would have been of great service to both; but from the same haughtiness which for some time had predominated in their councils, and blinded them to their interests, they neglected to improve the favorable opportunity.

Conformably to the preliminaries proposed by Mr. Gerard, his Most Christian Majesty, Louis the XVI., on the 6th of February, 1778, entered into treaties of amity, commerce, and alliance with the United

States, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. By the latter of these, that monarch became the guarantee of their sovereignty, independence and commerce. On a review of the conduct of the French ministry to the Americans, the former appear to have acted uniformly from a wise regard to national interest. Any line of conduct, different from that which they adopted, might have upset the measures which they wished to establish. Had they pretended to act from disinterested principles of generosity to the distressed, the known selfishness of human nature would have contradicted the extravagant pretension. By avowing the real motive of their conduct, they furnished such a proof of candor as begat confidence.

The British ministers were no less surprised than provoked by hearing of the alliance between France and the States, which they continued to look upon as their provinces. They considered it as a violation of the laws of nations, and as an interference which deserved the severest inflictions of war. The French justified the alliance, by observing that they found the colonies in actual possession of independence, and that they were bound to presume they were independent of right. Upon this presumption, interest dictated that they should enter into treaties with them.



THE Marquis de Lafayette, whose letters to France had a considerable share in preparing the nation to patronize the United States, was among the first in the American army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. He joyfully informed General Washington, and the intelligence soon spread to the people. The army received it with particular manifestations of gratitude and confidence. Their chaplains offered up thanks to Almighty God, and

delivered discourses suitable to the occasion. A feu-de-joie was fired, and on a proper signal being given, the air resounded with huzzas and cries of "Long live the King of France!" Undervaluing the resources and the spirit of the British nation, the Americans confidently believed that the olive-branch would soon be extended to them, and their independence acknowledged.

Congress, previous to their reception of the news of the treaty of alliance with France, had firmly rejected some offers of conciliation from the ministry and parliament of Great Britain. This circumstance displayed the confidence of that body in the justice of their cause and the strength of their resolution to accept no terms of peace which did not as a precedent condition, acknowledge the independent sovereignty of the

United States. The British commissioners, Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden, found all their efforts unavailing. They could not induce Congress to acknowledge their dependence on Great Britain, or corrupt the individuals who composed that body. On the contrary, the terms upon which the offers of conciliation were made were a virtual acknowledgment that the cause of the Americans was a just one, and that the British government brought on the war by its tyrannical measures.

From the position which General Washington had taken at Valley Forge, and from the activity and vigilance of his patrols, the British army in Philadelphia was straitened for forage and fresh provisions. A considerable number of the people of Pennsylvania were well affected to the British cause, and desirous of supplying the troops, while many more were willing to carry produce to Philadelphia, where they found a ready market, and payment in gold or silver; whereas the army at Valley Forge could pay only in paper money of uncertain value. But it was not easy to reach Philadelphia, nor safe to attempt it; for the American parties often intercepted them, took the provisions without payment, and not unfrequently added corporal chastisement. The first operations on the part of the British, therefore, in the campaign of 1778, were undertaken in order to procure supplies for the army. About the middle of March, a strong detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood, made a foraging excursion, for six or seven days, into Jersey, surprised and defeated the American parties at Hancock's and Quinton's Bridges on Alway's Creek, which falls into the Delaware to the south of Reedy Island, killed or took fifty or sixty of the militia; and, after a successful expedition, returned to Philadelphia with little loss.

A corps of Pennsylvania militia, daily varying in number, sometimes not exceeding 50, sometimes amounting to 600, under General Lacy, had taken post at a place called Crooked Billet, about seventeen miles from Philadelphia, on the road to New York, for the purpose of intercepting the country people who attempted to carry provisions to the British army. Early on the morning of the 4th of May, Colonel Abercrombie and Major Simcoe, with a strong detachment, attempted to surprise this party; but Lacy escaped with little loss, except his baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the 7th of May, the British undertook an expedition against the galleys and other shipping which had escaped up the Delaware, after the reduction of Mud Island, and destroyed upwards of forty vessels and some stores and provisions. The undisputed superiority of the British naval force, and the consequent command of the Delaware, gave them great facilities in directing a suitable armament against any particular

point; and the movements of the militia, on whom Congress chiefly depended for repelling sudden predatory incursions, and for guarding the roads to Philadelphia, were often tardy and inefficient. The roads were ill guarded; and the British commonly accomplished their foraging and returned to camp before an adequate force could be assembled to oppose them.

To remedy these evils, to annoy the rear of the British troops, in case they evacuated Philadelphia, which it was now suspected they intended to do, and also to form an advanced guard of the main army, the Marquis de Lafayette, with upwards of 2000 men and six pieces of artillery, crossed the Schuylkill and took post at Barren Hill, seven or eight miles in front of the army at Valley Forge. The British commander becoming aware of his position, detached 5000 troops, under General Grant, to surprise and cut him off. Grant marched from Philadelphia on the night of the 20th of May; proceeding by a road which leads by White Marsh, he passed at no great distance from Lafayette's left flank, and about sunrise, reached a point in his rear, where two roads diverged, one to the camp of the marquis and the other to Matson's Ford, each about a mile distant. There the approach was discovered, and while Grant was making dispositions for attack, Lafayette marched rapidly to Matson's Ford, crossed the river and took post on the rising ground on the opposite bank. Grant pursued the Americans as far as the Ford, and killed a few men who had been left to guard those engaged in dragging the artillery across the river. But the position of the Americans appeared so formidable, that the attempt to attack was abandoned, and the whole detachment returned to Philadelphia, having totally failed to accomplish the object of the enterprise. The activity and vigilance of Lafayette procured him much additional reputation, and the escape of the detachment was the cause of much congratulation in the American army.

In the latter end of May, Sir William Howe resigned the post of commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton. Although his success had by no means been proportionate to the strength and numbers at his command, Howe was a favorite with the army.

Now that the Delaware was likely to be blocked up by a French fleet, Philadelphia could no longer be held with safety by the British, and the evacuation was therefore resolved upon. Washington was still at Valley Forge, with about 12,000 men. The intention of the British commander was soon known to him, and his measures were thenceforth directed to harassing, if not preventing the retreat of, the enemy. The New Jersey



Sir Henry Clinton.

militia, under General Dickinson, were ordered to obstruct the road and annoy the British in every way in their power.

The preparations of the British being completed, the baggage, stores, and a considerable number of persons who adhered to the British interest, were sent round by water to New York. The army, about 12,000 strong, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, crossed the Delaware on the 18th of June, and commenced its march through the Jerseys.

The American army having, in pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, 600 men were immediately detached under Colonel Morgan, to reinforce General Maxwell. Washington halted his troops, when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton. The general officers, in the American army, seventeen in number, being asked by the commander-in-chief: "Will it be advisable to hazard a general action?" fifteen of them answered in the negative; but recommended a detachment of 1500 men,



Council of Officers before the Battle of Monmouth.

to be immediately sent, to act as occasion might serve, on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under General Scott.

When Sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allentown, he determined, instead of keeping the direct course to Staten Island, to draw towards the sea-coast, and to push on towards Sandy Hook. General Washington, on receiving intelligence that Sir Henry was proceeding in that direction, towards Monmouth court-house, despatched 1000 men under General Wayne, and sent the Marquis de Lafayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who, having been lately exchanged, had joined the army, was offered this command; but he declined it, as he was in principle against hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light infantry and chasseurs in his rear, and his baggage in his front.

General Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent General Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole; and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning, orders were sent to Lee, to move on and attack, unless



General Morgan.

there should be powerful reasons to the contrary. When Washington had marched about five miles to support the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee, and proposed certain questions to him, which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The commander-in-chief ordered Colonel Stewart's and Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay's battalions to form on a piece of ground, which he judged suitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then asked, if he would command on that ground; to which he consented, and was ordered to take proper measures for checking the enemy: to which he replied, "Your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." Washington then rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition.

A warm cannonade immediately commenced, between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the British army, and the two battalions which General Washington had halted. These stood their ground, till they were intermixed with a part of the British army. Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay, the commander of one

of them, was wounded and taken prisoner. General Lee continued till the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.



THE check the British received gave time to make a disposition of the left wing, and second line of the American army in the wood, and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating. On this, some cannon were placed by Lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing; which, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position, on the right of Lord Stirling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right, with as little success; for Greene with artillery disappointed their design. Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well-directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way. They retired and took the position which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered General Poor to move round upon their right, and General Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach, before it was dark. These remained on the ground, which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning; and the main body lay on their arms in the field, to be ready for supporting them.

General Washington reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day: but these hopes were frustrated. The British troops marched away in the night, in such silence, that General Poor, though very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them, four officers, and about forty privates, all so badly wounded, that they could not be removed. The British, June 30th, pursued their march without further interruption, and soon reached the neighborhood of Sandy Hook, without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all further pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North River. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 250. The loss of the royal army during the whole retreat, inclusive of prisoners and deserters, was about 1200. Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, one of the British slain, on account of his singular merit was universally lamented. Colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania, and Major Dickenson of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement, and General Reed was wounded. The emotions of the



General Reed wounded at Monmouth.

mind, added to fatigue on a very hot day, brought on such a fatal suppression of the vital powers, that some of the Americans, and 59 of the British, were found dead on the field of battle, without any marks of violence upon their bodies.

It is probable, that Washington intended to take no further notice of Lee's conduct on the day of action; but the latter could not brook the expressions used by the former at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested, and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were:—

1st. For disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

2dly. For misbehaviour before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

3dly. For disrespect to the commander-in-chief in two letters.

After a tedious hearing before a court-martial, Lee was found guilty, and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of one year; but the second charge was softened by the court-martial, who in their award only found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary, and in some few instances, a disorderly retreat. Many were displeased with this sentence. They argued, "that, by the tenor of Lee's orders, it was submitted to his discretion, whether to attack or not; and also, that the time and manner were to be determined by his own judgment; that at one time he intended to attack, but altered his opinion on apparently good



Count d'Estaing.

grounds; that the propriety of an attack, considering the superiority of the British cavalry, and the openness of the ground, was very questionable; and that, though it might have distressed the enemy's rear in the first instance, it would probably have brought on a general action, before the advanced corps could have been supported by the main body, which was some miles in the rear." "If," said they, "Lee's judgment was against attacking the enemy, he could not be guilty of disobeying an order for that purpose, which was suspended on the condition of his own approbation of the measure." They also contended, that a suspension from command was not a sufficient punishment for his crimes, if really guilty. They therefore inferred a presumption of his innocence from the lenient sentence of his judges. Though there was a diversity of opinion relative to the first and second charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of disrespect to the commander-in-chief. The Americans had

formerly idolized General Lee; but some of them now went to the opposite extreme, and without any foundation pronounced him treacherous, or deficient in courage. His temper was violent, and his impatience of subordination had led him often to quarrel with those whom he was bound to respect and obey; but his courage and fidelity could not be questioned. He never rejoined the army.

Before the American army crossed the Hudson, Washington heard of the arrival of Count d'Estaing on the coast, with a French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and four frigates. As the fleet touched at the Capes of the Delaware, d'Estaing was informed of the evacuation of Philadelphia, and after despatching up the river one of his frigates, on board of which was M. Gerard, the first minister from France to the United States, he sailed for Sandy Hook. Washington immediately sent him a letter of congratulation, and proposed to co-operate with him in carrying any plans into execution, which might be concerted. If it had been practicable to get the fleet over the bar, an attack might have been made upon New York. But the pilots refused to take the responsibility upon themselves, and the project was abandoned.



THE only enterprise that now appeared practicable was an attack upon Rhode Island, where 6000 British troops, under Sir Robert Pigot, were stationed, chiefly in garrison at Newport, and protected by a few small vessels, batteries and entrenchments. The French fleet sailed for that place without being molested. General Sullivan was already in Providence with a large body of regular troops, and he was ordered to increase his force to 5000 men by calling out the militia of the neighboring states. A detachment of two brigades, under Lafayette, was despatched from the main army, and General Greene soon after proceeded to Providence to aid in the enterprise.

On the first appearance of the French fleet at Rhode Island, information of the event was sent to New York; and Lord Howe, whose squadron was then increased to eight ships of the line, five of fifty guns each, two of forty, four frigates, with three fire ships, two bombs, and a number of inferior vessels, after having been detained four days by contrary winds, sailed towards Rhode Island, appeared in sight of it on the morning of the 9th, and, in the evening, anchored off Point Judith, without the entrance into the Main Channel, towards which the wind directly blew, and prevented the French from coming out; but it shifted to north-east during the night, and, in the morning, D'Estaing sailed towards the British fleet,

before a favorable breeze. Besides his superior force, he had the advantage of the weather-gage; Lord Howe, therefore, declined a battle, and stood out to sea. D'Estaing followed him; and both fleets were soon out of sight of Rhode Island.

Lord Howe and Count d'Estaing spent two days in presence of each other, exhausting all the resources of nautical science, in order to preserve or to gain the weather-gage. Towards the close of the second day, when about to come to action, the fleets were separated by a violent storm, which dispersed and considerably injured both of them. Single ships afterwards fell in with each other, and spirited encounters ensued; but no important advantage was gained on either side. Lord Howe returned to New York, and D'Estaing to Newport, both in a shattered condition.

When D'Estaing followed Lord Howe from Rhode Island, Sullivan's army amounting to 10,000 men, chiefly militia, was ready to take the field; it was proposed, however, not to commence hostilities till the return of the French, in order that they might not offend D'Estaing, who had already discovered some jealousy and irritation on points of mere form and ceremony. But, as the American army could not be long kept together, that proposal was overruled, and it was resolved immediately to begin active operations.



On finding himself seriously threatened, General Pigot withdrew his troops from Conanicut, called in his outposts, and concentrated his force in the vicinity of Newport, where he occupied an entrenched camp. The American army was transported from the continent to the north-east end of the island, took possession of a fortified post, which the British had abandoned, and marched towards Newport, to besiege the hostile camp at that place.

But, on the 12th of August, before Sullivan had begun the siege, his army was overtaken by the furious storm of wind and rain which dispersed and damaged the fleets. It blew down and almost irreparably injured the tents, rendered the fire-arms unfit for immediate use, and damaged the ammunition, of which fifty rounds had just been delivered to each man. The soldiers, having no shelter, suffered severely, and some of them perished in the storm, which lasted three days; afterwards the American army advanced towards the British lines, and began the siege. But the absence of the fleet rendered the situation of General Sullivan's army precarious, as the British force at Newport could easily be increased. On the evening of the 19th, D'Estaing again appeared off the island; but

the joy of the Americans on that occasion was of short duration. For he immediately informed General Sullivan that, in obedience to his orders, and agreeably to the advice of all his officers, he was about to sail to the harbor of Boston. His instructions were to enter that port, in case he should meet with any disaster, or find a superior British fleet on the coast. The shattered condition of his ships, and the arrival of admiral Byron with reinforcements from England, constituted the very state of things contemplated in his instructions; and therefore he resolved to proceed to Boston.

To be abandoned by the fleet in such critical circumstances, and not only deprived of the brilliant success which they thought within their reach, but exposed to imminent hazard, caused much disappointment, irritation, and alarm in the American camp. The Marquis de Lafayette and General Greene were despatched to Count d'Estaing to remonstrate with him on the subject, and to press his co-operation and assistance for two days only, in which time they flattered themselves the most brilliant success would crown their efforts. But the count was not popular in the fleet: he was a military officer as well as a naval commander, and was considered as belonging to the army rather than to the navy. The officers of the sea service looked on him with a jealous and envious eye, and were willing to thwart him as far as they were able with safety to themselves. D'Estaing therefore felt himself constrained to set sail for Boston.

The departure of the French fleet greatly discouraged the American army; and in a few days Sullivan's force was considerably diminished by desertion. On the 26th of August, he therefore resolved to raise the siege, and retreat to the north end of the island; and took the necessary precautions for the successful execution of that movement.

In the night of the 28th, General Sullivan silently decamped, and retired unobserved. Early in the morning the British discovered his retreat, and instantly commenced a pursuit. They soon overtook the light troops who covered the retreat of the American army, and who continued skirmishing and retreating till they reached the north end of the island, where the army occupied a strong position, at a place where the British formerly had a fortified post, the works of which had been strengthened during the two preceding days. There a severe conflict, for about half an hour, ensued, when the combatants mutually withdrew from the field. The loss of the armies was nearly equal, amounting to between 200 and 300 killed or wounded in the course of the day.

On the 30th of August there was a good deal of cannonading, but neither party ventured to attack the other. The British were expecting reinforcements; and Sullivan, although he made a show of resolutely



John Laurens.

maintaining his post, was busily preparing for the evacuation of the island. In the evening he silently struck his tents, embarked his army, with all the artillery, baggage, and stores, on board a great number of boats, and landed safely on the continent, before the British suspected his intention to abandon the post. General Sullivan made a timely escape; for Sir Henry Clinton was on his way, with 4000 men, to the assistance of General Pigot. He was detained four days in the Sound by contrary winds; but arrived on the day after the Americans left the island. A very short delay would probably have proved fatal to their army.

The disappointment and mortification at the failure of the expedition against Rhode Island caused the Americans to feel much irritated at the conduct of the French, and the violence of the complaints threatened serious consequences. Washington felt the importance of preserving the good-will of the allies, and therefore strove to soothe the wounded feelings



Fort Putnam, on the Hudson.

of the French admiral. Sullivan explained some portions of his conduct. Lafayette's influence was brought into play; and finally, these conciliatory efforts were crowned with success. Congress passed resolutions approving the conduct of D'Estaing.

In the course of the various actions on Rhode Island, John Laurens, the young and talented aid-de-camp to General Washington, distinguished himself by a great display of courage and skill in command of the light troops. Congress acknowledged his services and offered him the commission of lieutenant-colonel in the regular army. But a sense of injury that might be done to the officers of the line caused him to decline the honor.

About this time, several destructive and merciless expeditions were undertaken by the British forces. General Grey, with a detachment of troops, landed on the shores of Acushnet River, September 5th, destroyed all the shipping in the river, burned a considerable part of the towns of Bedford and Fair Haven, and destroyed a large quantity of military and naval stores. He then proceeded to Martha's Vineyard, burned several vessels, and with about 1000 sheep and 300 oxen returned to New York. The same officer, on the night of the 28th of September, surprised Colonel Baylor's regiment of horse, stationed at Tappan, and killed or captured the greater part of it. The slaughter on this occasion was alone sufficient to have justified the Americans in making a terrible retaliation, if retaliation is ever justifiable. But another and a similar expedition added to the infamy of the royal projectors of it. On the



West Point.

16th of October, Pulaski's legion was surprised by a British detachment under Captain Ferguson, and about 50 men killed. The detachment retreated without having more than a few men wounded.

These expeditions tended, more than any other events of the war to alienate the feelings of those who had been well affected to the British interest, and to rouse the resentment of those who had already appeared in arms against the enemy. As the object of the war was the subjugation of the country, these expeditions were not only cruel but unwise.

When the destination of D'Estaing's fleet became known in England, it was resolved to send a sufficient force to oppose him. Accordingly, Admiral Byron sailed from England on the 9th of June; but being overtaken by a storm on the 3d of July, his fleet was dispersed, and was not fully collected at New York until the middle of September. In October, Admiral Byron put to sea in quest of D'Estaing; but his ill fortune pursued him. A violent storm obliged him to put in to Rhode Island to refit. In the meantime, the French fleet sailed for the West Indies. On the 3d of November, General Grant, with a detachment of 600 men, sailed for the same quarter. Another detachment, under Colonel Campbell, embarked with the design of invading the southern states. Still New York was held by a large and efficient force.

The American army now went into winter-quarters. The main body

was cantoned on both sides of the North River, at Fort Putnam, and about West Point and Middleburgh, while light troops were posted in advance. In this situation they covered the country, and were conveniently placed for obtaining subsistence. The army was lodged in huts as in the preceding winter, but by means of the French alliance, the troops were better clothed than they had been during the war.

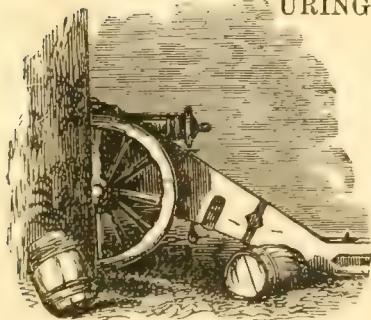


General Morgan Lewis.



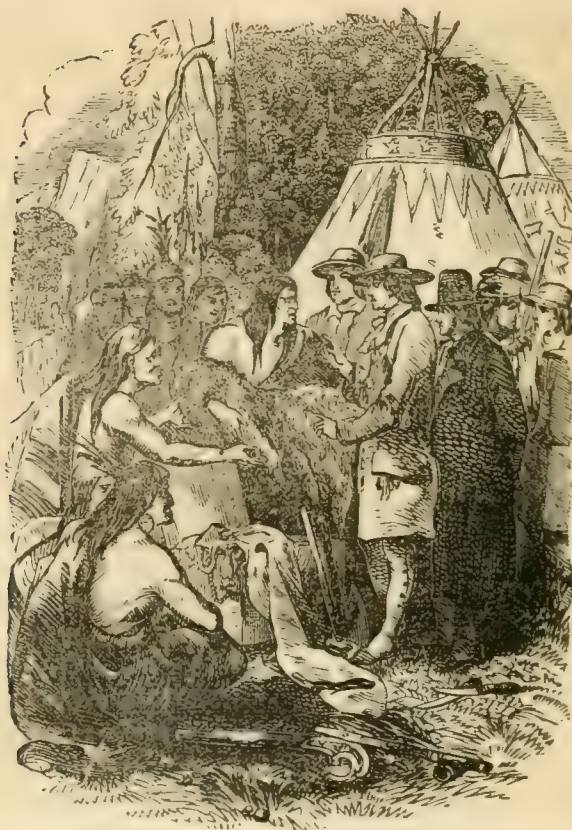
CHAPTER XXXII.

THE WAR ON THE FRONTIER.



URING the summer of 1778, a destructive war was carried on by the Indians and Tories against the settlers on the western frontier of the Middle States. Congress had desired that the numerous Indian tribes should either become their allies or remain neutral during the war. But that body had not the means of supplying them with those European commodities which they had been in the habit of using.

The British agents zealously strove to rouse their hostility against the



English Agents supplying the Indians with Commodities.

people of the States. They represented them as rebels against their lawful sovereign, whose power would soon crush them, and supplied the red men with those commodities which they prized most—such as ardent spirits, fire-arms and ammunition. The result was, the Indian tribes of the northwestern frontier generally espoused the British cause, and the tomahawk and scalping-knife were soon at work.

The flourishing and beautiful settlement of Wyoming was one of the first scenes of carnage and desolation. That fine tract of country, lying on both sides of the Susquehanna, had been settled principally by emigrants from Connecticut. It contained about 1000 families, and was in every respect a thriving place. But the seeds of political dissension were blown even to this happy valley. A great majority of the settlers were zealous supporters of the American cause; but a few espoused the royal interest, and these were sufficient to embitter society and maintain



Colonel Zebulon Butler.

a violent controversy. Families were divided, and the most revengeful feeling took the place of filial and fraternal affection. The royalists, at length, considering themselves as harshly treated by their political opponents, withdrew from the settlement and sought refuge among the savages. Animated by a fierce desire for revenge, they meditated the most terrible schemes of desolation.

Foremost among the refugees was Colonel John Butler, cousin of Colonel Zebulon Butler, commander of the militia of Wyoming. The settlers suspected the hostile designs of their enemies, and wrote to Congress and to General Washington for assistance. But their letters were intercepted by the royalists, and government remained ignorant of the impending hostility. Every means was used to lull the inhabitants into security. At the first rumor of the approach of the enemy, however, they betook themselves to their forts, the principal of which was Forty Fort.

On the morning of the 3d of July, 1778, the officers of the garrison at Forty Fort held a council to determine on the propriety of marching from the fort, and attacking the enemy wherever found. The debates in this council of war are said to have been conducted with much warmth and animation. The ultimate determination was one on which depended the lives of the garrison and safety of the settlement. On one side it was contended that their enemies were daily increasing in numbers; that they would plunder the settlement of all kinds of property, and would accumulate the means of carrying on the war, while they themselves would become weaker; that the harvest would soon be ripe, and would be gathered or destroyed by their enemies, and all their means of sustenance during the succeeding winter would fail; that probably all their messengers were killed, and as there had been sufficient time, and no assistance arrived, they would probably receive none, and consequently now was the proper time to make the attack. On the other side it was argued, that probably some or all the messengers might have arrived at head-quarters, but that the absence of the commander-in-chief might have produced delay; that one or two weeks more might bring the desired assistance, and that to attack the enemy, superior as they were in number, out of the limits of their own fort, would produce almost certain destruction to the settlement and themselves, and captivity, and slavery, perhaps torture, to their wives and children. While these debates were going on, five men belonging to Wyoming, but who at that time held commissions in the continental army, arrived at the fort; they had received information that a force from Niagara had marched to destroy the settlements on the Susquehanna, and being unable to bring with them any reinforcement, they resigned their appointments, and hastened immediately to the protection of their families: they had heard nothing of the messengers, neither could they give any certain information as to the probability of relief.

The prospect of receiving assistance became now extremely uncertain. The advocates for the attack prevailed in the council, and at dawn of day, on the morning of the 3d of July, the garrison left the fort, and began their march up the river, under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler. Having proceeded about two miles, the troops halted for the purpose of detaching a reconnoitring party, to ascertain the situation of the enemy.

The scout found the enemy in possession of Fort Wintermoot, and occupying huts immediately around it, carousing in supposed security; but on their return to the advancing column, they met two strolling Indians, by whom they were fired upon, and upon whom they immediately returned the fire without effect. The settlers hastened their march for



Massacre of Wyoming.

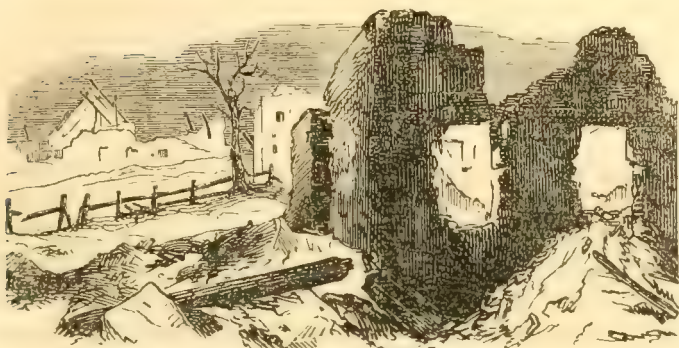
the attack, but the Indians had given the alarm, and the advancing troops found the enemy already formed in order of battle a small distance from their fort, with their right flank covered by a swamp, and their left resting upon the bank of a river. The settlers immediately displayed their column and formed in corresponding order, but as the enemy was much superior in numbers, their line was much more extensive. Pine woods and bushes covered the battle-ground, in consequence of which, the movements of the troops could not be so quickly discovered, nor so well ascertained. Colonel Zebulon Butler had command of the right, and was opposed by Colonel John Butler at the head of the British troops on the left, Colonel Nathan Denison commanded the left, opposed by Brant at the head of his Indians on the enemy's right. The battle commenced at about forty rods distance, and continued about fifteen minutes through the woods and brush without much execution. At this time Brant with his Indians having penetrated the swamp, turned the left flank of the settlers' line, and with a terrible war-whoop and savage yell made a desperate charge upon the troops composing that wing, which fell very fast, and were immediately cut to pieces by the tomahawk. Colonel Denison having ascertained that the savages were gaining the rear of the left, gave orders for that wing to *fall back*. At the same time, Colonel John Butler, finding that the line of the settlers did not extend as far toward the river as his own, doubled that end of his line which was protected by a thick growth of brushwood, and having brought a party of his British regulars to act in column upon that wing, threw Colonel Zebulon Butler's

troops into some confusion. The orders of Colonel Denison for his troops to *fall back*, having been understood by many to mean a *retreat*, the troops began to retire in much disorder. The savages considered this a flight, and commenced a most hideous yell, rushed forward with their rifles and tomahawks, and cut the retiring line to pieces. In this situation it was found impossible to rally and form the troops, and the rout became general throughout the line. The settlers fled in every direction, and were instantly followed by the savages, who killed or took prisoners whoever came within their reach. Some succeeded in reaching the river, and escaped by swimming across; others fled to the mountains, and the savages, too much occupied with plunder, gave up the pursuit. When the first intelligence was received in the village of Wilkesbarre that the battle was lost, the women fled with their children to the mountains on their way to the settlements on the Delaware, where many of them at length arrived after suffering extreme hardships. Many of the men who escaped the battle, together with their women and children, who were unable to travel on foot, took refuge in Wyoming Fort, and on the following day (July 4,) Butler and Brant, at the head of their combined forces, appeared before the fort, and demanded its surrender. The garrison being without any efficient means of defence, surrendered the fort on articles of capitulation, by which the settlers, upon giving up their fortifications, prisoners, and military stores, were to remain in the country unmolested provided they did not again take up arms.

In this battle about 300 of the settlers were killed or missing, and from a great part of whom no intelligence was ever afterward received.

The conditions of the capitulation were entirely disregarded by the British and savage forces, and after the fort was delivered up, all kinds of barbarities were committed by them. The village of Wilkesbarre, consisting of twenty-three houses, was burnt; men and their wives were separated from each other, and carried into captivity: their property was plundered, and the settlement laid waste. The remainder of the inhabitants were driven from the valley, and compelled to proceed on foot 60 miles through the great swamp, almost without food or clothing. A number perished in the journey, principally women and children; some died of their wounds; others wandered from their path in search of food, and were lost, and those who survived called the wilderness through which they passed *the shades of death*, an appellation which it has since retained.

Wyoming was soon after occupied by some continental troops, under Colonel Hartley. In October, Colonel William Butler, with the fourth Pennsylvania regiment and some rangers, marched from Schoharie, penetrated to the Susquehanna and destroyed the Indian town of Unadilla,



Ruins of Wyoming.

wasted their fields, and drove the savages to a greater distance from the frontier.

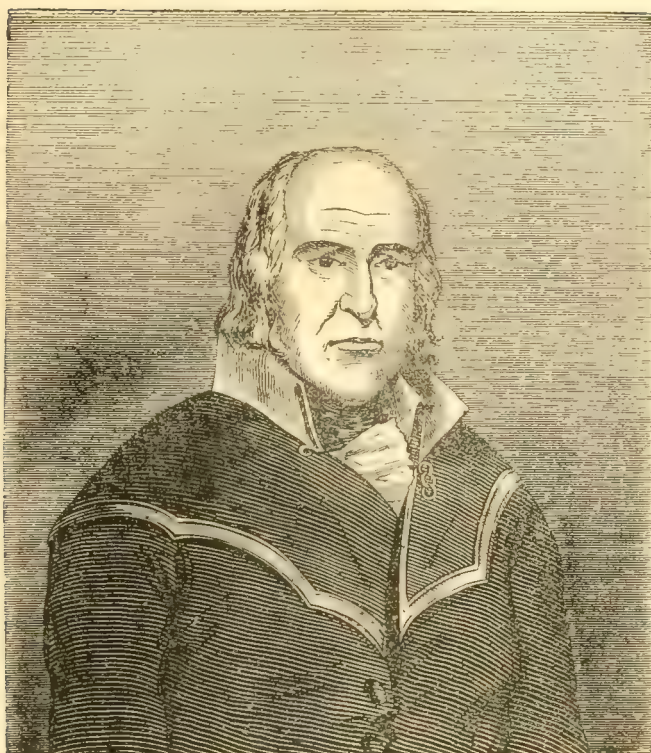
On the 11th of November, 500 Indians and loyalists, under the command of Butler and Brant, attacked the settlement of Cherry Valley, in New York, surprised and killed Colonel Alden, commander of the American forces at that place, and ten of his soldiers. The fort was attacked, but resolutely and successfully defended. Next day, the enemy retreated, having killed and scalped thirty-two of the inhabitants, chiefly women and children.

While the frontier settlements of New York and Pennsylvania were visited with the horrors of Indian warfare, the British agents in the north-west caused the pioneers of Kentucky and Virginia to feel the same calamity. Many of the settlements were broken up, and the inhabitants killed, captured or driven to the shelter of the block-houses and stockade forts which had been erected at various points. The people of Kentucky, from the first, had to contend not only with the usual hardships of the wilderness, but with the determination of the savages to maintain their hunting-grounds; and they therefore believed their usual foes acted from their own desire of vengeance. But Colonel George Rogers Clarke, a young Virginian, with every quality of a great and successful commander, perceived the real source of these savage depredations, and conceived a plan for checking them.

“The revolutionary war was then raging, and the western posts were too remote from the great current of events to attract, powerfully, the attention of either friend or foe; but to Kentucky they were objects of capital interest. Colonel Clarke unfolded his plan to the executive of Virginia, awakened him to a true sense of its importance, and had the address to obtain from the impoverished legislature a few scanty supplies



Western Pioneers.



Colonel George Rogers Clarke.

of men and munitions for his favorite project. Undismayed by the scantiness of his means, he embarked in the expedition with all the ardor of his character. A few state troops were furnished by Virginia, a few scouts and guides by Kentucky, and with a secrecy and celerity of movement that would have distinguished any commander, he embarked in his daring project.

“Having descended the Ohio in boats to the falls, he there landed thirteen families who had accompanied him from Pittsburg, as emigrants to Kentucky, and by whom the foundation of Louisville was laid. Continuing his course down the Ohio, he disembarked about 60 miles above the mouth of the river, and marching on foot through a pathless wilderness, he came upon Kaskaskias as suddenly as if he had descended from the skies. The British officer in command, Colonel Rochdublaire, and his garrison, surrendered to a force which they could have repelled with ease if warned of their approach; but never, in the annals of war, was surprise

more complete. Having secured his prisoners and sent them to Virginia, Clarke was employed for some time in conciliating the inhabitants, who, being French, readily submitted to the new order of things. In the meantime a storm threatened him from Vincennes. Governor Hamilton, who commanded the British force in the northwest, had actively employed himself in the fall season in organizing a large army of savages, with whom, in conjunction with his British forces, he determined not only to crush Clarke and his handfull of adventurers, but to desolate Kentucky, and even seize Fort Pitt. The season, however, became so far advanced before he had completed his preparations, that he determined to defer his project until spring, and in the meantime, to keep his Indians employed, he launched them against the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, intending to concentrate them early in the spring and carry out his grand project.

“Clarke in the meantime lay at Kaskaskias, resolving the difficulties of his situation, and keeping his spies diligently employed in gaining intelligence of his enemy. No sooner had he heard of the dispersion of Hamilton’s Indian force, and that he lay at Vincennes with his regulars alone, than he determined to strike Vincennes as he had done Kaskaskias. The march was long, the season inclement, the road passed through an untrodden wilderness, and overflowed bottoms; his stock of provisions was scanty, and had to be carried on the backs of his men. He could only muster 130 men; but inspiring this handful with his own heroic spirit, he plunged boldly into the wilderness which separated Kaskaskias from Vincennes, resolved to strike his enemy in the citadel of his strength, or perish in the effort. The difficulties of the march were great, beyond what even his daring spirit had anticipated. For days his course lay through the drowned lands of Illinois; his stock of provisions became exhausted, his guides lost their way, and the most intrepid of his followers at times gave way to despair. At length they emerged from the drowned lands, and Vincennes, like Kaskaskias, was completely surprised. The governor and garrison became prisoners of war, and like their predecessors at Kaskaskias, were sent to Virginia. The Canadian inhabitants readily submitted, the neighboring tribes were overawed, some of them becoming allies; and the whole adjacent country was now subject to Virginia, which employed a regiment of state troops in maintaining and securing their conquests. A portion of this force was afterwards permanently stationed at Louisville, where a fort was erected, and where Clarke established his head-quarters.” *

* Collins’s Kentucky.

The Indians upon the frontier of the states farther south were incited to hostility by the British agents, but the presence of an efficient force, under General Robert Howe, restrained them from extending their depredations. The most powerful tribes upon the frontiers of the Carolinas and Georgia were the Creeks and Cherokees, who could bring thousands of warriors into the field. Had the British agents succeeded in inducing them to take up arms, a bloody contest would have followed.





CHAPTER XXXIII.

EXPEDITION AGAINST GEORGIA, AND THE EVENTS OF 1779.



HERETO, the British force had been directed almost entirely to the Northern and Middle States, as the most populous portions of the Union. But another plan of action was now adopted. There appeared to be no prospect of reducing the people of the north; they had frequently been victorious, had compelled a large army to surrender, and had increased in spirit and become more determined in their opposition to the British interest.

The commander-in-chief of the royal forces now resolved to make an attempt upon the Southern States.

An irregular warfare had been carried on between the loyalists of East Florida and Georgia for some time previous. General Prevost commanded the British troops in East Florida. Incursions were made by both parties, and the country was visited with carnage and devastation. General Robert Howe, the American commander, destroyed a British fort in East Florida, but was compelled to return on account of the prevalence of disease among his troops. He then took post at Savannah, Georgia, which was now selected by Sir Henry Clinton as a favorable point for attack.

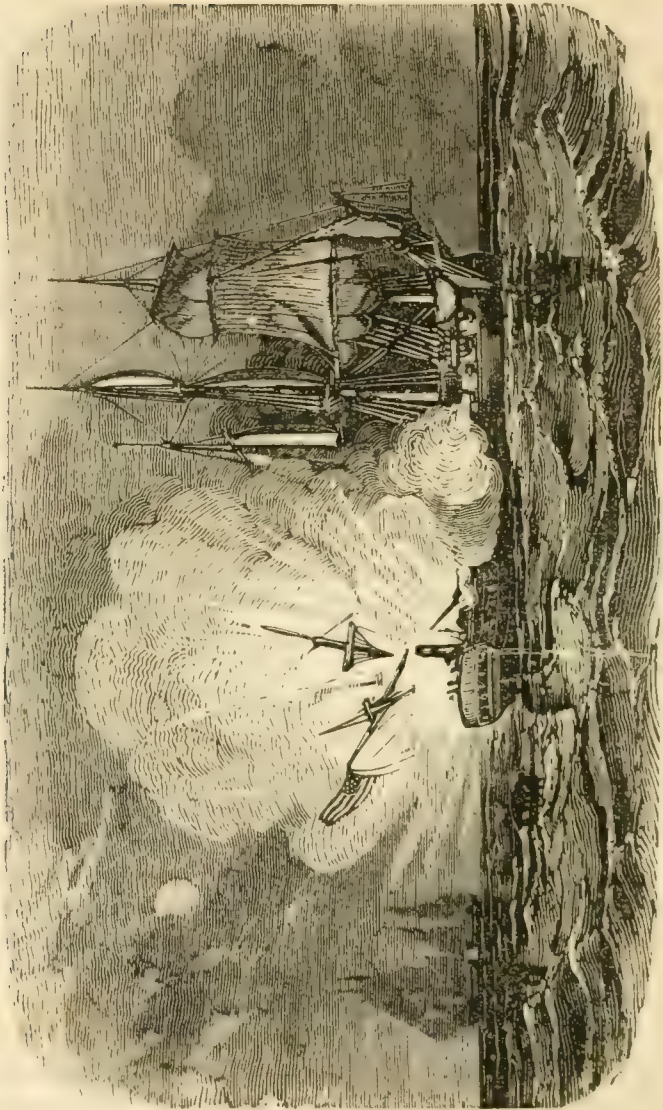
The plan was concerted with General Prevost, who was to march from East Florida to the banks of the Savannah, and take command of the

whole British force. On the 27th of November, Colonel Campbell, with about 3500 men sailed from Sandy Hook, under the convoy of Commodore Parker. The armament appeared off the mouth of the Savannah on the 23d of December. Colonel Campbell resolved to commence operations immediately. Accordingly, he proceeded up the river, and debarked his troops about three miles below Savannah, on the morning of the 29th. A small body of militia opposed the landing of the Highlanders, killed a captain and two men, and wounded two others; but fled after delivering their fire. General Howe, with about 900 men, occupied a strong position about half a mile below Savannah. The swamp and river were on his left flank, a morass in front extended beyond his right, where it was covered with wood and bushes. He had four pieces of artillery, and by breaking up the road by which he expected the British to advance considered his front well secured. Unfortunately, a negro informed Colonel Campbell of a private path through the marsh by which the American rear might be gained. A detachment was sent by this path, and the British forces advanced to the attack. Howe, finding himself attacked in front and rear, immediately ordered a retreat. The British pursued and obtained a complete victory. Upwards of 100 Americans were killed; 38 officers, 415 privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort, with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, and the capital of Georgia, were soon in possession of the victors. After this disastrous result, the remnant of the American army took shelter in South Carolina.



COLONEL CAMPBELL acted with great prudence and success in securing the submission of the inhabitants. He not only extirpated military opposition, but paved the way for the re-establishment of a royal legislature. General Prevost arrived at Savannah soon after its capture and took command of the British forces.

On the 7th of March, the *Randolph*, an American frigate of 36 guns and 305 men, commanded by Captain Biddle, having sailed from Charleston on a cruise, fell in with the *Yarmouth* of 64 guns and engaged her in the night. In about a quarter of an hour the *Randolph* blew up. Four men only were saved, upon a piece of the wreck. After subsisting upon rain-water for four days, they were discovered and taken on board the *Yarmouth*. Captain Biddle, who perished in the *Randolph*, was universally lamented,



Loss of the Randolph.



Captain Biddle.

as his courage and skill had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country.

Another naval affair happened during the year, which was highly creditable to the Americans engaged in it. Major Talbot, with a number of troops on board of a small vessel, attacked the British schooner *Pigot*, of eight guns, as she lay on the east side of Rhode Island. After a short resistance, the schooner was captured, and carried off. For this daring exploit, Talbot was made a lieutenant-colonel.

General Lincoln was now appointed to take command of the southern army, which consisted of a few hundred regulars, and a considerable body of militia. He disposed his small force in such a manner as to prevent Prevost from penetrating into south Carolina. A British detachment of 200 men, under Major Gardiner, attempted to take possession of Port Royal; but was encountered by General Moultrie, with about 200 men, and completely defeated.

This repulse restrained the British from attempting any immediate enterprise, northward of Savannah. Being assured that a large number of the inhabitants of Georgia and the Carolinas were friendly to the royal cause, Prevost sent emissaries among them to encourage them to a

general insurrection. Accordingly several hundred loyalists assembled and marched to join the British at Augusta. Among them were many of the most infamous characters in the country, who called themselves "Regulators." On their march they committed such outrages upon the defenceless settlements, that Colonel Pickens collected about 300 militia, pursued them, and came up with them near Kettle Creek. After an action of three-quarters of an hour, the tories were totally routed. About forty were killed, among the number being the leader, Colonel Boyd. The tories were dispersed. Many were captured and tried by the laws of South Carolina for offending against the sedition act; but only five of the ringleaders were executed.

In February, Lincoln's force being much strengthened by militia, he sent General Ashe, with about 1400 men to occupy a post opposite Augusta. Ashe pursued them half way to Savannah, where he took a strong position on Briar Creek. The British at length succeeded in throwing a detachment in his rear, and completely routed his whole force. About 400 of the militia were killed or captured, and the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy. This disastrous affair deprived General Lincoln of one-fourth of his men, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians and the tories of North and South Carolina.

As Prevost was now in complete possession of Georgia and had re-established the royal government, it was expected that he would attempt the reduction of the adjacent states. To prepare for such an emergency, the militia of South Carolina were placed on a better footing, and a regiment of cavalry was raised. John Rutledge, a statesman and orator of great abilities, was called to the chair of government and vested with extraordinary powers. He assembled a large body of militia near the centre of the state, that they might be in readiness to march wherever their service was required.

The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed. Part of the American force, under Moultrie, was posted on the north side of the Savannah, at Purysburg and Black Swamp, while General Lincoln, with the main army, marched to Augusta. Prevost, taking advantage of Lincoln's absence from the passes of the Lower Savannah, crossed into South Carolina, compelled Moultrie to retire before him, and advanced rapidly towards Charleston. Lincoln, informed of this movement, detached a battalion to reinforce Moultrie, and continued his march down the Savannah, with the object of drawing Prevost back. But the British general had resolved to proceed to Charleston. Lincoln then crossed the Savannah and hastened to relieve that place.

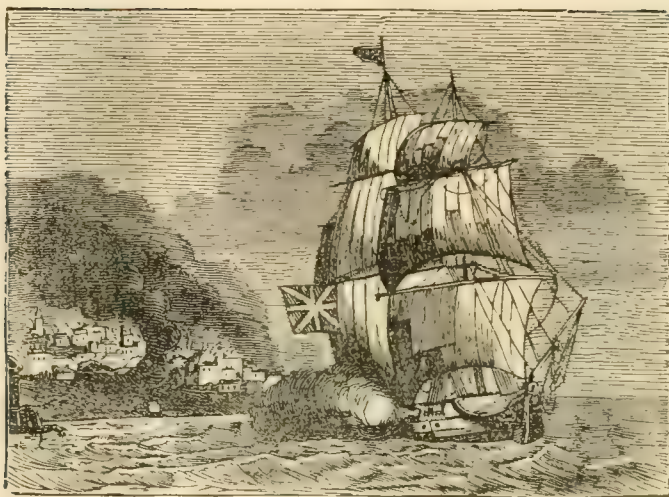


General Moultrie.



IN the meantime, the people of Charleston made every preparation for the defence of the town. All the houses in the suburbs were burnt. Lines and abbatiss were in a few days carried across the peninsula, between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and cannons were mounted at proper intervals on its whole extent. In a short time, a force of 3300 men assembled in the town, under command of Governor Rutledge.

On the 11th of May, Prevost appeared before Charleston, and summoned the Americans to surrender. In order to gain time, Rutledge offered to stipulate the neutrality of South Carolina during the war, leaving it to be decided at the peace to whom it should belong. Prevost refused to agree to such terms. But as Lincoln was rapidly approaching, and the British general did not wish to be placed between two fires, he foraged for some days in the vicinity of Charleston, and then retired into the island of St. John's, carrying with the army a large number of slaves.



The British ravaging Virginia.

A bridge of small vessels was constructed across Stone River, and a redoubt built on the main land for its defence.

Lincoln having arrived, encamped on Charleston Neck. On the 20th of June, at the head of 1200 men, he attacked the British redoubt, and would have carried it but for the appearance of a reinforcement for the garrison. After an action of an hour and twenty minutes, Lincoln retired, having lost about 150 men. Prevost had resolved to retire to Savannah, and soon after the repulse of the Americans, he withdrew from one post to another until he had safely arrived in the capital of Georgia. The American army encamped in the vicinity of Beaufort, at which place a British force of several hundred men, under Colonel Maitland, was stationed.

While the British were plundering South Carolina, Virginia was visited by a detachment of 2500 men, from New York, under General Matthews, which committed similar depredations. Passing up the Chesapeake, the squadron which escorted these troops, captured the town and fort of Portsmouth. Norfolk and Gosport fell into the hands of the enemy. About 130 merchant-vessels were burned or taken, and several vessels of war on the stocks at Gosport destroyed. Matthews retired with a vast amount of booty, and the damages inflicted by the expedition were estimated at not less than \$2,000,000.

As soon as this armament returned to New York, Clinton, with a strong squadron and 6000 men, ascended the Hudson with the object of attacking the American posts at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point. As the works



Putnam's Escape.

at Stony Point were unfinished, the garrison abandoned them on the approach of the enemy, and Verplanck's Point, invested on the land side and commanded by the guns of Stony Point, was soon surrendered. Garrisons were placed in the conquered posts, which commanded the great road from the Eastern to the Middle States, and so constant a source of annoyance did they become, that Washington was forced to change the position of his army in order to cover the country more effectually.

Early in July, General Tryon, with 2600 men, sailed up Long Island Sound, landed in Connecticut, plundered New Haven, burned Fairfield and Norwalk, and committed the worst outrages attendant upon warfare. About this time, General Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading, in Connecticut, when on a visit to his out-post, at Horse Neck, was attacked by Governor Tryon, with about 1500 men. General Putnam had only a picket of 150 men, and two iron field-pieces, without horses or drag-ropes. He however planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and, by several fires, retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition, till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were about to charge. General Putnam, after ordering the picket to provide for their safety by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly 100 stone, for the accommodation of foot-passengers. The dragoons stopped short, without venturing down the abrupt declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach. Of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and, having strengthened his picket with some militia, faced about, and pursued Governor Tryon on his return.



Storming of Stony Point.

While preparing for an attack upon New London, Tryon was ordered to return to New York. The whole British loss during the expedition did not exceed 150 men.

At mid-day, on the 15th of July, the detachment appointed to surprise the fort marched from Sandy Beach, fourteen miles distant from Stony Point, under the command of General Wayne. The road was mountainous, rugged, and difficult; the heat was intense; and it was eight in the evening before the van of the party reached Spring Heels, a mile and a half from the fort. There the detachment halted and formed, while General Wayne and some of his officers proceeded to take a view of the works. At half-past eleven the party, in two columns, advanced towards the garrison. One hundred and fifty volunteers, under Colonel Fleury and Major Povey, formed the van of the right; 100 volunteers, led by Major Stewart, composed the van of the left. Both advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, and each was preceded by a forlorn hope of twenty men, conducted by lieutenants Gibbon and Knox, to remove the abatis and other obstructions, and to open a passage for the columns which followed close in their rear. Having taken care to secure every person on the route who could give information of their approach, the columns reached the marsh undiscovered. In crossing it, unexpected difficulties occurred; and it was twenty minutes past twelve when the attack commenced. A tremendous discharge of musketry and grape-shot immediately opened on the assailants; but both columns impetuously

rushed forward with fixed bayonets, and without firing a shot soon got complete possession of the fort.

This was a brilliant exploit; and the assailants gained nobler and more permanent laurels by their humanity than their bravery; for although the place was taken by storm, and the American troops were greatly exasperated by the merciless ravages and wanton devastations committed on the coast of Connecticut, yet not one individual of the garrison suffered after resistance ceased. Of the garrison twenty men were killed in the conflict, including one captain; and seventy-four wounded, among whom were six officers. The Americans had sixty-three men killed, including two officers; but their wounded did not exceed forty. Of the twenty men in Lieutenant Gibbon's forlorn hope, seventeen were either killed or wounded. The prisoners amounted to 543, and among them were one lieutenant-colonel, four captains, and twenty subaltern officers. The military stores in the fort were considerable.

An attack on Fort Lafayette was part of the plan; and two brigades, under General M'Dougall, were ordered to proceed towards it, and to be in readiness to attack it as soon as they should be informed of General Wayne's success against Stony Point. But M'Dougall was not forward in time; and the garrison of Fort Lafayette, where Colonel Webster commanded, had time to prepare for resistance. Wayne turned the artillery of Stony Point against the British ships, and compelled them to drop down the river beyond the reach of his guns. He also fired on Verplanck's Point; but so great was the distance that his shot made little impression on the works. The critical moment for assaulting Fort Lafayette having been lost, the plan of operation against it was changed. M'Dougall's detachment was intrusted to General Howe, and he was provided with some battering cannon, to make a breach in the fortifications; but, before he was ready to act against the place, he found it expedient to retreat.

Immediately after the conference with Sir George Collier, Sir Henry Clinton was informed of the surprise of Stony Point, and of the danger of Fort Lafayette. He instantly abandoned his design against New London and the coast of Connecticut; recalled his transports and troops from the Sound; moved his army to Dobb's Ferry; despatched General Stirling up the river with a body of troops in transports to the assistance of Colonel Webster; and soon followed in person with a larger force, in the expectation that General Washington would be induced to leave his strong position, and hazard a battle, for the possession of Stony Point. But the failure of the design against Fort Lafayette rendered the possession of Stony Point a matter of no great importance; because the works



Sir George Collier's Expedition on the Penobscot.

on Verplanck's Point effectually prevented the communication by King's Ferry between the states on the east and west of the Hudson; and the command of that ferry constituted the chief value of the forts on Stony Point and Verplanck's Neck, as, when it was closed, the intercourse with the eastern states could be kept up only by a very circuitous route. Stony Point, it was thought, could not be retained without a garrison of 1500 men; a force General Washington could not spare from his little army, which was not more than 9000 strong. Besides, as the British had the entire command of the river, they had fortified Stony Point only on the land side; but, if the Americans had kept possession of the post, it would have been as necessary to fortify it towards the river as towards the land. Therefore General Washington deemed it expedient to evacuate the place, after having to a certain extent demolished the works.

On his arrival, Sir Henry Clinton again took possession of Stony Point; ordered the fortifications to be repaired; stationed a strong garrison in the fort, under Brigadier-General Stirling; and, finding that General Washington could not be drawn from his strong position in the highlands, he again sailed down the river.

Nineteen armed vessels under Captain Saltonstall, conveyed 1500 militia, under General Lovell, to the Penobscot. On the 26th of July, Lovell effected a landing, with the loss of 100 men. But an assault upon the British works not appearing practicable, he was obliged to withdraw, and send back to Boston for a reinforcement. The news of this expedition having been carried to New York, Sir George Collier, the English admiral, sailed up the Penobscot with five heavy ships of war. Intending



Henry Lee.

to ascend the river out of the reach of the British ships, the Massachusetts army re-embarked. As the enemy gained upon them, fifteen of the smaller vessels were run on shore and blown up; the rest fell into the hands of the British. The men wandered through a desert region, suffering much for want of food and shelter until they reached the inhabited country. Saltonstall was tried by court-martial, and cashiered.

On the 18th of August, Major Henry Lee, with his corps of about 250 men, surprised the British garrison at Paulus Hook, opposite New York. Thirty of the enemy were killed and 160 taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable. Major Lee, in conformity with his orders, made an immediate retreat. Congress honored him with their thanks, and ordered a gold medal, emblematic of the affair, to be presented to him. In boldness of design, this exploit was equal to the capture of Stony Point.

The war languished in the Northern States. Both commanders had reason to complain of a want of troops. Washington, however, was the most seriously inconvenienced by the deficiency, since he could not detach any troops for the protection of the seaport towns against the attacks of the British vessels of war. Congress had resolved to send an expedition into the country of the Six Nations, to punish them for their constant devastations. But the want of troops and supplies delayed the starting of the army. General Sullivan was appointed to command it. The troops assembled at Wyoming in June. While waiting for the junction of a New York brigade, under General James Clinton, Sullivan might have prevented some Indian outrages. Brandt surprised and burned the village of Minisink, near the northwest corner of New Jersey. About 150 militia marched in pursuit of him, but fell into an ambuscade, from which only thirty escaped.



ON the 22d of August, Sullivan, with about 5000 men, passed up the Chemung branch of the Susquehanna. At Newtown, he encountered a large body of Indians and Tories, under Brandt and Butler. After a short action, they were completely routed, and Sullivan pursued his march through the Indian country, destroying villages and fields of corn. The expedition was very laborious, being made through a thickly wooded country, which had been hitherto almost unexplored.

No attempt was made upon the British post at Niagara, and believing the Tories and Indians to be completely dispersed, Sullivan returned. He soon after resigned his commission in the army. His conduct during the war had not given general satisfaction, and it is evident that he was a better soldier than a general. An ungovernable temper was the source of most of the faults he committed.

Spain was now added to the enemies of Great Britain; yet her haughty and indomitable spirit seemed only spurred to greater exertions by the number of her foes. All attempts on the part of the opposition in parliament to induce the government to adopt conciliatory measures towards the United States failed. Parliament, by a large majority, resolved to support the king against all his enemies.

After repairing his fleet at Boston, Count d'Estaing sailed for the West Indies. Being strongly solicited by General Lincoln, Governor Rutledge and others to act in concert with the southern American army, he sailed

for the continent on the 1st of September, and being reinforced, he reached the coast of Georgia, with twenty sail of the line and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected, that a British ship of the line and three frigates fell into his hands.



AS soon as the arrival of the French fleet was known, General Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched for the vicinity of Savannah, and orders were given for the militia to rendezvous near that place. The British were diligently preparing for the expected attack. Their lines were extended and strengthened. Before the arrival of Lincoln, D'Estaing demanded the surrender of Savannah to the arms of France.

While negotiations were in progress, Prevost was reinforced by the arrival of Colonel Maitland, with several hundred men, and he then determined upon resistance. The next day, the French and Americans effected a junction, and it was resolved to begin the siege. Several days were spent in preparing for it, and in the meantime, the British, under the direction of the able engineer, Major Moncrief, strengthened their works. The besiegers opened their fire from cannon and mortars on the 4th of October. As D'Estaing could not remain upon the coast during the hurricane season, and the engineers informed him that it would require a considerable time to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was resolved to make an assault.

Early on the morning of the 9th of October, two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring Hill battery, by two columns of French and Americans, under Count d'Estaing and General Lincoln. The assailants were received with a heavy and destructive fire, which they withstood for about 55 minutes, and then retreated. Count d'Estaing was severely wounded, and the brave Count Pulaski mortally. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French, and upwards of 200 of the Continentals and militia, were killed or wounded. The British loss was about 55 killed and a considerable number wounded. Immediately after the unsuccessful assault the militia returned to their homes. Count d'Estaing re-embarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

While the siege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprise was effected by Colonel John White, of the Georgia line. Captain French had taken post with about 100 men near the river Ogeechee, some time before the siege began. There were also at the same place, 40 sailors on board of five British vessels, four of which were armed. All these men, together with the vessels and 130 stand of arms, were surrendered,



Death of Pulaski.

October 1st, to Colonel White, Captain Elholm and four others, one of whom was the Colonel's servant. On the preceding night, this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, and adopted the parade of a large encampment. By these, and a variety of deceptive stratagems, Captain French was impressed with an opinion, that nothing but an instant surrender, in conformity to a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force. He therefore gave up, without making any resistance.

At the close of the campaign of 1779, the public mind was in a state of despondency. The alliance with France had not produced the expected results, and the Americans had made very feeble exertions for the support of their cause, while trusting to their allies. Still, in the south, the British forces were confined to Savannah, and in the north, to New York and its vicinity.

The naval efforts of the Americans were considerably limited by the vigilance of the British squadrons. Yet a large number of privateers kept the seas, and several successful cruisers were fitted out in the French ports for the American service. The most distinguished naval commander in the service of the States was Captain John Paul Jones. His name had become formidable in the British seas. Receiving the command of a small squadron, of which the *Le Bon Homme Richard* was the principal vessel, Jones cruised on the coast of England and Scotland, and on the 24th of September, fell in with a fleet of merchantmen from the Baltic,



Commodore John Paul Jones.

conveyed by the frigate *Serapis* and a smaller vessel, named the *Countess of Scarborough*.

The *Serapis* had every advantage over her antagonist; in the number and calibre of guns, and in being more manageable. The last advantage was somewhat lessened, however, by the *Serapis* running her bowsprit between the poop and mizzenmast of the *Bon Homme Richard*, when Jones, with his own hands, lashed it fast, and brought the two vessels together. The ships were thus engaged from half-past eight till half-past ten, the muzzles of their guns touching each other's sides. One of the men in the *Bon Homme Richard* carried a basket of hand-grenades out on the mainyard, and threw them among the crew of the *Serapis*. At half-past eight, one of these combustibles exploded a cartridge-magazine, blew up among the people abaft the main-mast, and rendered all the guns on that side useless. The two ships were frequently on fire during the action, and the spectacle was inexpressibly awful. Finding that he was unable longer to defend his ship, and his convoy having in the mean time escaped to such a distance as to remove any fears of their capture, Captain Pearson of the *Serapis* struck his flag, when Jones immediately transferred his crew on board of her, as the *Bon Homme Richard* was in a sinking condition.

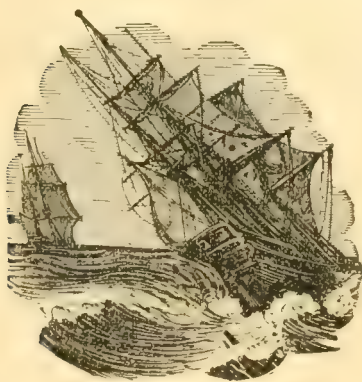
Whilst the action between the two larger vessels was maintained, the

Capture of the Serpis.



Pallas engaged, and after two hours' fighting compelled the Countess of Scarborough to surrender. On the 25th, the Bon Homme Richard, after every exertion on the part of Commodore Jones to save her, went down. Jones sailed to Holland with his prizes, and on the 3d of October anchored off the Texel, having taken during his short cruise prizes estimated to amount to more than £40,000.

In 1780, Commodore Jones took command of the Ariel, a small store-ship of twenty guns, and sailed for the United States; but, losing his masts in a gale, he was obliged to return to L'Orient to refit; and, thus delayed, he did not reach America until February, 1781. The gallant sailor was honored with the thanks of Congress, and a gold medal struck in commemoration of the victory over the Serapis.



Sinking of the Bon Homme Richard.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780 IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, TILL THE DEFEAT OF GATES AT CAMDEN.



THE ease with which the British had overrun Georgia, and the ineffectual resistance of the people of the Southern States, indicated that quarter of the

Union as the most feasible object of attack. Sir Henry Clinton, as soon as he was assured of the departure of the French fleet, and that the army under Washington was too small and poorly provided to make an attempt on New York, resolved to renew offensive operations in the South. Leaving

the powerful garrison of New York under the command of General Knyphausen, he embarked, with fifteen regiments, a powerful detachment of artillery, 250 cavalry, and an ample supply of stores, and sailed under the convoy of a suitable naval force, commanded by Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordnance, most of their artillery and all of their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet arrived at Tybee, in Georgia, January 21, 1780.

One of the transports which had been separated from the fleet was brought into Charleston on the 23d of January, and gave the first certain notice of the destination of the expedition. General Lincoln was in no condition to meet the danger which threatened. His army was a feeble force, unworthy of the name, and the great depreciation of the Continental money made the increase of it a difficult and doubtful matter. Washington detached the North Carolina and Virginia Continental troops to proceed to Charleston; and four American frigates, two French ships of war, with the small marine force of South Carolina under Commodore Whipple, were ordered to co-operate for the defence of the city. No more aid could be expected; yet a full house of assembly resolved to defend Charleston to the last extremity.

Although Sir Henry Clinton had embarked at New York on the 26th of December, 1779, yet, as his voyage had been stormy and tedious, and as some time had been necessarily spent at Savannah, it was on the 11th of February, 1780, before he landed on John's island, thirty miles south from Charleston. Had he even then marched rapidly upon the town, he would probably have entered it without much opposition; but, mindful of his repulse in 1776, his progress was marked with a wary circumspection. He proceeded by the islands of St. John's and St. James, while part of his fleet advanced to blockade the harbor. He sent for a reinforcement from New York, ordered General Prevost to join him with 1100 men from Savannah, and neglected nothing that could ensure success.

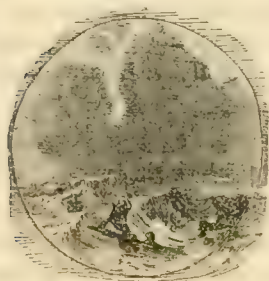


MEANWHILE Governor Rutledge, with such of his council as he could conveniently consult, was invested with a dictatorial authority, and empowered to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen without legal trial. The assembly, after delegating to the governor this power, which was to continue in force until ten days after its next session, dissolved itself.

Governor Rutledge and General Lincoln were indefatigable in improving the time which the slow progress of the royal army afforded them. Six hundred slaves were employed in constructing or repairing the fortifications of the town; vigorous though not very successful measures were taken to bring the militia into the field; and all the small detachments of regular troops were assembled in the capital. The works which had been begun on Charleston Neck, when General Prevost threatened the place, were resumed. A chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, was formed between the Cooper and Ashley. In front of each flank the works were covered by swamps extending from the rivers; these opposite

swamps were connected by a canal; between the canal and the works were two strong rows of abbatiss, and a ditch double picketed, with deep holes at short distances, to break the columns in case of an assault. Towards the water, works were thrown up at every place where a landing was practicable. The vessels intended to defend the bar of the harbor having been found insufficient for that purpose, their guns were taken out and planted on the ramparts, and the seamen were stationed at the batteries. One of the ships, which was not dismantled, was placed in the Cooper River, to assist the batteries; and several vessels were sunk at the mouth of the channel, to prevent the entrance of the royal ships. General Lincoln hoped that, if the town could be for a while defended, such reinforcements would arrive from the north as, together with the militia of the state, would compel Sir Henry Clinton to raise the siege. As the regular troops in the town did not exceed 1400, a council of war found that the garrison was too weak to spare detachments to obstruct the progress of the royal army. Only a small party of cavalry and some light troops were ordered to hover on its left flank, and observe its motions.

While those preparations for defence were going on in Charleston, the British army was cautiously but steadily advancing towards the town. As he proceeded, Sir Henry Clinton erected forts and formed magazines at proper stations, and was careful to secure his communications with those forts and with the sea. All the horses of the British army had perished in the tedious and stormy voyage from New York to Savannah; but on landing in South Carolina, Sir Henry Clinton procured others to mount his dragoons, whom he formed into a light corps, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton. That officer was extremely active in covering the left wing of the army, and in dispersing the militia.



On the 20th of March the British fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four each, four of thirty-two each, and an armed vessel, passed the bar in front of Rebellion Road, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American naval force, under Commodore Whipple, retreated first to Sullivan's Island, and afterwards to Charleston, where, as already mentioned, the ships were dismantled and the

crews employed on the works. On the 9th of April, Admiral Arbuthnot, taking advantage of a strong southerly wind and a flowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie, and anchored just without reach of the guns of Charleston. The fort kept up a heavy fire on the fleet while it was passing within

range of the guns, which did some considerable damage to the ships, and killed or wounded twenty-seven men.

On the 29th of March the royal army reached Ashley River, and crossed it ten miles above the town, without opposition; the garrison being too weak to dispute the passage. Having brought over his artillery, baggage and stores, Sir Henry Clinton marched down Charleston Neck; and, on the night of the 1st of April, broke ground at the distance of 800 yards from the American works.

The fortifications of Charleston were constructed under the direction of Mr. Laumoy, a French engineer of reputation in the American service; and, although not calculated to resist a regular siege, were by no means contemptible: and the British general made his approaches in due form. Meanwhile the garrison received a reinforcement of 700 Continentals under General Woodford; and, after this accession of strength, amounted to about 2000 regular troops, besides 1000 militia of North Carolina, and the citizens of Charleston. Governor Rutledge made every effort to raise the militia of the province, but with little success; for not more than 200 of them were in the capital.

On the 9th of April the British commander finished his first parallel, forming an oblique line between the two rivers, from 600 to 1100 yards from the American works; and mounted his guns in battery. He then, jointly with the admiral, summoned General Lincoln to surrender the town. Lincoln's answer was modest and firm: — "Sixty days," said he, "have passed since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which time was afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity."

On receiving this answer, Sir Henry Clinton immediately opened his batteries; and his fire was soon felt to be superior to that of the besieged. Hitherto the communication with the country north of the Cooper was open, and a post was established to prevent the investiture of the town on that side. After the summons, Governor Rutledge, with half of his council, left the town, for the purpose of exercising the functions of the executive government in the state, and in the hope of being able to bring a large body of the militia to act on the rear or left flank of the besieging army: but the militia were as little inclined to embody themselves as to enter the town.

For the purpose of maintaining the communication with the country north of the Cooper, of checking the British foragers, and of protecting supplies on their way to the town, the American cavalry, under General Huger, had passed the river and taken post at Monk's Corner, thirty



Tarleton's Quarters.

miles above Charleston. Posts of militia were established between the Cooper and Santee, and at a ferry on the last named river, where boats were ordered to be collected in order to facilitate the passage of the garrison, if it should be found necessary to evacuate the town. But the activity and enterprise of the British general defeated all those precautions. For as the possession of the harbor rendered the occupation of the forts to the southward unnecessary, Sir Henry Clinton resolved to call in the troops which had been employed in that quarter, to close the communication of the garrison with the country to the northward, and to complete the investiture of the town. For those purposes, as the fleet was unable to enter the Cooper River, he deemed it necessary to dislodge the American posts, and employed Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton to beat up the quarters of the cavalry at Monk's Corner. Conducted, during the night, by a negro slave, through unfrequented paths, Tarleton proceeded towards the American post; and, although the commander of the party had taken the precaution of placing sentinels a mile in front of his station, and of keeping his horses saddled and bridled, yet Tarleton advanced so rapidly that, notwithstanding the alarm was given by the outposts, he began the attack before the Americans could put themselves in a posture of defence; killed or took about thirty of them, and dispersed the rest. Such as escaped concealed themselves for several days in the swamps. It is said that many of Buford's men were killed while asking for quarter—and after this event, "Tarleton's Quarters" became pro-



Fort Moultrie.

verbial. The horses taken by the British fell very seasonably into their hands, as they were not well mounted. After this decisive blow, it was some time before any armed party of the Americans ventured to show themselves south of the Santee. That part of the country was laid open to the British, who established posts in such a way as completely to enclose the garrison. The arrival of 3000 men from New York greatly increased the strength of the besiegers.

The second parallel was completed; and it daily became more apparent that the garrison must ultimately submit. An evacuation of the town was proposed, and General Lincoln seems to have been favorable to the measure; but the garrison could scarcely have escaped, and the principal inhabitants entreated the general not to abandon them to the fury of the enemy.

The British troops on the north of the Cooper were increased, and Lord Cornwallis was appointed to command in that quarter. On the 20th of April, General Lincoln again called a council of war to deliberate on the measures to be adopted. The council recommended a capitulation; terms were offered, but rejected; and hostilities recommenced. After the besiegers had begun their third parallel, Colonel Henderson made a vigorous sally on their right, which was attended with some success; but, owing to the weakness of the garrison, this was the only attempt of the kind during the siege.

After the fleet passed it, Fort Moultrie became of much less importance than before, and part of the garrison was removed to Charleston. The admiral, perceiving the unfinished state of the works on the west side, prepared to storm it. On the 7th of May, every thing being ready for

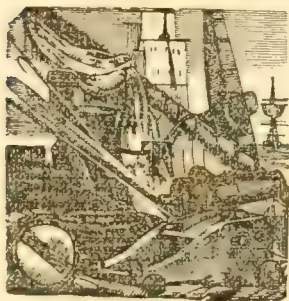


Colonel White.

the assault, he summoned the garrison, consisting of 200 men, who, being convinced of their inability to defend the place, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, without firing a gun. On the same day, the cavalry which had escaped from Monk's Corner, and which had re-assembled under the command of Colonel White, were again surprised and defeated by Colonel Tarleton. After Lord Cornwallis had passed the Cooper, and made himself master of the peninsula between that river and the Santee, he occasionally sent out small foraging parties. Apprised of that circumstance, Colonel White repassed the Santee, fell in with and took one of those parties, and despatched an express to Colonel Buford, who commanded a regiment of new levies from Virginia, requesting him to cover his retreat across the Santee at Lanneau's Ferry, where he had ordered some boats to be collected to carry his party over the river. Colonel White reached the ferry before Buford's arrival, and thinking himself in

no immediate danger, halted to refresh his party. Lord Cornwallis, having received notice of his incursion, despatched Tarleton in pursuit, who, overtaking him a few minutes after he had halted, instantly charged him, killed or took about thirty of the party, and dispersed the rest.

Charleston was now completely invested; all hopes of assistance had been cruelly disappointed; and the garrison and inhabitants were left to their own resources. The troops were exhausted by incessant duty, and insufficient to man the lines. Many of the guns were dismounted, the shot nearly expended, and the bread and meat almost entirely consumed. The works of the besiegers were pushed very near the defences of the town, and the issue of an assault was extremely hazardous to the garrison and inhabitants. In these critical circumstances General Lincoln summoned a council of war, which recommended a capitulation. Terms were accordingly proposed, offering to surrender the town and garrison on condition that the militia and armed citizens should not be prisoners of war, but should be allowed to return home without molestation. These terms were refused; hostilities recommenced, and preparations for an assault were in progress. The citizens, who had formerly remonstrated against the departure of the garrison, now became clamorous for a surrender. In this hopeless state, General Lincoln offered to give up the place, on the terms which Sir Henry Clinton had formerly proposed. This was accepted; and the capitulation was signed May 12th.



THE town and fortifications, the shipping, artillery, and all public stores, were to be given up as they then were; the garrison, consisting of the Continental troops, militia, sailors, and citizens who had borne arms during the siege, were to be prisoners of war; the garrison were to march out of the town, and lay down their arms in front of the works, but their drums were not to beat a British march, and their colours were not to be un-

cased; the Continental troops and sailors were to be conducted to some place afterwards to be agreed on, where they were to be well supplied with wholesome provisions till exchanged; the militia were to be allowed to go home on parole; the officers were to retain their arms, baggage, and servants, and they might sell their horses, but were not permitted to take them out of Charleston; neither the persons nor property of the militia or citizens were to be molested, so long as they kept their parole.

On these terms the garrison of Charleston marched out and laid down their arms, and General Leslie was appointed by the British commander-

in-chief to take possession of the town. The siege was more obstinate than bloody. The besiegers had 76 men killed, and 189 wounded; the besieged had 92 killed, and 148 wounded: about twenty of the inhabitants were killed in their houses by random shots. The number of prisoners reported by the British commander-in-chief amounted to upwards of 5000, exclusive of sailors; but in that return all the freemen of the town capable of bearing arms, as well as the continental soldiers and militia, were included. The number of Continental troops in the town amounted only to 1777, about 500 of whom were in the hospital. The effective strength of the garrison was between 2000 and 3000 men. The besieging army consisted of about 9000 of the best of the British troops.

After the British got possession of the town, the arms taken from the Americans, amounting to 5000 stand, were lodged in a laboratory, near a large quantity of cartridges and loose powder. By incautiously snapping the muskets and pistols, the guard inflamed the powder, which blew up the house; and the burning fragments, which were scattered in all directions, set fire to the workhouse, jail, and old barracks, and consumed them. The British guard stationed at the place, consisting of fifty men, was destroyed, and about as many other persons lost their lives on the disastrous occasion.

General Lincoln had conducted the defence of Charleston as a brave and skilful officer. The reason he was unsuccessful, was plainly the lack of means. He had neither the troops nor the ordnance, to withstand such an army as was brought against him. It was said that he should not have attempted the defence. Yet it was the wish of the people of the state that the capital should be defended, and Congress and the state government had encouraged him to expect reinforcements to increase his army to 9000 men.

The fall of Charleston and the loss of the southern army spread a deep gloom over the aspect of American affairs, and Clinton was fully aware of the impression he had made. In order to maintain the advantages he had gained, and to intimidate still more those who were disposed to resist his arms, he despatched a strong force, under Lord Cornwallis, over the Santee, towards North Carolina, a second detachment into the centre of the province, and a third up the Savannah to Augusta.

In order to secure the complete submission of the Southern States, detachments were posted at various commanding points, and measures adopted for establishing the civil administration. So fully was Clinton convinced of the subjugation of the country, that on the 3d of June, he issued a proclamation, in which he exhorted the people to aid in settling the disputes between the mother country and the provinces, discharged



Lord Cornwallis.

the militia who had been made prisoners from their parole, and restored them to the rights and duties of loyal subjects. It was understood from this proclamation, that neutrality would not be permitted. If the people did not support the standard of independence, they must enter the royal service. As peace was what most desired, and as this was denied to them, the effect of the proclamation was to kindle indignation and resentment, and to increase the number and spirit of the friends of the cause of independence. On the 5th of June, Sir Henry Clinton sailed for New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis, with 4000 men, to maintain and prosecute his conquests.

An unusual calm of six weeks ensued. The British forces were considerably strengthened by the raising of loyalist corps among the people.



Sumpter.

The rigorous measures of Lord Cornwallis secured the tranquillity of the people for a while, but his severity kindled the resentment of those who were awed by his power. The military government itself was oppressive, but the inhabitants were also compelled to endure the insults of the soldiery and the exactions of a haughty conqueror. Many waited an opportunity to show their hostility to the invaders, and such an opportunity soon presented itself.

In the end of March, Washington had despatched the troops of the Maryland and Delaware line with some artillery, under the veteran commander, Baron de Kalb, to reinforce the southern army. The detachment met with many obstructions in its passage southward. It could not be put in motion when the order was given. On its march from Petersburg, Virginia, the troops were obliged to spread themselves over the country in small parties in order to collect corn enough for their subsistence. In this way they proceeded through the upper part of North Carolina to

Hillsborough and prepared to march to Salisbury, where they expected to be joined by the North Carolina militia.

The approach of this force induced many of the militia who had suffered from the oppressions of the enemy to take the field. About 200 of them assembled on the frontier of North Carolina and placed themselves under the command of Colonel Sumpter. That active officer immediately made an incursion into South Carolina, skirmished with the loyalist militia, obtained considerable advantages, and encouraged the friends of Congress to take the field. His force soon increased to 600 men, and Lord Cornwallis found that the spirit of resistance was again fully awake. He was obliged to call in his outposts and to strengthen his detachments.



GENERAL GATES was appointed to the command of the Southern Army by Congress on the 13th of June. The brilliant success of that officer at Saratoga had thrown a lustre around his name which, it was hoped, would give the people of the south confidence in him, and thus lead on to victory. Gates proceeded southward without delay, and on the 25th of July, arrived at the camp on Deep River. The army

consisted of about 2000 men, and considerable reinforcements were expected from Virginia and North Carolina. De Kalb had resolved to turn out of the direct road to Camden, in order that he might establish magazines and hospitals in convenient places, in a plentiful country. But Gates determined to pursue the straight route towards the British encampment, although it lay through a barren country.

On the 27th of July, he put his army in motion, and soon experienced the difficulties which De Kalb had been desirous to avoid. Supplies of provisions were obtained only with great exertions, and the scant diet, together with the intense heat and unhealthy climate, engendered disease and threatened destruction to the army. Gates at length reached a more fertile and hospitable region. Having effected a junction with a large body of militia, under General Caswell, and a body of troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Porterfield, he arrived at Rugely's Mills on the 13th of August. The next day, the Virginia militia, about 700 men, under General Stevens, arrived at Rugely's Mills, and an express was received from Sumpter, stating that an escort of clothing and ammunition from Ninety-Six would pass the Wateree at a ford covered by a small fort, not far from Camden. Gates immediately detached 400 men to reinforce

Sumpter, to whom he gave orders to reduce the fort and intercept the convoy.

Meanwhile he advanced towards Camden, with the intention of taking a position about seven miles from that place. For that purpose, he put his army in motion on the evening of the 15th of August, having sent his sick, and heavy baggage, under a guard, to the Waxhaws. The American army did not exceed 4000 men, of which number only 900 were regular troops, and 70 cavalry.



THE British force was so reduced by sickness, that Lord Cornwallis could only assemble 2000 men at Camden. As that place was not well calculated for defence, and a retreat to Charleston would be attended with disastrous results, the British General resolved to push forward and strike an immediate and decisive blow. Accordingly, he marched at the same time Gates had left Rugely's Mills. About two on the morning of the 16th of August, the advanced guards met unexpectedly in the woods, and in the skirmish which ensued the Americans were driven back. The nature of the ground was such that they could not avail themselves of their superior numbers. Both armies now prepared for the conflict which was to begin with the day.

Cornwallis formed his men in two divisions, the right under Colonel Webster, and the left under Lord Rawdon. In front were four field-pieces, and in the rear about 300 cavalry and the reserve. Gates placed the second Maryland brigade upon the right, the North Carolina militia in the centre, and the Virginia militia, the light infantry, and Colonel Armand's legion composed the left. The artillery was placed between the divisions, and the first Maryland brigade stationed in the rear as a reserve.

At dawn of day, Cornwallis ordered the British right wing to attack the American left, which, as we have said, was composed almost entirely of militia. As Webster advanced, the militia delivered a desultory fire, and then threw down their arms and fled, in spite of the efforts of Gates and their general officers to rally them. Tarleton, with his legion, eagerly pursued and cut down the fugitives, and Gates with a few friends hastened to Charlotte, 80 miles from the field of battle. The Baron de Kalb, at the head of the 900 Continentals was exposed to the attack of the whole British army. Yet they stood their ground and fought like heroes. The combat with the British left, under Lord Rawdon, was



Lord Rawdon.

maintained with desperate valor. But the American flanks were exposed; and Colonel Webster, after defeating the militia, attacked them at once in front and flank. Still a fierce and obstinate contest was maintained. At length, the brave De Kalb, while fighting on foot at the head of his men, fell, having received eleven wounds. His aid-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Du Buysson, endeavored to save him from the fury of the foe by announcing his name and nation. He was wounded in the attempt; but a British officer coming up, ordered every attention to be paid to the unfortunate De Kalb. He was a German by birth, and had been long in the French service. When taken, he would scarcely believe that Gates was defeated.

The Americans were now attacked by the whole force of the enemy and thrown into confusion. The defeat was total. Every corps of the



Fall of De Kalb at Camden.

Americans was broken and dispersed. About 200 wagons, a great part of the baggage, military stores and small arms, and all the artillery, fell into the hands of the victors. This decisive victory cost the British only 80 men killed and 245 wounded. Of the Americans, 800 or 900 were killed or wounded and about 1000 taken prisoners. A large number of the militia were killed during the pursuit. De Kalb was treated with all possible attention by the enemy, but expired a few hours after the battle.

While the army under Gates was completely defeated and dispersed, Colonel Sumpter was successful in his enterprise. On the night of the 15th of August, he reduced the fort on the Wateree, captured the convoy and made about 100 prisoners. On hearing of the defeat of Gates, Sumpter, aware of his danger, hastily retreated up the south side of the Wateree. On the 17th, Cornwallis sent Tarleton with his legion and a detachment of infantry in pursuit of him. That officer proceeded with his usual rapidity, and on the night of the 18th surprised the encampment of the Americans, and after a short resistance, killed, wounded or captured the greater part of them. Sumpter escaped. All his baggage, stores and prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy.

By the complete defeat and dispersion of the army under General

Gates and of Sumpter's partisan corps, South Carolina and Georgia were laid prostrate at the feet of the royal forces, and their conquest was deemed secure.

How far such a state of things was the result of Gates' conduct, it is scarcely possible to speak with certainty. General Greene considered the risking of a battle under the circumstances a grave military error, but, in other respects, expressed his approval of the course pursued by Gates, as well as great confidence in his ability. No better authority can be quoted.



Battle of Camden.



Colonel Armand.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN OF 1780.



WHILE disaster hung upon the efforts of the Americans in the south, events occurring in the north added to the apparent hopelessness of their cause. Towards the end of 1779, Washington's army went into winter-quarters, the main body taking possession of the huts at Morristown, and strong detachments being posted at West Point, and other places on the Hudson.

The winter set in with much severity. The channels of transportation

were closed, and the troops were reduced to great distress for the want of provisions. But by the zeal and activity of the people, a suffi-



Specimens of Continental Bills

cient quantity of supplies was soon brought into camp. The garrison of New York consisted of about 10,000 men, under General Knyphausen. By the closing of the rivers, the city was exposed on every side. Knyp-hausen strengthened the works, and made every preparation for an attack ; but he was secure, from the weakness of the American army.

The British had a post at Staten Island ; and as the ice opened a free communication between the island and the Jersey coast, Washington, notwithstanding the feeble condition of his army, resolved to attack the garrison, and appointed Lord Stirling to conduct the enterprise. The night of the 14th of January was chosen for the attempt. Though the American commander took every precaution to conceal his intention, the British commanding officer on Staten Island discovered it and adopted such measures as were deemed necessary to defeat it. The attack was repulsed with but little loss on either side. Several skirmishes occurred between the foraging parties of the hostile armies, but nothing of an important character was attempted during the remainder of the winter.

Congress now found itself placed in difficult circumstances. It had resolved not to issue over \$200,000,000 in Continental bills of credit. In November, 1779, the whole of that sum was issued and expended also. As the treasury was empty, and no money could be raised, Congress, on the 23d of February, resolved to call on the several states for their proportions of provisions and forage, for the maintenance of the army during the ensuing campaign ; but specified no time within which these were to be collected. Consequently, the states were in no haste to send forward their supplies.

The troops were ill-clothed, their pay was in arrear, and that of the officers, owing to the great depreciation of the paper currency, was wholly unequal to their decent maintenance. These multiplied privations and sufferings soured the temper of the men; and it required all the influence of their revered commander to prevent many of the officers from resigning their commissions. The long continuance of want and hardship produced relaxation of discipline, which at length manifested itself in open mutiny. On the 25th of May, two regiments belonging to Connecticut paraded under arms, with the avowed intention of returning home, or of obtaining subsistence at the point of the bayonet. The rest of the soldiers, though they did not join in the mutiny, showed little disposition to suppress it. At length the two regiments were brought back to their duty; but much murmuring and many complaints were heard. While the army was in such want, the inhabitants of New Jersey, where most of the troops were stationed, were unavoidably harassed by frequent requisitions, which excited considerable discontent.



REPORTS of the mutinous state of the American army, and of the dissatisfaction of the people of Jersey, probably much exaggerated, were carried to General Knyphausen; who, believing the American soldiers ready to desert their standards, and the inhabitants of Jersey willing to abandon the union, on the 6th of June, passed from Staten Island to Elizabethtown in Jersey, with 5000 men. That movement was intended to encourage the mutinous disposition

of the American troops, and to fan the flame of discontent among the inhabitants of the province. Early next morning, he marched into the country towards Springfield by the way of Connecticut Farms, a flourishing plantation, so named because the cultivators had come from Connecticut. But even before reaching that place, which was only five or six miles from Elizabethtown, the British perceived that the reports which they had received concerning the discontent of the Americans were incorrect; for on the first alarm, the militia assembled with great alacrity, and, aided by some small parties of regular troops, annoyed the British by an irregular but galling fire of musketry, wherever the nature of the ground presented a favorable opportunity: and although those parties were no where strong enough to make a stand, yet they gave plain indications of the temper and resolution which were to be encountered in advancing into the country.

At Connecticut Farms, the British halted, and, knowing the zealous

attachment of the settlers to the American cause, laid the flourishing village, with its church and the minister's house, in ashes. Mrs. Caldwell, the minister's wife, was shot while in the midst of her children. The atrocious deed excited general horror, and roused the resentment of the neighboring country.

After destroying the Connecticut Farms, Knyphausen advanced towards Springfield, where a large body of Jersey militia was advantageously posted. But he had met with a reception so different from what he had expected, that he withdrew during the night to Elizabethtown, without making an attempt on the American post. Washington upon hearing of the invasion, had advanced to the hills behind Springfield, and formed his army in order for fighting. The retreat of the British rendered a battle unnecessary. They were followed by an American detachment, which attacked their rear-guard next morning, but was repulsed. The enemy lingered in the vicinity of Elizabethtown, while Washington, with less than 5000 men, remained upon the hills near Springfield, being too weak to hazard an engagement, except upon ground of his own choice.

On the 18th of June, Sir Henry Clinton, with about 5000 men, arrived at New York from South Carolina. Directed at any one point, the British army would have been irresistible. The Americans could only act upon the defensive, presenting as bold a front as possible. Clinton embarked a large body of troops, and awakened the fears of Washington lest he should sail up the Hudson and attack the posts in the highlands. In order to be in readiness to resist such attacks, the American commander left Greene at Springfield, with 700 regulars, the Jersey militia, and some cavalry, and proceeded towards Pompton, with the main body of the army.



SIR HENRY Clinton, after having perplexed the Americans by his movements, early on the morning of the 23d of June, rapidly advanced in full force from Elizabethtown towards Springfield. General Greene hastily assembled his scattered detachments, and apprised General Washington of the march of the royal army, who instantly returned to support Greene's division. The British marched in two columns; one on the main road leading to Springfield, and the other on the Vauxhall road. General Greene scarcely had time

to collect his troops at Springfield, and make the necessary dispositions, when the royal army appeared before the town, and a cannonade imme-



Lafayette embarking for America.

diately began. A fordable rivulet with bridges corresponding to the different roads, runs in front of the place. Greene had stationed parties to guard the bridges, and they obstinately disputed the passage; but after a smart conflict they were overpowered, and compelled to retreat. Greene then fell back, and took post on a range of hills, where he expected to be again attacked. But the British, instead of attempting to pursue their advantage, contented themselves with setting fire to the village, and laying the greater part of it in ashes. Discouraged by the obstinate resistance they had received, and ignorant of the weakness of the detachment which opposed them, they immediately retreated to Elizabethtown, pursued with the utmost animosity by the militia, who were provoked at the burning of Springfield. They arrived at Elizabethtown about sunset; and continuing their march to Elizabeth Point, began at midnight to pass over to Staten Island. Before six next morning they had entirely evacuated the Jerseys, and removed the bridge of boats which communicated with Staten Island.

Washington was informed of Sir Henry Clinton's march soon after the British left Elizabethtown; but though he hastily returned, the skirmish at Springfield was over before he reached the vicinity.

After Clinton left the Jerseys, Washington planned an enterprise against a British post at Bergen Point on the Hudson, opposite New York, garrisoned by 70 loyalists. It was intended to reduce the post, and carry off a number of cattle on Bergen Neck. General Wayne, with a respectable force, marched against the post, which consisted of a block-house, covered by an abatis and palisade. Wayne pointed his artillery against the block-house, but his field-pieces made no impression on the logs. He then attempted to storm the works, but was repulsed with



Robert Morris.

considerable loss. He succeeded, however, in driving off most of the cattle.

On the commencement of hostilities in Europe, the Marquis de Lafayette returned home to offer his services to his king, still, however, retaining his rank in the army of Congress. He exerted all his influence with the court of Versailles to gain its effectual support of the United States, and was successful. Louis XVI. resolved to assist the Americans by sea and land. Having gained this important point, and perceiving that there was no need of his military services in Europe, Lafayette obtained leave to return to America. He landed at Boston, towards the end of April, and soon after informed Washington of the powerful succor he might expect from France.

The situation of the American commander-in-chief was perplexing in the extreme. His army was feeble, and he could form no plan for the campaign, till he knew what force would be at his command. He made pressing appeals to Congress and to the several state legislatures, for



Count Rochambeau.

troops and supplies. Congress recommended, but the states were dilatory, The army was nominally fixed at 35,000 men.

In the month of June, a voluntary subscription was entered into in Philadelphia for the purpose of providing bounties to recruits filling up the Pennsylvania line. A number of gentlemen, of whom Robert Morris was the most distinguished for wealth and ability, established a bank for procuring those supplies for the army, which Congress was unable to obtain, and without which the army must have been disbanded.

In the midst of these preparations, the French fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line, with frigates and smaller vessels, under the Chevalier de Ternay, having about 6000 troops on board commanded by General, the Count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island, on the evening of

the 10th of July. Forewarned by the British ministry of the destination of the French fleet, Sir Henry Clinton made seasonable preparations to meet it. After considerable delay, he embarked 6000 troops on board of Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet, intending to proceed through the Sound, and attack the French at Newport. In the meantime Count de Rochambeau, aided by General Keith, called in the militia of the neighboring states, and appeared so formidable, that Clinton, despairing of success, returned to New York, which was threatened by Washington.

A plan of combined operations against New York was drawn up by Washington and sent to the French commander by Lafayette, who went to Newport, to concert measures with the allies. It was agreed, however, that nothing could be done, until the arrival of the fleet of Count de Guichen which would give the French a superiority, and enable them to blockade the English fleet in New York harbor. The instructions of the French government to Count de Rochambeau were calculated to insure harmony between the allied forces. The general and his troops were to be in all cases under the command of Washington; and American officers were to take precedence of French officers of equal rank.

The English Admiral Arbuthnot, having a decided naval superiority, blockaded the French in the harbor of Newport, and Rochambeau's army was obliged to remain there for its protection. This state of things continued during the season, and no military enterprise was undertaken. Both parties stood upon the defensive, watching each other's motions, and depending on the operations of the British and French fleets. Washington met Count de Rochambeau at Hartford, in Connecticut, on the 21st of September, but no plan of action could be agreed upon that did not depend upon the French fleet gaining the superiority.

While it was expected that the year 1780 would pass away without any remarkable event occurring in the northern states, both parties were aroused and deeply affected by occurrences, which, by the Americans at least, were totally unexpected. These were the treachery of General Arnold and the execution of Major André.

No officer had acquired higher renown for military talents, daring and activity than Benedict Arnold. At Ticonderoga, Quebec, on Lake Champlain, at Danbury and Saratoga, he had won the freshest laurels, and his exploits were worthy themes for song and story. When the British evacuated Philadelphia, he was appointed to the command in that city, as his wounds prevented him from going into active service. Fond of show, extravagant in his style of living, and unscrupulous in the choice of means to satisfy his desires, he became deeply involved in pecuniary difficulties. Heavy charges were brought against him, which were referred to a court-



Major André.

martial. His claims against the United States were not positively proven to be fraudulent, but circumstances were developed which authorized a strong suspicion of his integrity. After a thorough investigation, the court-martial sentenced him to receive a public reprimand from the commander-in-chief.

Arnold was excessively proud and arrogant, and the sentence of the court deeply wounded him. To revenge what he deemed an insult and to renew his fortune, he resolved to become a traitor to his country. Fifteen months before the consummation of the crime, he began a secret correspondence with Major André, the adjutant-general of the British army. The more easily to effect his designs, he, in the month of August, 1780, solicited and obtained the command of West Point and the other posts of the Highlands. From that time, it was his aim to surrender that im-

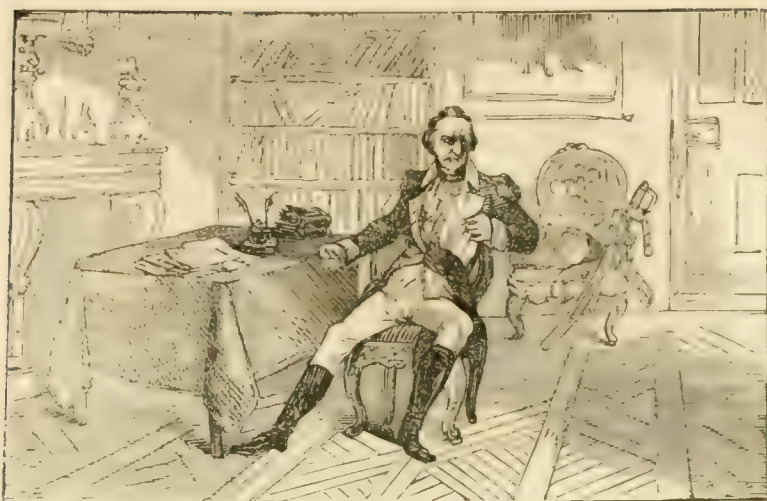


Capture of André

portant post into the hands of the enemy, in order to make his treason valuable.

The visit of Washington to Hartford was considered a fit opportunity for bringing matters to a crisis. In his correspondence with the British commanders, Arnold requested him to send a confidential person to hold a conference with him. Unfortunately, the amiable and accomplished Major André was selected for the conclusion of a work he had begun. The Vulture sloop-of-war ascended the Hudson and anchored in Haverstraw Bay, and on the night of the 21st of September, André went ashore, and remained in conference with Arnold till the dawn of day, when, the business not being finished, Arnold persuaded him to go to the house of Joshua Smith, near the river. There André remained concealed during the day; Arnold having concluded his arrangements, returned to West Point.

The boatmen refusing to convey him to the Vulture, André had no alternative but to endeavor to reach New York by land. Changing his regimentals for a suit of citizen's clothes, and taking with him a written pass in which the bearer was called John Anderson, he set out from Smith's house on the night of the 22d. The next day, while riding alone towards New York, he was suddenly stopped by three militiamen, Paulding, Williams and Van Wart. They searched him and found papers secreted in his boots. Inferring that he was a spy, they refused his tempting offers for release, and conducted him to the out-post at North Castle. Colonel Jameson, the commander at that post, examined the

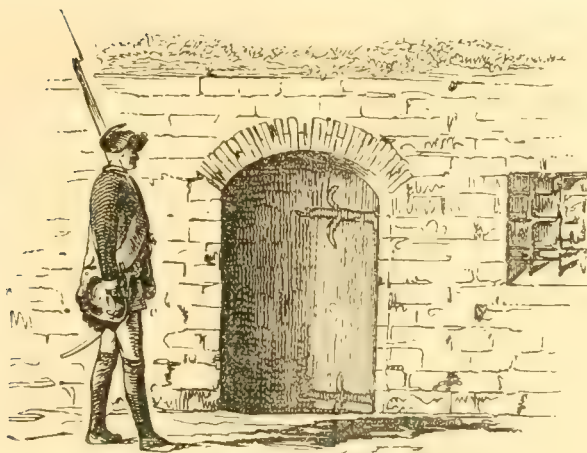


Arnold receiving the news of the Capture of André.

papers, knew them to be of a very extraordinary character, yet was amazed and bewildered. He sent a letter to Arnold informing him of the capture of a man calling himself John Anderson, and of some papers of a dangerous tendency. He also sent an express to Washington, then supposed to be returning by the Hartford road, with a letter and the papers found upon André's person. The next morning, André was sent to Colonel Sheldon's quarters, at New Salem, for greater security.

Being now convinced that there was no hope of escape, he wrote a letter to Washington, revealing his true name and character. Washington returned from Hartford by the upper route, and consequently the express, which had taken the lower route, did not meet him, but came back to North Castle. The commander-in-chief pursued his journey by way of Fishkill, to West Point. Two or three hours before he reached Arnold's house, the messenger arrived there with the letter from Jameson, by which Arnold was informed of the capture of André. Pretending that he was suddenly called to West Point, he mounted a horse standing at the door, rode to the river, entered his barge, and ordered the boatmen to row down towards the Vulture. As the boat neared Verplanck's Point, Arnold displayed a white handkerchief, and was allowed to pass without interruption. He reached the Vulture in safety.

Washington arrived at Arnold's house, and went over to West Point, without hearing anything of him. On his return, in the afternoon, he received the letter from André, and the papers found in his boots. The



André's Prison.

plot was now plainly perceived. Washington instantly took measures to secure the posts in the Highlands, and made an unavailing effort to overtake the traitor.

André was first removed to West Point, and then to Tappan. A board of officers was summoned, Greene being president, to inquire into the nature of André's offence, and to determine the punishment which it deserved. After a thorough investigation, the board reported that Major André came on shore in the night, to hold a secret interview with General Arnold, that he disguised himself, was taken with papers in his possession containing intelligence for the enemy; and that he ought to be considered as a spy, and according to the law and usage of nations, ought to suffer death. Washington approved the decision. He was reluctant to agree to the condemnation of such an amiable and noble-spirited young officer, but duty demanded the sacrifice of feeling. Clinton made every effort to save André, and most of the Americans regretted his hard fate, since he had won the esteem of friends and foes. Major André was executed at Tappan on the 2d of October. Although it was his earnest desire to die a soldier's death, he bore that of a felon with a resignation and fortitude which evidenced the nobility of his spirit.

Arnold had the effrontery to write to Washington, attesting such facts as he believed favorable to André. But what reliance could be placed upon the testimony of a man capable of such foul treason? He also threatened the general with retaliation—an evidence that he knew but little of that lofty-minded man. The traitor endeavored to vindicate his conduct, by pleading hostility to the alliance with France; and attempted

to induce others to follow his example. But it was well known that his treason began before the alliance with France was consummated, and that selfish motives only had urged him to the step he had taken.

After the events just related, the only important military enterprise undertaken during the campaign, was accomplished by Major Talmadge. On the 28th of November, he crossed the Sound with about 80 men, made a circuitous march of twenty miles to Fort George, and reduced it without any other loss than one private wounded. He killed or wounded eight of the enemy, captured a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and 55 privates.

As winter approached, both armies went into winter-quarters. Washington stationed the Pennsylvania line at Morristown, the New Jersey line about Pompton, the New England troops in West Point and its vicinity, and the New York troops at Albany. Towards the close of the year, an agreement for an exchange of prisoners was entered into by the opposing commanders.



Colonel Humphreys, Aid to General Washington



General Greene.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTH AFTER THE BATTLE OF CAMDEN.



THE history of the movements of the opposite parties in the South after the battle of Camden, is a detail of suffering and fortitude upon one side, and of cruelty and reckless abuse of power upon the other. On the 17th and 18th of August, about 150 of Gates's army rendezvoused at Charlotte. As there was no magazine of provisions in the town, and it was without defences, it was resolved to retreat to Salisbury. The retreat was attended with hurry, confusion, poverty and suffering. From Salisbury the remnant of an army retired to Hillsborough. At that place, General Gates concerted measures with the government of North Carolina, for renewing military operations.

Though there was no army to oppose Lord Cornwallis, yet the season and the reduced condition of his army, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. By the complete dispersion of the Continental forces the state of South Carolina was in his power, yet he resolved to make "assurance doubly sure," by resorting to measures of the greatest severity.



N a few days after the battle of Camden, when his lordship thought the country was lying prostrate at his feet, he addressed the following letter to the commandant of the British garrison at Ninety Six:—"I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this province who have subscribed, and taken part in the revolt, should be punished with the

utmost rigor; and also those who will not turn out, that they may be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have also ordered that compensation should be made out of these estates to the persons who have been injured or oppressed by them. I have ordered, in the most positive manner, that every militiaman who has borne arms with us, and afterwards joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged. I desire you will take the most vigorous measures to punish the rebels in the district you command, and that you obey, in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this letter relative to the inhabitants of the country." Similar orders were given to the commanders of other posts.

In any circumstances, such orders given to officers, often possessing little knowledge, and as little prudence or humanity, could not fail to produce calamitous effects. In the case under consideration, where all the worst passions of the heart were irritated and inflamed, the consequences were lamentable. The orders were executed in the spirit in which they were given. Numbers of persons were put to death: many were imprisoned, and their property was destroyed or confiscated. The country was covered with blood and desolation, rancor and grief. Women and children were turned to the door, and their houses and substance consumed.

A number of persons of much respectability remained prisoners of war in Charleston. As they absolutely and firmly refused to exchange their parole for the protection of British subjects, Cornwallis ordered them to be carried out of the province. Accordingly, on the 27th of August, they were put on board a vessel in the harbor, and sent to St. Augustine. General Moultrie remonstrated against the removal of these persons, but without avail. Power would not listen to justice. The severity of the



British commander caused many to become British subjects to save their lives and property, but kindled the resentment and strengthened the resolution of those whose friendship or enmity was of more account.

We have seen that Sumpter with a small band, penetrated into South Carolina, and revived the spirit of the friends of independence. Soon after that event, he was appointed a brigadier-general by Governor Rutledge. The same rank was given to Francis Marion, who, with a small, but active and resolute band, carried on a partisan warfare in the north-eastern part of the state, and succeeded in keeping alive the spirit of resistance. Various schemes were tried to prevent the inhabitants from co-operating with him. Major Wemys burned scores of houses on the Pedee, Lynch's Creek, and Black River, belonging to those who were supposed to assist him. For several months, Marion and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the recesses of deep swamps. The number of these partisans was much increased by the severities of the enemy, and although often distressed for arms and

ammunition, they harassed the British detachments, captured convoys and made their activity felt whenever possible. Their exploits were of a daring, and often singular, character. After the defeat of the Americans at Camden, Marion rescued a party of Continental prisoners who were under a British guard. So ill was he provided with arms, that he was obliged to forge the saws of the saw-mills into rude swords for his horsemen; and so scanty was his ammunition, that he often engaged when he had not three cartridges to a man. He secured himself from Tarleton's pursuit, in the forests and swamps, with which he was so well acquainted.

Cornwallis made every exertion to embody the well-affected inhabitants of the country, and to form them into a British militia. For that purpose, he sent emissaries into various quarters. Major Ferguson, with a small detachment, was sent into the district of Ninety-Six, to train the loyalists, and attach them to his own party. Ferguson was very active, and soon collected about 1500 men. The spirit of enterprise beginning to revive, prompted Colonel Clarke, with a few hundred men, to make an attempt upon the British post at Augusta; but, after a severe conflict, he failed and was compelled to retreat. Ferguson, with the hope of intercepting his party, kept near the mountains and at a considerable distance from support. These circumstances, together with the depredations of the loyalists, induced the hardy borderers west of the mountains to attempt the reduction of that distinguished partisan. Without any apparent design, a considerable number of parties assembled under their respective commanders. They amounted to 1600 men, their principal officers being Colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Shelby and Sevier. Being all mounted and free from encumbrance, they moved rapidly in search of Ferguson, who, apprised of his danger, had begun to retreat. In the vicinity of Gilbert Town, the American commanders selected 1000 of their best riflemen, mounted them upon the fleetest horses, and sent them in pursuit.

Ferguson, seeing that he must be overtaken, chose a position on King's Mountain, which, however, was not favorable, as it was covered with wood, which afforded a shelter to the American marksmen. On the 7th of October, the Americans approached, and began the attack in four parties, one attacking upon the west, commanded by Colonel Sevier, two in the centre, commanded by Colonels Cleveland and Shelby, and a third upon the east, commanded by Colonel Campbell. Cleveland, before beginning the attack, addressed his men as follows:—

“My brave fellows! we have beaten the tories, and we can beat them. When engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me. I will show you by my example how to fight: I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself an officer, and act on his own judgment.



Colonel Shelby.

Though repulsed, do not run off; return, and renew the combat. If any of you are afraid, you have not only my leave to withdraw, but are requested to do so." It is hardly necessary to say, that no one availed himself of a request like this, but that all resolved, on the contrary, to do or die.

Cleveland instantly began the attack; but was soon compelled to retire before the bayonet. But Ferguson had no time to continue the pursuit; for Shelby came forward from an unexpected quarter, and poured in a destructive fire. Ferguson again resorted to the bayonet, and was again successful. But at that moment, Campbell's division advanced on another side, and a new battle began. Campbell, like his comrades, was obliged to retreat. But Cleveland had now rallied his division, and advanced anew to the combat. The royalists wheeled, and met this returning assailant. In this way there was an unremitting succession of attacks for about fifty minutes. Ferguson obstinately defended himself, and repulsed every assailant: but at last he fell mortally wounded; and



Battle of King's Mountain.

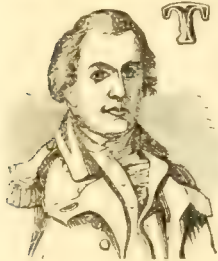
the second in command, seeing the contest hopeless, surrendered. Ferguson and 150 of his men lay dead on the field; as many were wounded; nearly 700 laid down their arms; and upwards of 400 escaped. Among the prisoners the number of regular British soldiers did not amount to 100. The Americans lost about twenty men, who were killed on the field, and they had many wounded. They took 1500 stand of arms.

The victors hanged ten of their prisoners on the spot, in revenge for the cruelties of the British commanders, and having accomplished their object, returned to their respective neighborhoods. The destruction of Ferguson's detachment disconcerted the plans of Lord Cornwallis, and effectually prevented his progress northward. Exposed to the constant annoyance of partisan bands, who grew bolder with success, he resolved to retreat to Wynneborough. As he retired, the militia captured several of his wagons, and cut off all stragglers from the main body. Sumpter, soon after his defeat on the 18th of August, had collected a band of volunteers, with which he kept the field for three months, although there was no Continental army in the state. He frequently skirmished with the enemy, and so harassed them that their movements were made with caution and difficulty.

On the 12th of November, Sumpter was attacked at Broad River by a party of infantry and dragoons, commanded by Major Wemys. In this action, the British were defeated and their commander made prisoner. On the 20th of November he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger

River, by Colonel Tarleton, with 170 dragoons, and 80 infantry. A considerable part of Sumpter's force had been posted in a large log barn from which they fired in security. Tarleton finding it impossible to dislodge the Americans, retreated, leaving Sumpter in quiet possession of the field. The loss of the British in this affair was considerable, including three officers. The Americans lost very few, but Sumpter received a severe wound, which interrupted his enterprises for several months.

By great exertions, General Gates had collected about 1500 men, and was again in a condition to contend for the southern states. He had detached General Smallwood to take post at the fords of the Yadkin, in order to dispute the passage of the river, should Cornwallis attempt to pass it; and General Morgan, distinguished for courage and activity, was employed with a light corps to harass the enemy. When Cornwallis retreated, Gates advanced towards Charlotte, stationed Smallwood further down on the Catawba, and ordered Morgan to some distance in front. On the 2d of December, General Greene arrived at Charlotte, and informed Gates that he had been appointed to supersede him. This was the first official notice Gates had received of the fact. Yet he cheerfully resigned the command to General Greene, who behaved towards him with the most polite attention. Washington wrote a soothing letter to the superseded general, expressing confidence in his ability and zeal, and offering him the command of the right wing of the army, which latter, however, Gates did not think proper to accept. The legislature of Virginia by a vote of thanks, indicated that it would not forget the patriotic services of the victor of Saratoga.



THAT able and accomplished officer, General Nathaniel Greene, had been recommended to Congress by Washington as a fit commander for the Southern army, and his whole career justified the estimation in which he was held by the commander-in-chief. He possessed all those qualities which constitute a great general. With courage and activity, he united prudence, firmness, and fertility of resource. When he took command of the Southern army, it consisted of

2307 men, of which number, 949 were Continentals, and the rest, raw, ill-provided militia. The cavalry numbered only 90 men, and there were 60 artillerymen.

A slight advantage obtained soon after Greene entered upon the command of the army served greatly to raise the spirits of the troops. A small party of cavalry, under Colonel Washington, advanced to the vicinity of the British post at Clermont, and finding it too strong to be



Colonel William Washington.



Counterfeit Cannon

taken by small-arms and dragoons, had recourse to a stratagem. Having made an imposing show of part of his men, and having placed the trunk of a pine tree in such a position as to resemble a cannon, Colonel Washington summoned the garrison to surrender, and it yielded without firing a gun. Colonel Rugely and 112 men were made prisoners.

In North Carolina, there were a great many loyalists, and a fierce and destructive warfare was carried on between them and their republican neighbors. The country was threatened with entire desolation. Greene was obliged to have recourse to severe measures to procure clothing and provisions for his

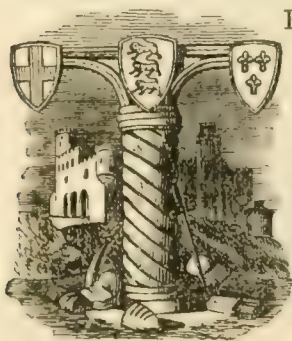
men. But his army increased in number, and under his orders improved in discipline. A correspondence was opened between the opposing commanders concerning the cruel treatment of prisoners taken upon both sides. Cornwallis said that he had resolved upon retaliation for the execution of the prisoners taken at King's Mountain, although it was notorious that he had set the example. Greene prepared to open the campaign in a vigorous manner, and the British commander was soon confirmed in the opinion he had expressed soon after the battle of Germantown—that "Greene was as dangerous as Washington."





CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1781, IN THE NORTHERN STATES, AND VIRGINIA.



THOUGH Arnold's address to his countrymen did not detach the soldiery of America from the service in which they had engaged, other causes threatened to produce the disbanding of the army. The troops were without such clothing as the season required, and their pay was in arrears. At length, their complicated grievances caused a mutiny which warned the government what might be expected if they were not relieved.

The mutinous spirit first displayed itself at Morristown, where the Pennsylvania line was encamped. The troops were equal to any in the army in respect to courage and discipline. An ambiguity in the terms of their enlistment afforded a pretext for their conduct. A great part of them were enlisted for three years, or during the war. The three years had expired, and the men contended that the choice of going or staying remained with them.

On the night of the 1st of January, 1781, the non-commissioned officers and privates, upon a concerted signal, turned out under arms and declared for a redress of grievances. The officers attempted to quiet the mutiny, but in vain. A captain was killed and several were wounded. General



General Wayne attempting to suppress the Mutiny.

Wayne presented his pistol as if about to fire upon them, but he found the troops were determined. They held their bayonets to his breast, and said: "We love and respect you, but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going over to the enemy. On the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever, but we will no longer be amused. We are determined on obtaining what is our just due." In spite of arguments and entreaties, about 1300 of the troops moved off in a body from Morristown, and proceeded in good order, with their arms and six field-pieces, to Princeton. They elected temporary officers. In order to prevent them from plundering the inhabitants for subsistence, General Wayne forwarded provisions after them. They professed that they had no object in view but to obtain what was justly due to them, and their actions were consistent with their professions. Congress sent a committee of their body, consisting of General Sullivan, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Atlee and Dr. Witherspoon, to procure an accommodation. The troops were firm in refusing any terms of which a redress of grievances was not the foundation. Yet they were patriotic. Sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government, and to pardon all their past offences, without expecting military service from them. The



President Reed.

royal commander-in-chief was surprised to find that the revolting troops disdained his offers. His messengers were seized and delivered to General Wayne, who had them tried and executed on the 10th of January.

President Reed and General Potter, being appointed by the council of Pennsylvania to confer with the mutineers, met them at Princeton. Reed offered them a purse of a hundred guineas as a reward of their fidelity, in delivering up the spies; but they refused to accept it, as they said they had only done their duty. Those whose term of service had expired were discharged and others had their arrears of pay in a great measure made up to them. A general amnesty closed the business. Washington fully appreciating the sufferings of his army, sent General Knox to the four Eastern States to stimulate them to immediate exertion. Massachusetts led the way, and the others soon imitated her advances.

About 160 of the Jersey troops followed the mutinous example of the Pennsylvanians; but they did not conduct themselves with equal spirit and prudence. They committed various outrages. Major-General Howe adopted decisive measures to reduce them to obedience. He marched from Ringwood about midnight, with a strong force, and by the dawning of the next day had his men in four different positions to prevent the revolvers from making their escape. They were then ordered to parade without arms, and march to a particular spot of ground. After some hesitation,



GEORGE WASHINGTON

they complied. Three of the ringleaders were tried and condemned to be executed upon the spot. The rest of the men promised to atone for their misconduct.

These mutinies alarmed the States, but did not procure any permanent relief for the army. Recourse was had to coercive measures, which secured supplies, but created much discontent and lowered the public credit. Fort Schuyler, West Point, and the posts up the North River, were on the point of being abandoned by their starving garrisons. At this period of the war, there was little or no circulating medium, either in the form of paper or specie. The progressive depreciation of their bills of credit had been foreseen by the rulers of America, and this was the crisis which one party had dreaded and the other had hoped for.

New resources were at length opened, by which the war might be

prosecuted as vigorously as before. By the exertions of Dr. Franklin and Colonel John Laurens, at the court of Versailles, a subsidy of 6,000,000 livres was obtained, the King of France becoming their security for 10,000,000 more, borrowed in the Netherlands. A regular system of finance was also adopted, and all matters relative to the treasury were placed under the able direction of Robert Morris, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia. The issuing of paper was discontinued, and the public engagements were made payable in coin.



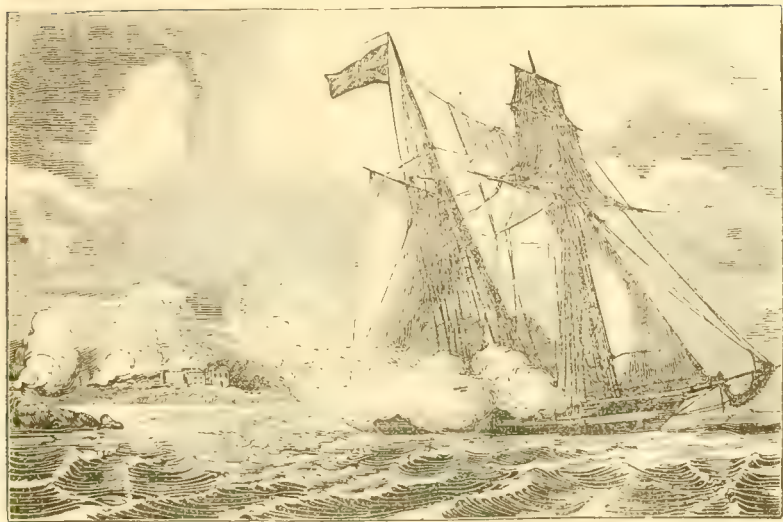
THE introduction of so much gold and silver, aided by the bank which had been established in the preceding year, extricated Congress from much embarrassment, and gave them the power to meet their engagements. The Continental money, by common consent, ceased to have currency.

While these financial difficulties embarrassed the Americans, the British were carrying on the most extensive plan of operations which had been attempted during the war. The relative strength and position of the hostile armies in the vicinity of the Hudson prevented them from undertaking any enterprise of importance. But the war raged at the same time in all the southern states. Virginia, from its peculiar situation, lies at the mercy of whatever army has command of the Chesapeake. Clinton therefore saw the propriety of making that state the object of attack. It was not only the most exposed, but one of the principal members of the confederacy.

General Leslie, with 2000 men, had been sent to the Chesapeake in the latter part of 1780, but was subsequently ordered to proceed to Charleston, on account of the increasing weakness of Lord Cornwallis's army. Soon after the departure of General Leslie, Clinton despatched Arnold, now a brigadier-general in the royal army, with about 1600 men, to the Chesapeake Bay. That officer sailed up James River on the 4th of January, 1781, and landed at Westover, twenty-five miles below Richmond, the capital of the State.

The Baron Steuben, with a few hundred militia, endeavored to remove a large quantity of stores from Petersburg and Richmond, but could offer no resistance to the advance of the enemy.

On the day after landing at Westover, Arnold entered Richmond with little opposition. There he halted with 500 men, and sent Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe forward with another 500 to West Ham, where he burned and destroyed a valuable foundry, a boring mill, a powder magazine, and a considerable quantity of military stores. Colonel Simcoe returned to



Arnold ravaging the coasts of Virginia.

Richmond, where the public property, as well as a large quantity of rum and salt belonging to individuals, were destroyed. After completing the work of destruction at Richmond, Arnold returned to Westover on the 7th; and, after some skirmishing, re-embarked on the 10th, sailed down the river, destroying on his way the stores at Smithfield and Mackay's Mills, and on the 20th arrived at Portsmouth, where he manifested an intention of establishing a permanent post. In this expedition Arnold, while he destroyed a large quantity of military stores and other valuable property of different kinds, stated his loss at only seven men killed and twenty-three wounded.

Baron Steuben being in no condition to attack Arnold at Portsmouth, was careful to station his troops at the most convenient passes leading from that place into the country, in order to afford the inhabitants all the protection in his power. It was while Arnold lay at Portsmouth, that General Washington formed the plan of apprehending him, which failed through the backwardness of the French to engage in it.

As Arnold's force was not sufficient to make any deep and permanent impression on the powerful state of Virginia, the British commander-in-chief resolved to increase it; and for that purpose, about the middle of March, sent General Philips, with 2000 chosen men from New York to Chesapeake Bay. General Philips arrived at Portsmouth on the 26th; and, being the superior officer, took the command of the army in Virginia.

After employing some time in completing the fortifications of Ports-



GENERAL PHILIPS.

mouth, General Philips began offensive operations, with a force much superior to what Congress could oppose to him in that part of the country. On the 18th of April he embarked 2500 men on board his smaller vessels, and sailed up James River in order to destroy every thing that had escaped the ravages of Arnold. He landed at Burrell's Ferry, and marched to Williamsburg, the former seat of government in Virginia. A small body of militia assembled there retreated on his approach, and he entered the place without opposition. He sent parties through all the lower district of that narrow tract of land, which lies between James and York rivers, who destroyed all public stores and property which fell in their way. He then re-embarked, sailed up the river to City Point, where he landed on the afternoon of the 24th, and next day marched to Petersburg, where he destroyed an immense quantity of tobacco and other property, together with the vessels lying in the river.

Baron Steuben had the mortification to see the State laid waste, without being able to relieve it; and after some slight skirmishing, he retreated towards Richmond. Arnold scuttled some armed vessels and dispersed the militia about half way between Osborne's and Richmond, and on the 30th of April, the whole British force marched against Manchester, where, as usual, they set fire to the warehouses and destroyed the tobacco and other property.

At this period, the Marquis de Lafayette, with 1200 men, arrived in Virginia from the northward. He reached Richmond on the evening before General Philips entered Manchester, nearly opposite. Instead of attempting to meet the Marquis, the British general retreated, embarked his army and sailed down the river as far as Hog's Island, where he arrived on the 5th of May. On the 7th, General Philips received information that Lord Cornwallis was about to march into Virginia, and that he would meet him at Petersburg. Philips immediately returned up the river to the town appointed, where he died four days afterwards. The command then devolved on Arnold. An immense amount of property had been destroyed during the preceding three weeks, which, however, only served to exasperate the owners. Unnecessary destruction may awe the weakest into submission, but it rouses the spirit and resolution of a high-minded people.





CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781—OPERATIONS IN THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA.



GENERAL GREENE found that he could not long remain inactive at Charlotte, for the country between that place and Canada, having been traversed by the contending armies, was quite exhausted. In order to procure subsistence for his troops, as well as to distract and harass the enemy, he was constrained to divide his little army. General Morgan's detachment was reinforced by 400 infantry, under Lieutenant-colonel Howard, 170 Virginia riflemen, under Major Triplett, and 80 light dragoons, under Colonel Washington.

With this small force, Morgan was sent to the south of the Catawba, to observe the British at Wynneshorough and Camden, and to shift for himself. Greene, with the other division, marched to Hick's Corner, on the east side of the Pedee, where he arrived on the 29th of December. The object of this movement was to obtain subsistence for the army.

Morgan did not remain inactive. On the 27th of December, he detached Colonel Washington, with his dragoons and 200 militia, who next day marched forty miles, surprised a party of loyalists at Ninety-Six, killed or wounded 150 of them, and took 40 prisoners, without sustaining any considerable loss. About the same time, Morgan was joined by Major

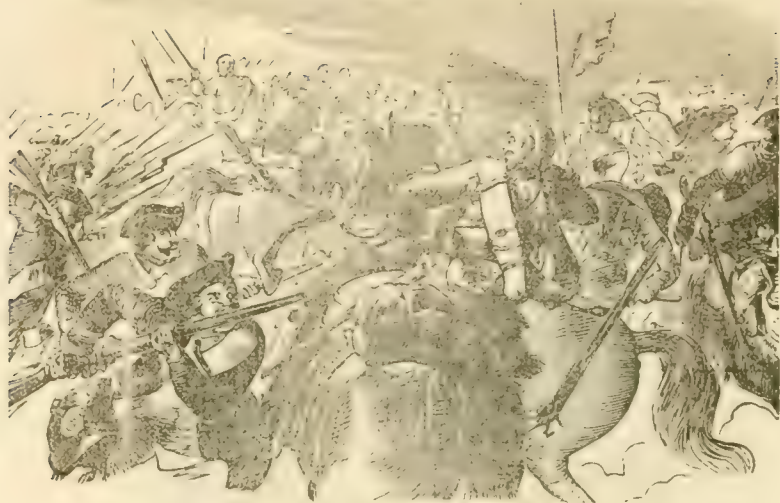


Colonel Pickens.

M'Dowell, with 200 North Carolina militia, and by Colonel Pickens, with 70 from South Carolina.

Cornwallis had ordered General Leslie, with between 1500 and 2000 troops, to join him at Charleston, and he waited impatiently for his arrival, to begin a vigorous campaign. In the meantime, alarmed at the active operations of Morgan, he detached Colonel Tarleton, with about 1100 men, and several pieces of artillery, to drive him from the province or disperse his troops. As Tarleton's force was much superior to that of Morgan, no doubt was entertained of his success. Cornwallis, with the main body, advanced up the Catawba, followed by General Leslie, with the reinforcement, hoping either to intercept Morgan, or to get between him and Greene.

Tarleton moved forward with his usual rapidity. On the 14th of January, Morgan was informed of the approach of the British detachment. Aware of his danger, he began to retreat, and crossed the Pacolet. Tarleton crossed the river six miles above, and as Morgan retreated, took possession of the ground the Americans had occupied a few hours before. Morgan, though retreating, was too daring and determined to recede to a distant point, without having a skirmish, at least. Tarleton's force was



Battle of the Cowpens.

much superior in numbers, but more so in quality of troops. Leaving his baggage under a guard, he pursued the retreating Americans. Morgan halted at a place called the Cowpens, about three miles from the line of separation between North and South Carolina. The ground had no great advantages, but the American commander's dispositions were judicious. The front line was composed of militia, under General Pickens, the second of the continentals, under Colonel Howard, and the cavalry, under Colonel Washington, was posted in the rear.

Before daylight, the van of the British appeared. Tarleton, assured of victory, ordered his front line to advance before it was well formed. The British rushed forward, shouting and firing as they advanced. The militia received them with a well-directed fire, but soon gave way, and retreated to the rear of the Continentals. Tarleton eagerly pressed on, but the Continentals received the attack like veterans. An obstinate struggle ensued, and Morgan ordered his men to retreat to the summit of an eminence. The British, exhausted by pursuit, and believing the victory won, followed in some disorder. Howard ordered his men to wheel and fire. This unexpected and destructive volley threw the enemy into confusion: Howard followed up his advantage with the bayonet, and the line of the enemy was soon broken. At the same time, Washington attacked and routed the British cavalry, who were cutting down the militia. The whole force of the Americans was now brought to bear, and the British were totally routed. A large number laid down their arms. About 290



Colonel Howard.

cavalry, which had been kept in reserve, fled through the woods, but the guard left with the baggage was the only portion of the infantry which escaped. Three hundred of the British were killed or wounded and 500 taken prisoners. Eight hundred muskets, two field-pieces, 35 baggage-wagons, and 100 dragoon horses, fell to the victors, who had only twelve killed and sixty wounded. General Morgan received a gold medal from Congress for his good conduct upon this memorable day, and silver medals were presented to Colonels Washington and Howard, and a sword to Colonel Pickens. The impetuosity of Tarleton, which had been the cause of his former success, was in this battle one of the causes of his defeat. But, taking all the disadvantages of the British into consideration, it is easy to perceive that the principal cause of the victory was the skill of the officers, and the determined bravery of the Americans.

Cornwallis, confident in the number and discipline of his troops, was

indulging pleasing reveries of the speedy subjugation of the southern states, when he received intelligence of the complete defeat of Tarleton's detachment. It mortified and perplexed him; but nothing remained but to endeavor to compensate for the disaster. He was as near the fords of the Catawba as Morgan; and he hoped that officer might be overtaken before he could pass those fords. On the 19th of January, he started in pursuit, after destroying his superfluous baggage: but he missed his aim. Morgan, fully aware of his danger, left his wounded under a flag of truce, and set off with his prisoners and trophies. He hastened across the Broad River, and reached the Catawba on the evening of the 28th. The next day, he crossed the river, and gained the northern bank just two hours before the van of the British army appeared on the opposite side. Much rain having fallen in the morning, the river was impassable; and thus was Morgan's division saved, as if by the interposition of Providence. This circumstance was generally regarded by the Americans as an evidence of the justice of their cause.

It was two days before the inundation subsided, and in the interval, Morgan sent off his prisoners to Charlottesville, Virginia, and they were soon beyond the reach of pursuit. Morgan now called for the aid of the neighboring militia, and prepared to dispute the passage of the river. On the 31st of January, while he lay at Sherwood's Ford, General Greene unexpectedly appeared in camp, and took upon himself the command.



On the 12th of January, while in camp at Hick's Creek, Greene had been joined by Colonel Lee's partisan legion, which consisted of 100 horse and 120 infantry. On the 24th, Lee surprised Georgetown, and killed some of the garrison; but the greater part fled into the fort, which he was not in a condition to besiege. This daring and intelligent partisan was of great service to General Greene in the course of the campaign.

On hearing of Morgan's danger, Greene's aim was to effect a junction of the two divisions. Leaving General Huger in command of his division, he rapidly proceeded to join Morgan. After a ride of 150 miles, with but two or three companions, he reached Morgan's camp on the 21st. On the evening of that day, the river having subsided, Cornwallis resolved to attempt the passage. As the fords were all guarded, he perplexed the Americans by a show of intention to cross at different points. Colonel Webster, with one division of the army, was sent to Beattie's Ford to command the enemy, as if that was the place where the attempt to cross would be made. General Davidson, with 300 militia, guarded the ford where the real attempt was made. The British were discovered when in

the middle of the ford, and the militia, drawn up on the bank, began to fire in a line with it. As the British crossed in a straight line, they were led considerably above the point at which the Americans were posted. Davidson led his men to meet the enemy, but they landed and began to form before he could make any opposition. After a slight resistance, the militia fled, Davidson being mortally wounded. The rest of the British army crossed the river in the course of the day. A large body of militia was attacked and dispersed by the cavalry under Tarleton.

GRAND military race now began between the two armies.

Greene marched rapidly, and passed the Yadkin at the trading ford, on the night between the 2d and 3d of February, partly by fording and partly by means of boats and flats. So closely was he pursued, that the British van was often in sight of the American rear, and a sharp conflict occurred, not far from the ford, between some riflemen and the advanced guard of the British army. Greene

secured all the boats on the opposite side of the river, and the water rising suddenly, the British were unable to pass. This was regarded by the Americans as a second interposition of Providence in their behalf.

Finding the Yadkin impassable, Cornwallis resolved to march up the south bank to its source. Greene continued his march northward, and on the 7th of February, joined his division near Guildford Court-house. Thus far the American general had completely eluded Cornwallis. He had improved the advantages derived from unforeseen events, and by his activity and vigilance accomplished his object, which was the junction of the two divisions.

Cornwallis, deeming it important to place his force between Greene and Virginia, and to bring on a general engagement while the American forces were inferior to his own, resolved to pursue as rapidly as possible. Greene's aim was to retire over the Dan into Virginia, to effect which he started from Guildford Court-house on the 10th of February. The British pursued, but were obliged to advance in a more compact and cautious manner, on account of the daring activity of Lee's Legion. On the 14th of February, Greene reached the Dan, and although his army had marched forty miles that day, they did not rest until everything had been carried safely to the opposite bank. The last of the army had reached the shore of Virginia, and secured the boats, when the British van appeared on the opposite bank. The pursuit was at an end. There were no means of crossing the river, and if there had been, the American army was strongly posted, capable of meeting such an attack.

In this retreat and pursuit of more than 200 miles, which alone is



sufficient evidence of the military abilities of General Greene, both armies endured excessive fatigue and hardships. The men were often thoroughly wet, without the means of drying themselves, and the inclement season of the year aggravated their sufferings. Under these trials, the British troops had great advantages, for they were provided with shoes and comfortably clothed. But the Americans were in rags, and many of them barefooted. Their fortitude was extraordinary. Not a single soldier deserted.

Though Cornwallis had failed to accomplish his object, he was consoled by the reflection that he had completely driven the Americans out of North Carolina. By easy marches, he fell back to Hillsborough, where, on the 29th of the month, he erected the royal standard and called on the people either to join his army or to aid in establishing constitutional government. Considerable numbers of the loyalists were preparing to join Cornwallis, when they were checked by an event totally unexpected.



GENERAL GREENE, aware of the inclination of many of the people, on the 18th, sent Lee's Legion across the Dan to watch the royal army and intimidate the loyalists; and being reinforced by 600 Virginia militia, under General Stevens, on the 21st and 22d of February, he repassed the river with his whole army and advanced towards the British encampment. He had no intention of risking a general engagement, as he considered his own force much inferior to that of Cornwallis.

The British were indefatigable in exciting the loyalists to take up arms. In one day Cornwallis embodied seven independent companies, and numbers were assembling to join his army. Tarleton with a part of his legion, was sent over the Haw river, to protect and conduct to camp a body of loyalists, who had agreed to meet at O'Neil's plantation.

General Pickens and Colonel Lee got notice of Tarleton's movements and design, and concerted measures for attacking him and frustrating his intentions. Lee, with his cavalry, was to fall upon Tarleton; while Pickens, with his militia, was to disperse the loyalists. On the evening of the 25th the loyalists were paraded in a lane leading to O'Neil's house, when Lee entered it with his cavalry. At first he mistook them for Pickens' militia, who, he imagined, had reached the place before him. They were equally in error with respect to him. They mistook his cavalry for Tarleton's. Lee, however, on observing the red rag on their hat, the

badge of loyalty, soon became sensible of their real character; but he resolved to pass on towards Tarleton, leaving the tories to Pickens. That officer with his militia soon came up: a firing between him and the loyalists immediately began; and Lee, perceiving that Tarleton, who was within a mile, would be alarmed, and could not now be surprised, instantly wheeled and fell upon the astonished loyalists, who, as he was cutting them down, exclaimed that they were the king's best friends. A horrible carnage ensued. Political animosity had extinguished the feelings of humanity; and these unhappy loyalists, more than 100 in number, with Colonel Pyle their leader, fell under the sabres of their enraged countrymen.

On hearing the firing, Tarleton hastened towards Hillsborough. He met some loyalists on his way to the camp, and mistaking them for provincial militia, put them to the sabre. Thus these unfortunate people were massacred by friends and foes. The loyalists were intimidated, and General Greene's passage of the Dan disconcerted the measures of the British commander.

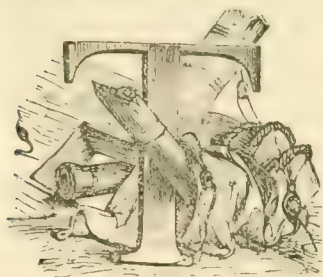
While Greene was unequal even to defensive operations, he lay seven days within ten miles of Cornwallis's camp; but took a new position every night, and kept it a profound secret where the next was to be. He manœuvred in this manner to avoid an action for three weeks, during which time he suffered much from a want of provisions. By the end of that period, a reinforcement of three brigades of militia and 400 regulars, raised for eighteen months, joined his army, and gave him a decided superiority of numbers. He then resolved to risk a general engagement, and moved forward to the vicinity of Guildford Court-house.

Cornwallis readily embraced the offer of battle. On the evening of the 14th of March, he sent off his baggage to Deep River, and the next morning moved forward towards the American position. Greene's army amounted to 4261 men, of whom, only 1490 were regulars, and 180 cavalry; the British army, to between 1500 and 2000 regular troops. About three miles in front of the American encampment, the van of the royal army, under Colonel Tarleton, encountered Lee's Legion and some riflemen. An obstinate conflict ensued, and the British appearing in force, Lee retreated to the main body. Greene drew up his army in three lines, on a large hill, surrounded by other woody eminences. His first line, composed of about 1000 North Carolina militia, under General Butler and Eaton, was posted on the edge of a wood, a road in front being commanded by two field-pieces. The second line, composed of 1100 Virginia militia under General Stevens, was drawn up in the wood. Stevens posted forty riflemen twenty yards in the rear of his men, with



Battle of Guilford.

orders to shoot every man who should leave his post without orders. The third line, consisting of regulars, was drawn up obliquely, with Washington's cavalry and riflemen on the right and Lee's Legion and riflemen on the left. The army was ordered to rendezvous at the Iron-works on Troublesome Creek, in case of defeat. The British continued, and Cornwallis made his dispositions for the attack. The right wing was commanded by General Leslie, the left by Colonel Webster. The artillery was in the centre, and the guards, yagers and cavalry formed a corps of observation.



THE British advanced with the steady intrepidity of disciplined troops. The first line of militia received them with a scattering fire, and then, as if terror-stricken, threw down their arms and fled, in spite of the efforts of their officers to rally them. The Virginia militia stood their ground, and maintained an obstinate conflict with the enemy, until Stevens, seeing that the

British were preparing to charge with the bayonet, ordered a retreat. Tho British line was unavoidably broken by the resistance it had met and the nature of the ground, yet it advanced steadily. The guards charged upon the second Maryland regiment, which fled in confusion. The guards pursued. But Washington's cavalry made a furious charge upon them, and, with the bayonets of the first Maryland regiment, routed them with great slaughter. Two field-pieces, which had changed hands many times in the course of the war, ultimately remained with the British. After a bloody, hard-fought battle of two hours, Greene was compelled to order a retreat, which was performed in good order: Retreating to Reedy Fork,

he drew up his men, expecting to be attacked, but being disappointed, he retired to Speedwell's Iron-works, about ten miles from the field of battle.

In this severe conflict, the Americans, with the exception of some of the North Carolina and Maryland troops, fought bravely, and though the British kept the field, it was clear, the consequences of victory were upon the side of the Americans. The enemy had suffered too much to follow up their advantages, and the ruin of their cause commenced from that day. Greene's loss was about 400 men killed or wounded, and a considerable number of the militia missing, having returned to their homes. He also lost four field-pieces and two ammunition wagons. The loss of the British amounted to 532 men killed or wounded, of which number were several valuable officers. Colonel Webster died of his wounds, and was much regretted by the whole army.



THE British army was so much diminished, and the difficulty of finding subsistence in that part of the country was so great, that on the third day after the battle,

Cornwallis began to retreat, leaving a number of wounded under the protection of a flag of truce. He issued a proclamation, calling upon the loyalists to join his standard, but the proclamation produced little or no

effect. After considerable difficulty, and enduring much fatigue, he reached the vicinity of Wilmington, near the mouth of the Cape Fear river, on the 7th of April.

As soon as Greene received certain information that Cornwallis was retreating, he resolved to follow him. Seeing that the wounded left at the Quaker Meeting-house were properly taken care of, he pursued the enemy so closely, that skirmishes frequently happened between his advanced guard and the rear guard of the British army. On the 28th of March, he halted at Ramsay's Mills, on Deep river. Sensible that, with the force now under his command, he could make no impression upon the enemy, he resolved to proceed to South Carolina. Having refreshed his troops, and collected a few days' provisions, he moved from Ramsay's Mills towards Camden, and, on the morning of the 20th, encamped in sight of the British works at that town.

When Earl Cornwallis entered North Carolina, the command of South Carolina and Georgia was committed to Lord Rawdon; and, for the security of the British power in those provinces, a line of posts was continued from Charlestown, by the way of Camden and Ninety-Six, to

Augusta in Georgia. Camden was the most important point in the line, and there Lord Rawdon had taken post, with a garrison of about 900 men. On the day before he left Ramsay's Mills, General Greene sent Colonel Lee with his legion to join General Marion, and surprise an intermediate post, which, like other stations of the kind, was but slightly fortified, and garrisoned by a few regulars, and such of the militia of the country as attached themselves to the British interest.



THE partisan General Marion on the north-east, and General Sumpter on the south-west parts of South Carolina, each at the head of a small party of mounted followers, had maintained a bold but ineffectual warfare; and from their feeble and desultory efforts no serious apprehensions were entertained: but after the arrival of General Greene in South Carolina, they proved useful auxiliaries and

troublesome and dangerous enemies.

Lee joined Marion; and, on the 15th of April, they unexpectedly presented themselves before Fort Watson, a British post on the Santee. It was an Indian mound, rising 30 or 40 feet above the level of the plain. Neither the garrison nor the assailants had artillery; but in a few days the Americans constructed a work on an unusual plan, which overlooked the fort, and from the top of which the riflemen fired with such unerring aim that not a man of the garrison could show himself without certain destruction. On the 23d, the garrison, consisting of 114 men, capitulated.

General Greene hoped to arrive at Camden before Lord Rawdon got notice of his march; but the inhabitants of the territories through which he passed were disaffected to the revolutionary cause; and he was obliged to forage with the same precautions as if he had been in the enemy's country: consequently his progress was slower than he had expected: Lord Rawdon had received early information of his advance, and was ready to receive him when he appeared before Camden on the 20th of April.

Greene, whose force at this time amounted to only 1200 men, felt himself unable either to storm or completely invest the place. Sending off his baggage and artillery to Lynch's Creek, about 20 miles north of Camden, he moved forward, on the 24th, to Hobkirk's Hill, more than a mile north from Camden, on the road to the Waxhaws. The hill abounded with trees and underwood, and the left of the encampment was covered by a swamp. A deserter from Greene's army informed Lord Rawdon of



Battle of Hobkirk's Hill.

the absence of his artillery, militia, and baggage, and that commander immediately resolved to seize the opportunity to attack the Americans.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 25th, at the head of about 900 men, Rawdon marched from Camden, and by a circuitous route gained the left flank of the Americans undiscovered. Greene was at breakfast, when alarmed by the firing of the outposts, he promptly drew up his men in the order of battle. His artillery and the militia arrived at this critical moment, and he felt sanguine of victory. Washington with his cavalry was sent to charge the enemy in the rear. The advanced American parties being driven in, the British moved forward to the attack. By Greene's arrangement, the enemy were to be attacked in front, and on both flanks. But Rawdon, perceiving his aim, quickly extended his front. The contest was close and obstinate, and for a time victory inclined to the American side. But the premature retreat of two companies, by which the British gained the summit of the hill, disconcerted Greene's plans, and, apprehensive of the total defeat of his army, he ordered a retreat. Washington had gained the rear of the enemy and had taken a considerable number of prisoners, when hearing of the retreat of the infantry, he retired carrying with him about 50 of the British. The retreat was conducted in good order, and the Americans carried off their wounded, baggage and artillery. A furious charge from Washington's cavalry checked the pursuit.

Each army suffered a loss in killed and wounded of about 280 men. Again were the advantages of victory on the side of the Americans. Greene immediately adopted measures to prevent Rawdon from following up his success, to cut off his supplies, and revive the courage and activity of the friends of independence.



Capture of Fort Motte.

After some difficulty, from the activity of Marion and Lee, Colonel Watson, with a reinforcement of 400 men, succeeded in reaching Camden. Rawdon, being now decidedly superior, marched out with the intention of attacking Greene in his camp. But the American general, apprised of the reinforcement, passed the Wateree, and occupied a strong position behind Sawder's Creek. Rawdon followed him; but after viewing his position he was convinced that it could not be forced without a loss which he was in no condition to sustain, and he returned to Camden. Greene had thus the complete command of the neighboring country.

Rawdon's situation becoming critical, he resolved to evacuate Camden, while there was an opportunity. Accordingly on the 10th of May, the British general burned the jail, mill, some private houses and his own stores, and retired by Nelson's Ferry to the south of the Santee, leaving behind him about 30 of his sick and wounded, and his American prisoners. He displayed as much prudence in evacuating Camden as he had bravery and activity in defending it. If he had remained a short time longer, there would have been no hope for a victory or a retreat.

After the evacuation of Camden, several of the British posts fell in rapid succession. On the 11th the garrison of Orangeburg, consisting of 70 militia and twelve regulars, yielded to Sumpter. Marion and Lee, after taking Fort Watson, crossed the Santee and marched against Fort Motte, situated on the north side of the Congaree, a little above its confluence with the Wateree: they invested it on the 8th of May, and carried on their approaches so vigorously, that, after a brave defence, the garrison, consisting of 65 men, capitulated on the 12th. Georgetown, a post on the Black River, was reduced by a detachment of Marion's corps; and, on the 15th, Fort Grandby, a post at Friday's Ferry, on the south side

of the Congaree, 30 miles above Fort Motte, garrisoned by 350 men, chiefly militia, surrendered to Lee. Such was the exasperation of parties, that Lee's militia wished to violate the capitulation, and to put to death such of their countrymen as were found in the place. In order to check this vindictive spirit, General Greene found it necessary to declare that he would capitally punish any such irregularity.

The presence of General Greene's army, the activity and success of his adherents, and the retreat of Lord Rawdon, made the smothered disaffection of the inhabitants burst into a flame; and the greater part of the province openly revolted from British authority. In that critical emergency, Lord Rawdon retreated to Monk's Corner, a position which enabled him to cover those districts from which Charleston drew its more immediate supplies, where he was secure from disaster, and ready to seize and improve any favorable occurrence. General Greene having succeeded in reducing so many of the British posts, and in forcing Lord Rawdon to retire to Monk's Corner, instead of following his lordship, turned his attention towards the western parts of the province, and to the upper posts in Georgia. He ordered Colonel Pickens to assemble the militia of Ninety-Six; and on the day after the surrender of Fort Grandby, sent Lee to join him.



THE first enterprise of Lee and Pickens was against Fort Golphin, or Dreadnought, at Silver Bluff, on the Carolina side of the river Savannah, which was garrisoned by 70 men. It surrendered on the 1st of May, to a detachment of Lee's Legion, commanded by Captain Rudolph. They next turned their arms against Fort Cornwallis, at Augusta. Colonel Brown made an obstinate defence. In the course of the siege, batteries were raised to overlook

the fort, and from these the American riflemen fired with such deadly aim that every man who showed himself was instantly shot. On the 5th of June, the garrison, numbering 300 men, surrendered. The Americans had about forty men killed or wounded in the course of the siege. As the British had lately committed many cruel outrages, the inhabitants were much exasperated, and the militia could scarcely be restrained from retaliating upon the prisoners. Colonel Grierson was shot by an unknown marksman, and Colonel Brown, notorious for his cruelty, was conveyed to Savannah with difficulty. Revenge was the strongest passion with all, and nothing was thought of but its satisfaction.

While operations were being carried on against the small posts, General Greene, with about 1000 men, proceeded to lay siege to Ninety-Six,



Kosciusko.

in which Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, with about 500 men, was strongly posted. On the left of the besiegers was a work in the form of a star. On the right was a strong stockade fort, with two blockhouses in it. The town was picketed and surrounded with a ditch, and a bank nearly the height of a parapet. The garrison made an obstinate defence. On the morning of the 25th of May, a party sallied from the fort and drove the besiegers from their works; but the besiegers were indefatigable. Battery after battery was erected, and at last a rifle battery was planted within thirty yards of the works. From all these a terrible fire was poured upon the garrison, and the Americans were sanguine of success. At this critical moment, intelligence was received that Lord Rawdon was marching to the relief of the post with about 2000 men, most of whom had

lately arrived from Ireland. Greene then resolved to attempt the reduction of the place by assault. Though the assailants displayed great resolution, they failed, and General Greene retreated over the Saluda. He had lost during the siege about 150 men. The loss of the garrison was 85 men. In this siege, the Polish General Kosciusko greatly distinguished himself.

In this gloomy situation of affairs, Greene was advised to retire, with his small force, to Virginia. But he nobly replied—"I will recover South Carolina, or die in the attempt."



ORD RAWDON pursued the retreating Americans as far as the Enoree, when despairing of overtaking them, he retreated to Ninety-Six. He soon found it necessary to evacuate that post, and as the loyalists durst not await the vengeance of their countrymen, he left more than half his force under Colonel Cruger to protect them. With the remainder, he began his march to the Congaree, expecting

to be there joined by a reinforcement from Charleston. No sooner did Greene hear of the division of the enemy, than he returned towards the Congaree. An attack upon a foraging party by Lee's Legion, in which 40 dragoons were captured, convinced Rawdon that the enemy he thought crushed was as active as ever, and he retreated towards Orangeburg, where he was joined by the expected reinforcement.

On the Congaree General Greene was joined by Marion and Sumpter with 1000 men; and on the 11th of July marched towards Orangeburg, with the intention of attacking the British army in its camp: but on arriving there next day, found it so strongly posted that he did not venture to make any attempt on it. While there, General Greene was informed that Ninety-Six was evacuated, and that Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger was on his march to Orangeburg; but the river, which for 30 miles was passable at no point except that commanded by Lord Rawdon's position, presented an insuperable barrier to any attempt on Cruger. General Greene therefore retreated over the Congaree, and marched to the high hills of Santee. In order, however, to alarm Lord Rawdon for his lower posts, he, on the 13th, when leaving the vicinity of Orangeburg, detached Sumpter, Marion, and Lee towards Monk's Corner and Dorchester. Those officers proceeded by different routes, took a number



Colonel Williams.

of wagons with provisions and baggage, and some prisoners; but, after hard fighting, the main body of the British effected their retreat.

The weather now became extremely warm; and in that climate the intense heat of summer as effectually stops military operations as the rigor of winter in higher latitudes. In that interval of inaction, Lord Rawdon availed himself of leave of absence, obtained some time before on account of ill health, and embarked for Europe. On his departure, the command of the troops at Orangeburg devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart.

General Greene reached the high hills of Santee on the 16th of July, and remained there till the 22d of August. For six months his army had been incessantly employed in marching and fighting; and though he had gained no victory, had been beaten in two battles, and repulsed with



Battle of Eutaw Springs.

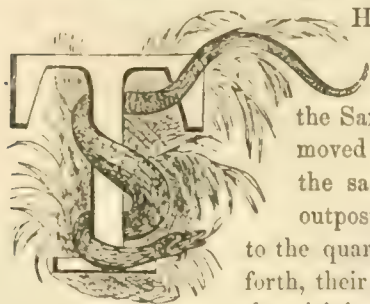
slaughter from one siege, yet he had not only kept the field, but had compelled the British to abandon all their posts in the interior parts of the country. The activity, prudence, courage, and perseverance of General Greene had been of incalculable value to the cause in which he was engaged.

After the retreat of General Greene, Colonel Stuart marched to the Congaree and encamped near its confluence with the Wateree. Greene, being reinforced, so that his army amounted to 2500 men, left the hills of Santee on the 22d of August, and proceeded towards the British encampment. On the approach of the Americans, Stuart retired about 40 miles and took post at Eutaw Springs, 60 miles north of Charleston, where he was reinforced. On the 7th of September, Marion, with his detachment joined Greene about seven miles from Eutaw Springs, and it was resolved to attack the enemy next day.

At four on the morning of the 8th of September, the Americans advanced towards the British encampment in two lines; the first composed of North and South Carolina militia, commanded by Generals Pickens and Marion, formed the first line; the second was composed of the Continentals. The legion of Lee covered the right flank, and the South Carolina state troops covered the left. The reserve was composed of Washington's cavalry and Kirkwood's infantry. Colonel Stuart was first convinced of the approach of the Americans by an attack upon a party out in quest of provisions. He drew up his army obliquely across

the road on the height near the Eutaw Springs. The British light parties were driven in upon the main body, and the militia, many of whom were "Marion's men," attacked with great bravery. As they slowly gave way the Continentals advanced to support them, and the conflict became general and obstinate. Colonels Williams and Campbell were ordered to charge with trailed arms. The British were unable to withstand the impetuosity of the Americans. They broke and fled, leaving their artillery in the hands of the enemy. As the Americans eagerly pursued, and took a large number of prisoners, Colonel Stuart ordered a detachment to take possession of a three-story brick building and the garden attached to it. The Americans made vigorous exertions to dislodge the enemy, but failed. Finding it impossible to dispossess the enemy of this stronghold, Greene drew off his men, and retired with his wounded and prisoners, to the ground he had left in the morning.

In this well-fought battle, the forces engaged were nearly equal. The loss on both sides was great. About 550 of the Americans were killed, wounded or missing. Among the number were Colonel Campbell and many other valuable officers. The British loss was about 700 men. Although the Americans were compelled to retire, they left a strong picket on the field, and it was apparent that all the consequences of victory were in their favor. On the evening of the next day, Stuart left 70 of his wounded and 1000 stand of arms, and retreated towards Charleston. General Greene, for his good conduct in the action, received the thanks of Congress, a gold medal and a British standard.



THE battle of Eutaw Springs closed the national war in the Carolinas. The Americans retired to the high hills of the Santee, and, towards the close of the year, moved down into the lower country. About the same time, the British abandoned their outposts, and retired, with their whole force, to the quarter-house on Charleston Neck. Henceforth, their aim was merely to secure themselves in the vicinity of the capital. A few small enterprises were undertaken, but nothing was accomplished of more general consequence than the loss of property and of individual lives. At the commencement of the campaign, the British were in possession of the quarter part of South Carolina; at its close, they could scarcely venture twenty miles from Charleston. General Greene had opened the campaign with gloomy prospects and an unpaid and half-naked army, yet he con-

tended with veteran troops, was never depressed by defeat, and by his persevering activity closed the campaign with glory. Without that daring enthusiasm which has thrown a brilliant lustre around the achievements of other commanders, he kept his aim ever in view, and could sacrifice the glory of victory for the utility of its consequences; and the campaign of 1781, in the Carolinas, will remain a model of what a great man may achieve with scanty means.

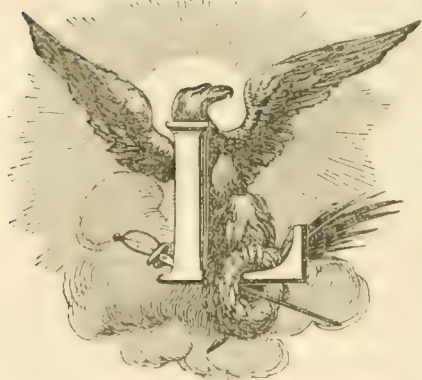


Yorktown, from a Drawing by Mrs. Suncoo.



CHAPTER XXXIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781, IN VIRGINIA AND THE NORTHERN STATES.



ORD CORNWALLIS was at Wilmington, in North Carolina, on the 7th of April. There he remained eighteen days to refresh his exhausted troops, and to deliberate in regard to his future movements. Having resolved to proceed northward, and attempt the reduction of Virginia, he set out from Wilmington on the 25th of the month. He met with little opposition in his march of 300 miles, and reaching Petersburg

on the 20th of May, he took command of all the British forces in Virginia. He felt confident of success, as the American army, commanded by the Marquis de Lafayette, was so much inferior to his own.

Lafayette was posted at Richmond, with 1000 regulars, 2000 militia, and 60 dragoons. On the 24th of May, Cornwallis left Petersburg, crossed James River at Westover, and being joined by a body of troops



Baron Steuben drilling the Continental Troops.

from New York, marched, at the head of upwards of 4000 troops, towards Richmond. But Lafayette evacuated that town on the 27th, retired to the back country, and inclined his march toward the north, so that he might easily form a junction with General Wayne, who, with 800 men, was hastening to reinforce him. Cornwallis rapidly pursued him as far as the upper part of Hanover county, but finding it impossible either to overtake him or prevent his junction with General Wayne, he at length altered his course, and turned his attention to more attainable objects.

In his progress, he destroyed much private property, as well as the public stores. Taking the horses from the stables of gentlemen, he formed an efficient cavalry, so that he could move considerable detachments with great rapidity. Tarleton, with a body of cavalry, was sent against Charlotteville, where the legislature was in session. He marched with speed, but the members of the legislature escaped to Staunton, beyond the Blue Ridges. The public stores at Charlotteville were destroyed. Colonel Simcoe, with about 500 men, was despatched to surprise Baron Steuben, who, with a small body of militia, was posted on the south side of the Fluvanna. Steuben, apprised of the approach of the British, retreated during the night about 30 miles from Point of Port.

Lafayette effected a junction with Wayne's detachment on the 7th of June, and immediately repassed the Rappahanoek, and advanced against the British army. Cornwallis was now between the Americans and their public stores at Albemarle Court-house, on the south side of the Fluvanna. The possession of these stores was an object of importance to both armies,



Yorktown Battle-Ground.

and, early in June, the British commander directed his march towards the place where they were deposited. By a rapid and sudden movement, Lafayette appeared in its vicinity, passed the British army unobserved, and Cornwallis found him strongly posted in front of the magazines. The British commander, having been baffled in his movements, retreated, and entered Williamsburg on the 25th of June.

Lafayette followed him at a cautious distance. On the 19th, he was joined by Baron Steuben, with his detachment, which increased the American army to 4000 men, of whom 2000 were regular troops. A number of skirmishes took place between the light parties of the Americans and the rear guard of the British army, in which both parties suffered considerable loss. While the British remained at Williamsburg, the Americans occupied a strong encampment twenty miles from that place.

About the time the British reached Williamsburg, Cornwallis received intelligence from Sir Henry Clinton, setting forth that New York was threatened with a combined attack by the French and Americans, and requiring a detachment from the Virginia army, if it was not engaged in any important enterprise. As this requisition made it necessary for Cornwallis to select a good defensive station, he determined to retire to Portsmouth. Lafayette, conceiving this to be a favorable opportunity for acting on the offensive, advanced against the British army. General Wayne, relying on the intelligence that the main body of the enemy



General Wayne's Charge on the British Main Body.

had crossed the river, pushed forward, with 800 light troops, to harass their rear. Contrary to expectation, he found the whole British army drawn up to oppose him. In this perilous situation, he assumed a bold countenance, and attacked the enemy with great spirit. After a severe conflict, he fell back, and Cornwallis, suspecting an ambuscade, did not pursue. By this bold and skilful manœuvre, Wayne escaped with little loss.

After crossing the James River, Cornwallis marched towards Portsmouth. The troops required by Clinton were embarked, but before they sailed the order was countermanded. Yorktown and Gloucester Point were selected as places to be fortified, to give protection to the British vessels of war. The British army proceeded up the York River in transports, and took possession of the two places; Yorktown, on the south, and Gloucester Point on the north side of the river. There the whole British force was concentrated on the 22d of August.

On the 30th of August, Count de Grasse, with a fleet of 28 sail-of-the-line and several frigates, entered the Chesapeake; and about the same time, intelligence was received that the combined French and American armies were marching southward. Count de Grasse moored the principal part of his fleet near the mouth of the Chesapeake, and sent three large ships and several frigates to block up York River. Three thousand two hundred troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked, and



Count de Grasse.

formed a junction with the American troops, under Lafayette. The whole force took post at Williamsburg.

Cornwallis intended to attack the combined armies, but was diverted from his purpose by letters from Sir Henry Clinton, informing him that he would do his utmost to reinforce the royal army in the Chesapeake, and that Admiral Digby was expected on the coast. The British commander resolved to maintain his posts, and this resolution was fatal. Admiral Graves attempted to relieve him; but his fleet was encountered by De Grasse, an indecisive action ensued, and Count de Barras, with eight line-of-battle-ships, arriving soon after, the French appeared so decidedly superior that Graves sailed away.

It is necessary for a clear understanding of the cause which led to the subsequent great events in Virginia, that we should glance at the previous state of affairs in the north and abroad. The fall of Charleston, in May, 1780, and the complete rout of the American southern army, in August following, together with the increasing inability of the Americans to carry on the war, gave a serious alarm to the friends of independence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a pathetic statement of their distresses was made to their illustrious ally, the king of France. To give greater efficacy to their solicitations, Congress appointed Lieutenant-colonel John

Laurens their special minister, and directed him, after repairing to the court of Versailles, to urge the necessity of speedy and effectual succor; and, in particular, to solicit a loan of money, and the co-operation of a French fleet, in attempting some important enterprise against the common enemy. His great abilities as an officer had been often displayed, but, on this occasion, the superior talents of the statesman and negotiator were called into action. Animated as he was with the ardor of the warmest patriotism, and feeling most sensibly for the distresses of his country, his whole soul was exerted to interest the court of France, in giving a vigorous aid to their allies. His engaging manners and insinuating address procured a favorable reception to his representations. He won the hearts of those who were at the helm of public affairs, and inflamed them with zeal to assist a country whose cause was so ably pleaded, and whose sufferings were so pathetically represented.

The American war was now so far involved in the consequences of naval operations, that a superior French fleet seemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely soon to take a favorable turn. The British army, being parcelled in the different sea-ports of the United States, any division of it, blocked up by a French fleet, could not long resist the superior combined force which might be brought against it. The Marquis de Castries, who directed the marine of France, with great precision calculated the naval force which the British could concentrate on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as insured him a superiority. In conformity to these principles, and in subserviency to the design of the campaign, De Grasse sailed in March, 1781, from Brest, with twenty-five sail-of-the-line, several thousand troops, and a large convoy, amounting to more than two hundred ships. A small part of this force was destined for the East Indies; but De Grasse, with the greater part, sailed for Martinique. The British fleet, then in the West Indies, had been previously weakened by the departure of a squadron for the protection of the ships which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had been taken at St. Eustatia. The British admirals, Hood and Drake, were detached to intercept the outward bound French fleet, commanded by De Grasse; but a junction between his force and eight ships-of-the-line, and one of fifty guns, which were previously at Martinique and St. Domingo, was nevertheless effected. By this combination of fresh ships from Europe with the French fleet previously in the West Indies, they had a decided superiority. Count de Grasse, having finished his business in the West Indies, sailed, in the beginning of August, with a prodigious convoy. After seeing this out of danger, he directed his course for the Chesapeake, and arrived there, as has been

related, on the 30th of the same month. Five days before his arrival in the Chesapeake, the French fleet sailed from Rhode Island for the same place. These fleets, notwithstanding their original distance from the scene of action and from each other, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner, far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object, at one and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the British, till the proper season for counteraction was elapsed. This coincidence of favorable circumstances extended to the marches of the French and American land forces. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and was so faithfully executed by the different commanders, that General Washington and Count de Rochambeau had passed the British head-quarters in New York, and were considerably advanced on their way to Yorktown, before Count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was effected in the following manner.



MONSIEUR DE BARRAS, appointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport, arrived at Boston with despatches for Count de Rochambeau. An interview soon afterwards took place, at Weathersfield, between generals Washington, Knox, and Du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and Count de Rochambeau, and the Chevalier

Chastellux, on the part of the French. At this interview, an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New York, in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed, that the French troops should march towards the North River. Letters were addressed by Washington to the executive officers of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey, requiring them to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas of 6200 militia in readiness, within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformably to these outlines of the campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode Island in June, and, early in the following month, joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, Washington marched his army from their winter encampment near Peekskill to the vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln fell down the North River with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where Fort Independence formerly stood. An attack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British, about this time, retired with almost the whole of their force to York Island. Washington hoped to be able to commence operations against New York about the middle, or, at furthest, the latter end of July. Flat-bottomed boats,

sufficient to transport 5000 men, were built near Albany, and brought down the Hudson River, to the neighborhood of the American army, near New York. Ovens were erected opposite to Staten Island, for the use of the French troops. Every movement was made which was introductory to the commencement of a siege. It was not a little mortifying to Washington to find himself, on the 2d of August, only a few hundreds stronger than he was on the day his army first moved from their winter quarters. To have fixed on a plan of operations with a foreign officer at the head of a respectable force; to have brought that force from a considerable distance, in confident expectation of reinforcements sufficiently large to commence effective operations against the common enemy; and, at the same time, to have engagements, in behalf of the states, violated in direct opposition to their own interest, and in a manner derogatory to his personal honor, was enough to have excited tempests in any mind less calm than his. He bore this hard trial with his usual magnanimity, and contented himself with repeating his requisitions to the states; and, at the same time, urged them by every tie to enable him to fulfil engagements, entered into on their account, with the commander of the French troops. That tardiness of the states, which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was now the accidental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their recruits for the regular army, and their quotas of militia, as was expected, the siege of New York would have commenced in the latter end of July, or early in August.

On the 14th of August, Washington received information that De Grasse would shortly sail for the Chesapeake. The plan of operations was immediately changed. The two commanders agreed to proceed to Virginia with all their disposable force. Measures were adopted to make Clinton believe that an attack upon New York was still intended, and the two armies crossing the Hudson at King's Ferry, marched by different routes to Philadelphia and thence to the head of the Elk. Washington and Rochambeau preceded the army, and arrived at Williamsburg on the 14th of September.

Transports were despatched to the head of the Elk to bring down the French and American troops, and for the purpose of concerting measures, Washington and Rochambeau held a conference with the Count de Grasse on board his flag-ship, at Cape Henry. All the forces being assembled, the American and French generals marched from Williamsburg, and completely invested Yorktown, on the 30th of September.

The Americans were posted on the right, and the French on the left, in a semicircular line, each wing resting on York River. The works at Gloucester Point were invested by Lauzun's Legion, marines from the



Storming of the Redoubt at Yorktown.

fleet, and Virginia militia, commanded by Brigadier-General de Choisy. The royal army strained every nerve to strengthen their works and impede the operations of the besiegers. Their artillery constantly played upon the enemy. On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries. They kept up a brisk and well-directed fire, from heavy cannon, mortars and howitzers. The *Charon*, of 44 guns, and a transport ship, were burned by the shells of the besiegers. On the 10th, a messenger arrived with a despatch from Sir Henry Clinton to Cornwallis, which stated various circumstances, tending to lessen the probability of relief being afforded by a direct movement from New York.

On the 11th of October, the besiegers commenced their second parallel, 200 yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts, advanced on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies. It was therefore resolved to storm them. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, and the other to the Americans. The latter, led by Colonels Hamilton and Laurens, marched to the assault with unloaded muskets, and the redoubt was carried in a few minutes, with the loss of nine killed, and 33 wounded. Forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man who ceased to resist. Eight of the British were killed, 120 captured, and a few escaped. The French were equally successful. They carried the redoubt; but stopping to cut away the abattis, and being opposed by a stronger force, their loss was nearly 100 men. They were led by the Baron Viominei. These redoubts were included in the second parallel.

On the 16th of October, Colonel Abercrombie, with 400 men, sallied from the works, forced two redoubts and spiked eleven pieces of cannon. Yet no essential advantage was obtained. The cannon were soon unspiked and fit for service. The besiegers soon had nearly 100 pieces of



Moore's House, at Yorktown, where the Capitulation was signed.

heavy ordnance in operation, and the works of the British were so much damaged that they could scarcely show a single gun. Cornwallis had but one hope left. He resolved to attempt an escape. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night and to transport them to Gloucester Point. After one detachment had crossed, a violent storm dispersed the boats, and frustrated the whole design.

With the failure of this scheme the last hope of the British expired; and Cornwallis therefore wrote a letter to Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to arrange articles of capitulation. The request was granted. The posts of Yorktown and Gloucester were surrendered on the 19th of October, by a capitulation signed at Moore's house, the principal articles of which were as follows:—The troops to be prisoners of war to Congress, and the naval force to France; the officers to retain their side-arms and private property, but all property obviously belonging to the people of the United States to be subject to be reclaimed; a portion of the officers to be allowed to proceed to New York or Europe on parole, the rest to remain in Virginia with the troops. The honor of marching out with colors flying, was refused to Cornwallis as it had been refused to General Lincoln at Charleston; and that American general was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army. The Bonetta sloop-of-war was permitted to pass unexamined to New York, by which many obnoxious Tories escaped the vengeance of their countrymen.

The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war exceeded 7000 men; but so great was the number of the sick and wounded, that



Colonel Trumbull.

there were only 3800 capable of bearing arms. The combined armies amounted to more than 16,000 men, of whom 4000 were militia. The loss of the combined armies during the siege amounted to about 300 killed and wounded. The British loss in killed and wounded was 552 men. The French and American engineers and artillery received the highest applause, and brigadier-generals Du Portail and Knox were promoted to the rank of major-generals. Congress honored Washington, Rochambeau, De Grasse, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under them, with thanks for their services in securing the glorious triumph. A British fleet and an army of 7000 men, destined for the relief of Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th of October, but on receiving intelligence of his lordship's surrender, they returned to New York. A view of the surrender of Cornwallis, splendidly painted by Colonel Trumbull, adorns the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.

Such was the fate of that general whose previous successes had led him to confidently anticipate the entire reduction of the Southern States by the force of his arms. The capture of his army, which had spread such desolation through Virginia and the Carolinas, occasioned transports of joy in the breasts of the people. The termination of the war was



Burning of New London by Arnold.

thought to be at hand. Congress, on receiving the official account of the great event, resolved to go in procession to church and return thanks to God for the advantages they had gained. The news spread rapidly throughout the states, and all was exultation.

While the combined French and Americans were marching southward towards Yorktown, Sir Henry Clinton strove to divert their attention, by sending Arnold, with a sufficient military and naval force, on an expedition against New London.

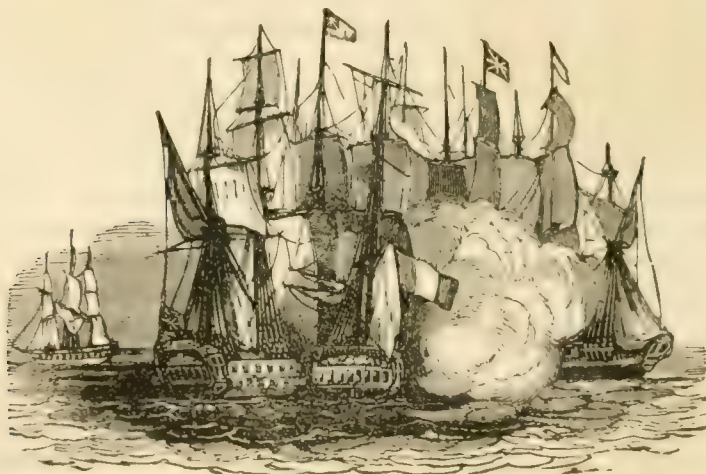
Arnold passed from Long Island, and on the forenoon of the 6th of September landed his troops on both sides of the harbor; those on the New London side being under his own immediate orders, and those on the Groton side commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre. As the works at New London were very imperfect, no vigorous resistance was there made, and the place was taken possession of with little loss. But Fort Griswold, on the Groton side, was in a more finished state, and the small garrison made a desperate defence. The British entered the fort at the point of the bayonet; when, though opposition ceased, a murderous carnage ensued. Few Americans had fallen before the British entered the works, but 85 were killed, 60 wounded, most of them mortally, and the remainder, 70 in number, were made prisoners. The loss of the British was considerable. A great quantity of valuable property was destroyed, and the town much injured.

The capture of Cornwallis being considered as the termination of the

campaign, it became necessary to place the forces in winter-quarters. General St. Clair, with a Pennsylvania brigade, marched southward to reinforce General Greene. The greater part of the American army proceeded northward to the Hudson. Count Rochambeau, with the French forces, remained in Virginia. On the 27th the troops of St. Simon embarked to return to the West Indies; and early in November Count de Grasse sailed for that quarter. Washington proceeded to Philadelphia, and Lafayette returned to Europe.

While Washington was marching against Cornwallis, the loyalists of North Carolina, under M'Neil and M'Dougall, took possession of Hillsborough and made a number of prisoners. M'Neil and some of his followers were killed in a rencontre with the friends of Congress. M'Dougall was pursued, but effected his escape, with the prisoners, to Wilmington.

Late in October, Major Ross, with 500 men, made an incursion into the Mohawk country. Colonel Willet, with an equal force, met him at Johnstown. An engagement ensued, and the British were compelled to retreat. Willet, with a party of picked men, pursued, and on the morning of the 30th, overtook their rear on Canada Creek. He immediately attacked, killed a number of them, among whom was the notorious Walter Butler, and put the rest to flight. These desultory encounters closed the campaign.



Action between the fleets of Count de Grasse and Admiral Graves.



CHAPTER XL.

EVENTS OF 1782, AND THE CONCLUSION OF A TREATY OF PEACE.



TH E effects of the surrender at Yorktown were great in America, they were not less so in Europe. The government of Britain entertained the most sanguine hopes from the operations of the army in Virginia. The expense of the war was heavy, and the people murmured under the load. But they were encouraged to bear with patience, by the hope of being soon relieved, and reimbursed by the exclusive trade of the conquered provinces. It was

confidently anticipated that the campaign in Virginia would annihilate the power of Congress. The news of the surrender at Yorktown arrived, and struck the ministry and the people with dismay. Their towering hopes were crushed, and they were filled with apprehensions of greater disaster should the war continue. Public opinion was completely changed, and the further prosecution of the war was generally reprobated.

Parliament met on the 27th of November. In the king's speech, the disasters in America were not concealed, but urged as a further motive for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Addresses were moved in the usual form, and carried through both houses, after a violent opposition. About the same time, Mr. Henry Laurens, who had been detained a close prisoner in the Tower, was released. Though the ministry carried the



Captain Asgill.

address by triumphant majorities, yet the popular feeling became stronger against the continuance of the war. The House of Commons began to waver, and, on the 27th of February, the opposition carried an address against the prolongation of the war in America.

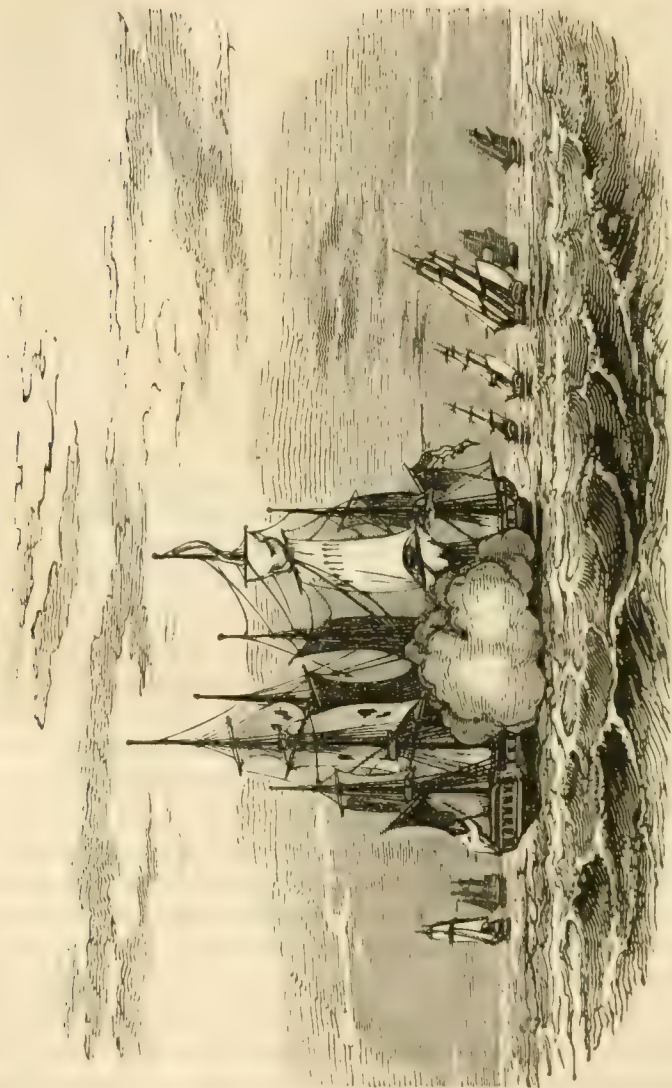
During the winter, the states labored to prepare for another campaign; but, owing to the exhausted condition of the country and the indifference of the people, preparations went on slowly. Notwithstanding the brilliant success which had attended the American arms, the people were disinclined to vigorous exertion. The troops were few in number, and destitute of almost every necessary for active operations in the field. Fortunately, the people of Britain clamored so loudly, that it was found expedient to change the ministry. The new ministers were disposed to conciliation and peace.

On the 24th of March, Captain Huddy, who commanded the troops in a block-house on the river Tom, in New Jersey, was attacked and made prisoner by a party of loyalists from New York. A few days afterwards, they led him out and hanged him with a label on his breast, declaring that he was put to death in retaliation for some of their number, who had suffered the same fate. Washington took the matter in hand, submitted it to a council of officers and Congress, and demanded of the British general that the perpetrators of the deed should be given up. Clinton inquired into the case, and disavowed the crime. The council of officers decided that retaliation was necessary, and a Captain Asgill was chosen by lot as the person who should suffer. But, through the intervention of Washington, who was influenced by the Count de Vergennes and the mother of Captain Asgill, he was set at liberty by Congress. Retaliation may sometimes be a matter of necessity, but in this case it was not demanded.



SIR GUY CARLETON having been appointed to supersede Clinton, arrived at New York early in May, and took command of the British army. He was empowered, in company with Admiral Digby, to treat for peace. Carleton addressed a pacific letter to Washington, and checked the operations of the tories and Indians upon the frontier. The powers to treat were communicated to Congress, but that body declined to negotiate, except in conjunction with France, and at Paris.

From December, 1781, General Greene had possession of all the state of South Carolina, except Charleston and its vicinity. A number of skirmishes took place between foraging parties, in one of which Colonel John Laurens, highly esteemed for his amiability and talents, was mortally wounded. He was much lamented. After the surrender of Cornwallis, Greene, being reinforced, was enabled to detach General Wayne, with a part of the southern army, to Georgia. The British withdrew from their outposts as Wayne approached, and confined themselves to Savannah. Colonel Brown, at the head of a considerable force, marched out of the garrison with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. Wayne, by a bold manœuvre, got in his rear, attacked him in the night, and routed his whole force. In the course of the same night, a large body of Creek Indians, headed by British officers, made a furious attack upon Wayne's infantry. A close and bloody conflict ensued. The Indians displayed uncommon bravery, but were at length completely routed. Shortly afterwards, the British evacuated Savannah, and Georgia was in complete possession of the Americans. The British did not evacuate Charleston



Capture of the General Monk.



John Jay.

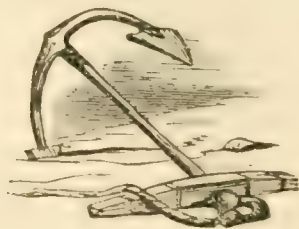
until the 14th of the following December. The Southern States were then entirely free from the control of the enemy.

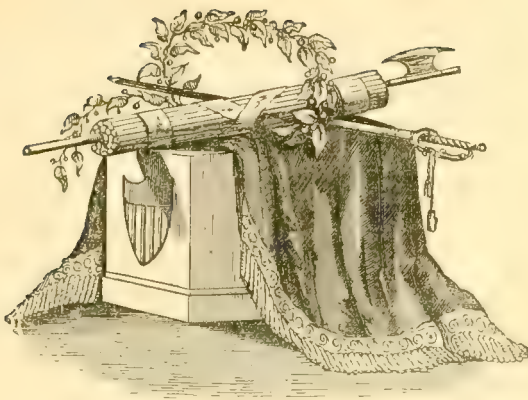
A naval victory of considerable importance was achieved in the early part of this year. This was the capture of the *General Monk*, 18, by the American vessel *Hyder Ali*, mounting 16 six-pounders. The *Hyder Ali* was equipped by the merchants of Philadelphia. She was commanded by Lieutenant Joshua Barney, who entered on the service of conveying a fleet of merchantmen to the Capes, and protecting them from the privateers. While near the Capes, he was attacked by two ships and a brig belonging to the enemy, which attack he coolly sustained while the convoy was sailing up the bay. One of the enemy's ships employed herself in attempting to follow them, another captured one of the vessels which grounded, whilst Barney waited for the brig. When near her, the *Hyder Ali* poured in a heavy broadside, and, by a naval stratagem, secured a

position which enabled him to rake the enemy. Twenty broadsides were fired in twenty-six minutes, when the General Monk was compelled to strike. She had 20 killed and 33 wounded, whilst the Hyder Ali lost 4 killed and 11 wounded. Barney followed his convoy up to Philadelphia, bringing along the prize. Soon after, he captured a refugee schooner, which had done much injury to Philadelphia commerce.

The long-desired consummation was at length achieved. The commissioners for negotiating peace on the part of the Americans, were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens; on the part of Great Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald. After a tedious and intricate negotiation, in which the American commissioners displayed the skill and penetration of veteran diplomatists, preliminary articles of peace were signed on the 30th of November, and the news of a general peace reached the United States early in April, 1783. A line running through the middle of the great lakes and their connecting waters, and from a certain point on the St. Lawrence to the bottom of the Bay of Fundy, was agreed to as the northern boundary of the States, and their western frontier was to rest on the Mississippi. It was stipulated that British creditors should be allowed to recover their debts in the United States, that Congress should recommend to the several States the restoration of the property of real British subjects, which had been confiscated during the war; and that no further confiscations should be made.

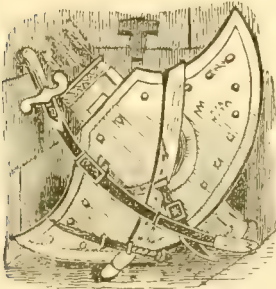
On the 19th of April, 1783, the day which completed the eighth year of the war, the cessation of hostilities was, by order of Washington, proclaimed in the American camp. Soon after, an interview occurred between General Washington and Sir Guy Carleton, concerning some negroes, said to have belonged to the Americans. On the 25th of November, the British troops evacuated New York, and an American detachment, under General Knox, with Washington, Governor Clinton, and a number of other civil and military officers, then entered the city; and thus the Americans gained complete possession of the States.





CHAPTER XLI.

FROM THE TREATY OF PEACE, TILL THE ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT.



HE independence of the United States had been achieved, and peace with Great Britain established. But Congress found itself in a trying and perilous situation. In October, 1780, a season of danger, that body promised half-pay to the officers on the conclusion of peace. Now that the end had been attained, they were not able to fulfil their promise. The officers and soldiers were in a high state of discontent and irritation. In the month of December, 1782, soon after going into

winter-quarters, the officers presented a memorial and petition to Congress, and deputed a committee of their number to call their attention to the subject. Large arrears were due them for their services, and there was but little prospect that they would ever be paid. A gloomy future seemed about to open before them, and penury and destitution the only reward they could expect for their toils and sacrifices. While in this irritated mood, an eloquent address, purporting to be written by one of their number, was circulated through the army, inviting a general meeting of the officers at a given time and place.

The sagacious Washington clearly saw the danger which might arise from this meeting, and prohibited it. But deeming it better to direct and weaken the current than to oppose it, he appointed a similar meeting on a subsequent day. General Gates, as the senior officer of rank, presided. General Washington, who had been diligent in preparing the minds of the officers for the occasion, strongly combated the address, and by his sound reasoning and influential character, succeeded in dissipating the storm.



As a soothing measure, Congress agreed to advance a sum equal to five years' full pay. To disband an army in a state of irritation, and to which large arrears were due, many of whom had not money to supply their most pressing wants, or to defray their expenses on the way home, was a dangerous experiment; but it was ultimately executed without any outbreak.

Washington's military career was about to close; and, on the 4th of December, he met the principal officers of the army at Francis's Tavern, New York. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, and addressing the officers, he said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, and devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been honorable." Having drunk, he added, "I cannot come to take each of you by the hand, but shall be obliged to you if each of you will come and take me by the hand." In the midst of profound silence, and with unequivocal manifestations of sensibility and affection, each of the officers took him by the hand, and at the close of the ceremony, they accompanied him to Whitehall, where a barge was in readiness to carry him across the river. Having embarked, General Washington turned round to his late companions in arms, took off his hat, respectfully bowed to them, and bade them a silent farewell. They returned the compliment, and went back in mute procession to the place where they had assembled.

Congress was then sitting at Annapolis, in Maryland; and thither, General Washington proceeded, for the purpose of resigning that power which he had so nobly exercised. On the 23d of December, in the presence of a numerous company of spectators, he resigned his commission into the hands of Congress. After receiving their thanks and congratulations, he retired to his patrimonial mansion at Mount Vernon. Such was his influence among the people, that he might have easily secured the dignity of a sovereign for himself; yet in the fulness of his patriotism, republicanism and wisdom, he preferred to give up the authority

he had exercised for the good of his country and retire to the shades of private life. What nobler, brighter example for imitation does the records of history present?



It will now be necessary to take a short but comprehensive view of the state of affairs in regard to the government of the States. There was no constitution, except the "Articles of Confederation," which were felt to be insufficient; and considerable reluctance was observed among the people to form or permit a national government. The first subject which pressed upon the attention of Congress was the debt incurred during the war. To revive the national commerce was the first step towards the revival of prosperity. Yet Congress found itself without sufficient powers to conclude commercial treaties with foreign nations which would be binding upon the several States. An address was sent to the States, praying them to make provision for the national creditors. But the petition produced little or no effect.

Jefferson and Adams labored in Europe to open markets for their countrymen. They concluded treaties with Portugal, Sweden and divers other powers, but did not succeed with France and England, because the power of Congress was not considered sufficient to enable that body to negotiate for all the States. In 1784, Congress demanded powers to exclude generally the vessels of all countries not having treaties of commerce with America. Delays and difficulties intervened, but most of the States acceded to the demand. Other causes of difficulty arose. Notwithstanding the express stipulation of the treaty, the British creditors remained unpaid; and the ministry refused, in consequence, to evacuate the military posts within the northwestern territory.

The necessity of giving more authority to Congress, or of framing an efficient government for the whole country, was now apparent. It was in vain that Congress formed treaties, and passed resolutions for raising funds or regulating commerce. The State legislatures were jealous of their rights, and considered the acts of Congress as mere recommendations, which it was optional with them to adopt. The public credit was naught, trade was at a stand, and the progress of the country effectually checked.

Virginia and Maryland had united in a prohibitory system; and the beneficial effects of this being apparent, Mr. Madison proposed that the other States should send commissioners to agree upon making it general. In September, 1786, a convention of delegates from five States met at Annapolis. This assembly saw that the only possibility of agreeing as

to a common tariff was to frame an efficient constitution. Before they separated, the delegates agreed as to the expediency of calling a more general and solemn meeting of delegates from all the States, to meet in the following year at Philadelphia.

Before the convention which framed the Constitution met, the two great parties, which afterwards assumed the names of Federalists and Democrats, arose, and commenced the contest which afterwards became so violent as to endanger the union. At the end of the war, the officers of the army had formed themselves into a society, called the Cincinnati; Washington being its president. The members were united by periodical meetings, common funds, and what was still more suspicious, it had been proposed to make its distinctions hereditary. This instantly caused an outcry, and was stigmatised as an attempt at aristocracy.

As distress was general among the body of the people, consequent upon the exhausted state of the country and the depression of trade, they eagerly seized upon any opportunity to vent their discontent, and to throw the blame of it upon the shoulders of those who were obnoxious to them. In the Eastern States, armed mobs arose and attempted to compel the State governments to accede to their demands. In Massachusetts, particularly in the early part of September, matters seemed hastening to an alarming crisis. The General Court passed several conciliatory acts, but the large body of the people were not appeased. Congress, alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs, voted to enlist 1300 men to sustain the government of Massachusetts. But the insurrection had shown its head before these troops could be raised.



DANIEL SHAYS, at the head of more than a thousand armed men, took possession of Worcester, and effectually prevented the Supreme Court from holding its session in that town. (Dec. 25th.) The same purpose was effected at Springfield. Governor Bowdoin called out 4000 militia to serve for thirty days, and gave the command to General Lincoln. About 2000 of the rebels advanced towards the arsenal at Springfield, but Captain Shepherd, who commanded a small body of militia, dispersed them with the loss of three killed and one wounded. In the middle of a severe winter, Lincoln marched from Boston towards Amherst. As he approached, the rebels retreated. At Hadley, the insurgents offered to disperse on condition of a free pardon. Lincoln had no authority to grant it, and they retreated towards Petersham. Lincoln marched in pursuit, accomplished a march of forty miles during a stormy night, and entering Petersham in the morning, took 150 prisoners. The rest fled to the neighboring States.



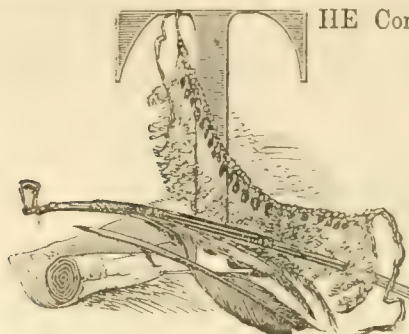
Alexander Hamilton.

Several skirmishes followed, but, by the vigorous measures of the General Court, the rebellion was soon crushed. Many persons were tried, fourteen sentenced to death, but none executed. Harsh measures were deemed impolitic, as about one-third of the people sympathized with the insurgents.

These violent outbreaks excited great interest throughout the Union, and tended to confirm the opinion that an efficient general government was demanded. The people of the States, Rhode Island alone excepted, elected their delegates to the proposed convention.

Accordingly, on the 25th of May, 1787, the delegates from twelve States assembled at Philadelphia, in the State-House, where independence had been declared. Washington was chosen president. By the rules of proceedings, the doors were to be closed, and an injunction of secrecy was placed upon the debates. Each State had one vote. The convention was composed of the ablest men in the country, and a conservative sentiment generally prevailed. Hamilton, Madison, Franklin, Randolph, Pinckney, and Gerry, took a leading part in the debates. The extent of the powers of the Convention was a matter which gave rise to considerable discussion. A State-rights party was formed principally from members

of the smaller States, who were apprehensive that if the Convention was empowered to alter the entire system of confederation, State sovereignty would be destroyed. After a discussion of four months, a federal constitution was framed, which, while leaving all matters of local government to the several States, created an efficient and powerful national government for the control and administration of all affairs of general interest.



THE Constitution had been laid before Congress with a letter and resolutions from the framers, recommending its reference to State Conventions to be called by the State Legislatures. The recommendation was complied with on the 28th of September; but the ratification was for a long time doubtful. The State rights party was active and determined in the several State conventions.

Patrick Henry employed his giant powers in opposition to the constitution, and an outcry was raised that it was deficient in guarantees for civil liberty. A series of articles, entitled the "Federalist," written by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, in which the new Constitution was defended and explained with great ability, made their appearance in New York, and being circulated throughout the country, exerted a powerful influence. Delaware was the first to adopt the Constitution. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire followed in the order named. In New York and Virginia the opposition was violent. But as the agreement of nine States had been already obtained, it was rendered certain that the Constitution would not be absolutely rejected in those States. Virginia led the way and New York followed, adopting the Constitution, with a number of amendments. North Carolina hesitated, and in Rhode Island no convention was held. But this was no obstacle to the organization of the government.*

Congress appointed the first Wednesday of January, 1789, for the choice of presidential electors, and the 4th of March as the time, and New York as the place for the organization of the government under the new Constitution. Washington received the unanimous vote of the electors and thus became president elect, and John Adams, receiving the

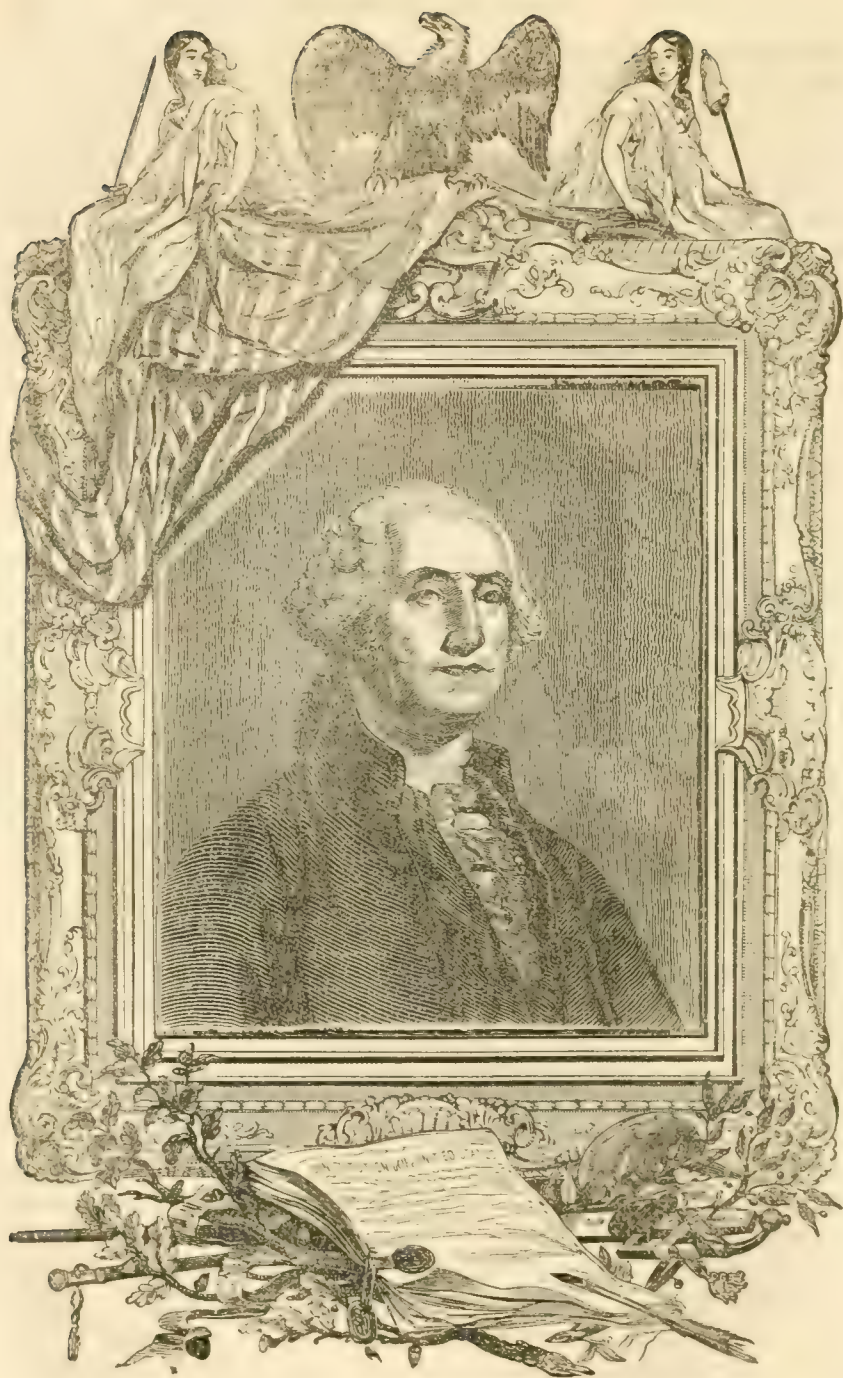
* Hildreth.

next highest, became vice-president elect. Senators and representatives were also chosen by the eleven ratifying States.

As the day approached for the new system to go into operation, the old Continental Congress, than which a more remarkable body is not to be found in history, gradually dissolved without hearing any expressions of regret, or receiving any thanks for its services. Its members had daringly assumed the reins of power, some portion of it being first granted them by the people, and conducted the country through a bloody revolution. All thought of it was now lost in the apprehension concerning the new government.



Colonel Davie.



GENERAL WASHINGTON.



CHAPTER XLII.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.—FIRST TERM.



ON the 30th of April, 1789, Washington took the oath of office in a public and solemn manner, and delivered to the two branches of Congress his inaugural address. In the address, after expressing his deep sense of the magnitude of the trust confided to him, and a consciousness of his deficiencies, he declared his intention to devote his best energies to the discharge of his duty, and fervently supplicated the guidance and assistance of that overruling Providence, whose supremacy he had always acknowledged. He gave notice to Congress that he should accept no other compensation for his services than such as would be necessary to defray the expense of his household and other charges incident to his public station.

Congress at once proceeded to the consideration of what most pressed upon its attention—the revenue. Mr. Madison proposed a tax upon imported goods and tonnage. This, in principle, was objected to by none; but as the tonnage duty was intended to operate at the expense of foreign shipping, it excited opposition. But the measure was carried through both houses, after the two great parties had displayed the violence of their opposition. To complete the machinery of government, departments were erected—of the treasury, of war, and of state—the latter including foreign and domestic relations. The heads of these departments

were to be appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the senate; but the President had the power to remove them at his discretion, without consulting that body.

COLONEL HAMILTON was appointed to the office of secretary of the treasury; General Knox, secretary of war; and Mr. Jefferson, secretary of state. As Mr. Jefferson was the principal leader of the State-rights, or Democratic party, his appointment to the State department is an evidence of the conciliatory disposition of Washington. Edmund Randolph was made attorney-general. A national judiciary was established by Congress, and Washington appointed Mr. Jay chief justice. Thus the government was completely organized.

Immediately after the close of the session of Congress, in September, Washington undertook a journey through the New England States, in every quarter of which he was welcomed with most affectionate enthusiasm. Nor could this tribute be paid to his person without, in some degree, preparing a share of such feeling for his office. North Carolina, in the recess, gave up her opposition, and her legislature declared her adhesion to the Union.

At the opening of the next session of Congress, the secretary of the treasury brought forward a plan for funding the public debt. He proposed to raise a loan equal to the amount of the whole debt. To this the opposition objected, wishing to pay foreigners the entire of their demand, but the American holder of paper money the price at which he bought it; but the measure received the sanction of Congress. Another part of the general plan remained. This referred to the debts incurred by each State for carrying on the war. Hamilton proposed that Congress should pay these, and throw them into the common fund. After a long struggle, this measure also was adopted. To raise a revenue to meet the interest on the newly-funded debt, a bill was passed raising the impost upon wine, tea, and other commodities, and imposing a duty upon spirits distilled within the country. This was followed by another measure which was considered by Hamilton as necessary to complete his own commercial and monetary system, and looked upon by the State-rights party as his boldest crime. This was the proposal to establish a national bank.

The anti-federalists asserted that a national bank would be unconstitutional, and the discussion of the measure was long and violent. Upon this question, Hamilton and Jefferson widely differed. Both submitted their written opinions to the consideration of the president, after the bill passed Congress; and after some time, Washington decided in favor of the establishment of the bank: thus Hamilton's system was triumphant.



Settlers attacked by Indians

One great cause of expenditure, a standing army, was avoided by the United States. The only foes who called for military resistance were the Indians. In the south, the Creeks, against whom several expeditions had been undertaken in the course of the revolutionary war, harassed the frontiers of Georgia. They were instigated by the Spaniards of Florida, and commanded by Gillsvray, a chief of white descent. The president directed his attention to bringing about an accommodation with them, but the first attempt failed. In 1790, Gillsvray was induced to proceed to New York and conclude a treaty.

On the northwestern frontier, the Miamis, Shawnees, and other tribes, cherishing vengeance for past outrages upon them, carried on a desultory and destructive warfare; burning and plundering detached settlements, and constantly growing bolder, as they saw there was no military force



Little Turtle.

strong enough to resist them. They were generally commanded by Little Turtle, a Miami chief, brave, active, and skilful. Washington earnestly pressed Congress to increase the regular army; but the republican party viewed any such increase with an extremely jealous eye.

At length, in 1790, some troops and supplies were voted, and in the autumn of the year, an army about 1500 strong, under General Harmer, marched up the Wabash into the Indian country. A party of the regulars was cut off by the Indians, and although Harmer burned some Indian villages, Little Turtle compelled him to retreat with small honor and a severe loss.

The Indians now became bolder than ever in their depredations. The frontiers were in a deplorable situation. Congress sanctioned the raising

of an additional regiment; and the president was authorized to raise a body of 2000 men for six months. St. Clair, then governor of the north-western territory, was appointed to the chief command of this force. The troops were not assembled at Fort Washington until the month of September, 1790.

The object of the expedition was to destroy the Indian villages on the Miami; to expel the savages from that country, and to connect it with the Ohio by a chain of posts. The regulars, proceeding northward from the Ohio, established, at proper intervals, two forts, one named Hamilton and the other Jefferson, as places of deposit and security. The main body of the army, about 2000 men, commenced its march through the wilderness on the 24th of October.

At this time the commander-in-chief, whose duties through the summer had been very severe, was suffering from an indisposition which was by turns in his stomach, lungs and limbs; provisions were scarce, the roads wet and heavy, the troops going with "much difficulty," seven miles a day; the militia deserting 60 at a time. Thus toiling along, the army, rapidly lessening by desertion, sickness, and troops sent to arrest deserters—on the 3d of November, reached a stream, twelve yards wide, which St. Clair supposed to be the St. Mary of the Maumee, but which was in reality a branch of the Wabash, just south of the head waters of the stream for which the commander mistook it. Upon the banks of this creek the army, now about 1400 strong, encamped in two lines.

The right wing—says St. Clair, in his letter to the Secretary of War, after the battle—composed of Butler's, Clark's, and Patterson's battalions, commanded by Major General Butler, formed the first line, and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Darke, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about 70 yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek; a steep bank, and Faulkner's corps, some of the cavalry, and their pickets, covered the left flank. The militia were thrown over the creek, and advanced about one quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation, on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about fifteen miles from the Miami village, I determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and everything else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up. But they did not permit me to execute either: for, on the 4th,



St. Clair's Battle with the Indians.

(says St. Clair in his despatch to the Secretary of War,) about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had just been dismissed from parade, (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before daylight,) an attack was made upon the militia. Those gave way in a very little time and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion, (which, together, with a part of Clarke's, they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of those officers, was never altogether remedied,) the Indians following close at their heels. The fire, however, of the front line checked them; but almost instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line; and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise. The great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were frequently driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet. Lieutenant-Colonel Darke was accordingly ordered to make a charge with part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back 300 or 400 yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the

left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clarke's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times and always with success: but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with so raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of, made by the second regiment and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of which, Mr. Greateon, was shot through the body.



OUR artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed except Captain Ford, who was very badly wounded, and more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat, if possible. To this purpose the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment, from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank, but in fact, to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was open, the militia took along it, followed by the troops; Major Clarke, with his battalion, covering the rear.

The retreat, in those circumstances, was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one. It was, in fact, a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable; for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward either to halt the front, or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sun-rise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock.*

The particulars of this narration are confirmed by other testimony.



Blue Jacket.

There can be no doubt that General St. Clair did all that a brave and skilful officer could to prevent a defeat, and that he was afterwards subjected to a vast amount of undeserved censure. The defeat was the most disastrous since the overthrow of Braddock, at the Monongahela. Of 1400 troops, 894 were killed, wounded, or captured. Among the slain were the brave General Butler and other valuable officers. The number of the Indians engaged is unknown; it has been conjectured that it included the united force of the northwestern tribes, commanded by Blue Jacket, Little Turtle and the famous ranger, Captain William Wells. The red men never fought more bravely than in this battle.

This disaster gave rise to a proposal from the President to raise the military force of the country to 5000 men. Notwithstanding the urgent nature of the case, the Republican party strenuously resisted. But a majority enabled the President to raise the proposed force, and General Wayne was appointed to command it, St. Clair having resigned his commission in the army.

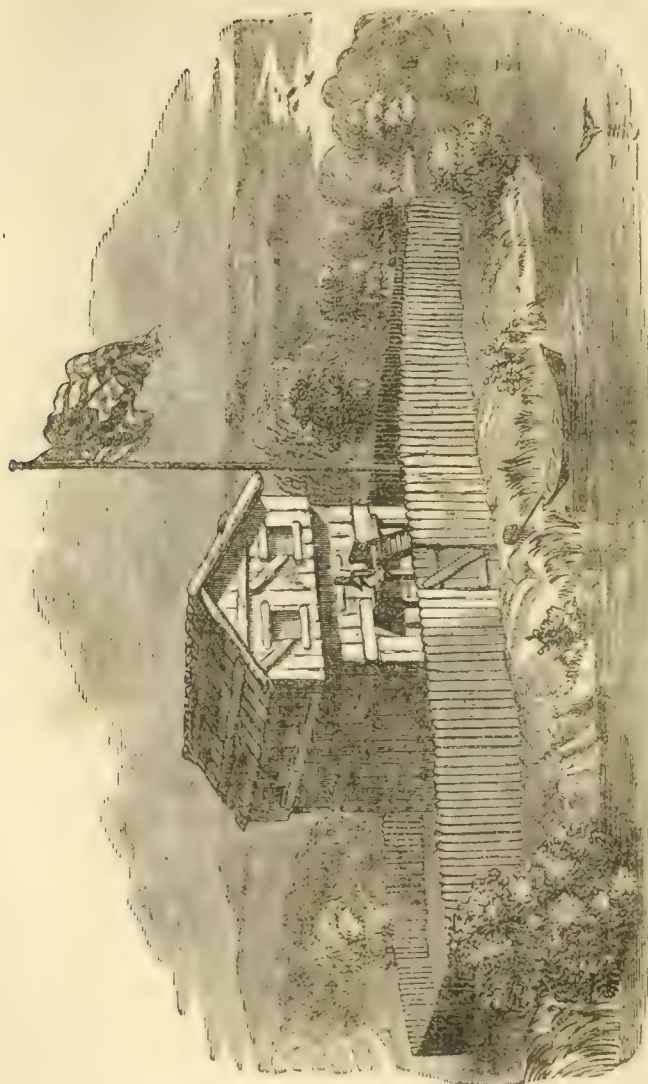
The savages had now complete command of the frontier, and with their customary celerity and cruelty, spread massacre and desolation far and



General Simon Kenton.

wide. The settlers were driven from their homes to the block-houses, which were well garrisoned, and secured from surprise by the vigilance of scouts thoroughly acquainted with Indian warfare, and as daring as the best warriors of the wilderness. Of these forest rangers, Simon Kenton, Lewis Whetzel, and Joshua Flechart, were most famous for courage and skill. Their exploits and escapes have much of the attraction of the wildest romance, and furnish abundant material for the novelist and poet. The following narrative from Hildreth's *Pioneer History* will give a clearer conception of border warfare than the most swelling periods of general history.

"Some Indians being discovered in the vicinity of the settlement of Marietta, on the Ohio, a party was soon mustered, made up of five or six of the rangers, ten volunteer citizens, and twelve United States soldiers from the company stationed at 'the point.' The men went up in canoes to the mouth of Duck creek, where they left their water craft. The more experienced rangers soon fell upon the trail, which they traced



A Block house in the West.

across the wide bottoms on to the Little Muskingum. At a point about half a mile below where Conner's mill now stands, the Indians forded the creek. In a hollow between the hills, about a mile east of the creek, they discovered the smoke of their camp-fire. The rangers now divided the volunteers into two flanking parties, with one of the spies at the head of each, and three of their number to act in front. By the time the flankers had come in range of the camp, the Indians discovered their pursuers by the noise of the soldiers who lagged behind, and were not so cautious in their movement. They instantly fled up the run on which they were encamped. Two of their number leaving the main body, ascended the point of a hill, with a ravine on the right and left of it.



THE rangers now began to fire, while the Indians, each one taking his tree, returned the shot. One of the two Indians on the spur of the ridge was wounded through the hips by one of the spies on the right, who pushed on manfully to gain the flanks of the enemy. The men in front came on more slowly, and as they began to ascend the point of

the ridge, Ned Henderson, who was posted on high ground, cried out, 'Ham! Ham! there is an Indian behind that white oak, and he will kill some of you.' Kerr instantly sprung behind a large tree, and Peter Anderson, who was near him, behind a hickory too small to cover more than half his body, while John Wiser jumped down into the ravine. At that instant, the Indian fired at Anderson, and as John looked over the edge of the bank to learn the effect of the shot, he saw Peter wiping the dust of the hickory bark out of his eyes. The ball grazed the tree just opposite his nose, and glancing off, did him no serious harm, but filling his eyes with the dust, and cutting his nose with the splinters. At the same time, Henderson, with others, fired at the Indian, and he fell with several balls through his body. The brave fellow who was killed lost his life in a noble effort to aid his friend, who had been wounded through the hips, and could not spring up on to the little bench, or break in the ridge, where he was standing.

"While occupied in this labor of love, the rangers on his flanks had so far advanced, that the shelter of the friendly tree could no longer secure him from their shots, as it had done while his enemies were more in front



Fight between Rangers and Indians.

of him. The wounded Indian escaped for the present, although it is probable he died soon after. The other five Indians, there being seven in the party, seeing that their enemies outnumbered them so greatly, after firing a few times, made a circuit to the right and came up in the rear of the soldiers, who were occupying themselves with the contents of the kettle of hog meat and potatoes which the Indians, in their hurry, had left boiling over the fire. The first notice they had of their danger was the report of their rifles. It made a huge uproar amongst the musqueteers, who, taking to flight, ran in great alarm for protection to the rangers. As it happened, the Indians were too far off to do much harm, and no one was injured but one poor fellow, who was shot through the seat of his trowsers, just grazing the skin. He tumbled into the brook by the side of the camp, screaming at the top of his voice, 'I am kill'd, I am kill'd,' greatly to the amusement of the rangers, who were soon at his side, and dragging him out of the water, searched in vain for the mortal wound. The dead Indian was scalped, and his rifle and blanket taken as the legitimate plunder of a conquered foe. The other five retreated out of reach of the rangers, after their feat of frightening the soldiers. They returned to the garrison, well pleased that none of their men were killed, but much vexed with the soldiers, whose indiscretion had prevented their destroying the whole of the Indians, had they encircled them as first arranged by the leaders of the party. It served as a warning to the Indians not to approach too near the Yankee garrison, as their rangers were brave men, whose eyes and ears were always open."

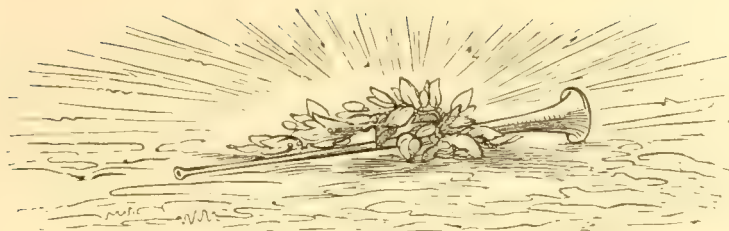
In the spring of 1791, Washington made a tour through the Southern States; on which occasion, stopping upon the Potomac, he selected, according to the powers entrusted to him, the site of the future capital of the Union. He was greeted, throughout his progress, with an affectionate welcome. A new Congress met at Philadelphia, in the latter end of October. In his opening speech, the president alluded to the great success of the bank scheme, to the operation of the excise law, and the frontier warfare. In the early part of the session occurred the first instance of the exercise of the veto power. A bill passed both houses, after much debate, and by a small majority, to increase the number of representatives in the House. This Washington considered as a violation of the constitution, and therefore put his negative upon it.

The breach between Hamilton and Jefferson, the recognised leaders of the two great parties, daily widened. They could agree upon but few points of foreign or domestic policy. Hamilton was desirous of conciliating England, and Jefferson held that there was a natural connexion between the United States and France. The limits between the two departments

not being well defined, Jefferson complained that Hamilton drew all influence and affairs within his own jurisdiction. The president leaned to Hamilton's views, yet strove to allay the bitterness of party strife.

As the four-years' duration of the presidential and vice-presidential offices was about to expire, there was an opportunity for the discontented party to try its force. Against Washington, however, there were none so bold as to propose a competitor. The difficulty was to persuade the great chief to continue to undergo the fatigues of the presidential office. Upon considering the consequences should he refuse, he was induced to occupy the chair of state for another term. The opposition bent all their energies to displace Adams. George Clinton was set up as his competitor; but Adams succeeded in obtaining a majority of votes.





CHAPTER XLIII.

WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM.



N the 4th of March, 1793, Washington commenced his second term of office as president of the United States. The confederacy now included fifteen States—Vermont and Kentucky having been admitted into the Union at the preceding session of Congress. It was fortunate for the Union that Washington was again induced to bear the fatigues of the office of chief magistrate. The French revolution

and other great events which had occurred in Europe, began to be felt in America, and all his wisdom and firmness were required to support the national government amid the strife of factions. A large body of the American people sympathised with the French democrats, and were anxious to aid them in securing their liberties, without consulting the true interest of their government. Washington saw that the safety of the nation demanded the maintenance of a neutral position, amid the contentions of the powers of Europe, and this neutrality could be maintained without a violation of national faith or national honor. On the 22d of April, the president issued a proclamation, warning the citizens to avoid all acts tending to contravene the neutral disposition which it was declared it was the duty of the United States to maintain. The wisdom of this measure soon became obvious.

After France became a republic, Mr. Genet was sent, as minister to the United States, in place of Mr. Fernant, appointed by the king. Genet reached Charleston, South Carolina, on the 8th of April, where

he remained some weeks; and from thence went by land to Philadelphia. In an interview with the President, he assured him, that France did not expect the United States to become a party in the war. But he had *secret* instructions to take such steps as would induce the American government finally to make *common cause* with France. He was also instructed to solicit the American government for the payment of the debt due to France, though the time stipulated for the reimbursement had not yet expired. A correspondence between the President and the new French minister ensued, in which Genet claimed the right of arming vessels in our ports, and of enlisting American citizens to cruise against nations with whom the United States were at peace. He acknowledged that he had fitted out privateers in the port of Charleston, and that these vessels had brought prizes into the American ports. The President and secretary of state asserted the right and duty of the national government to prohibit such proceedings, and the courts of the United States made inquiry and took cognizance of prizes thus made. The French minister loudly complained of this conduct, and he seemed determined to set the law and the government at defiance. At Philadelphia, under the eye of government, he caused a vessel, taken from the British, to be armed, and despite the remonstrances of the President and the governor of Pennsylvania, ordered her departure. He even threatened to appeal from the President to the American people. Societies in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of Paris, were formed in different parts of the United States, ostensibly for the purpose of securing liberty, but really for the purpose of opposing the administration, and supporting the cause of France. But the mass of the people were indignant at the violent conduct of Genet.



IN this state of affairs, Congress met on the 3d of December, 1793. Never since the period of the Revolution, had the affairs of the United States been in a more critical situation. The President in his speech to both houses, informed them of the course he had pursued under difficulties which were new to him, and recommended that the country should be placed in a competent state of defence. Dissensions still continued in the cabinet. Jefferson not only combated the sentiments of Hamilton, but counteracted his policy. Washington held the balance even, but thought it unfair that Jefferson should support his clerk in editing a paper which reviled not only the measures of the government, but the person of the President. The Secretary of State determined to retire, which he did after drawing up an elaborate report upon the commerce of the country, and its foreign policy. Edmund Randolph succeeded Jefferson as the head of the State department.

Exciting debates occurred in Congress upon propositions to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain until restitution should be made for the constant spoliation of American property by vessels of that nation. On the 16th of April, the President nominated Mr. Jay as minister extraordinary to the British court; and to prepare for the worst, measures were adopted by Congress for placing the country in a better state of defence. The principal ports and harbors were directed to be fortified, a detachment of 80,000 militia was required from the several States, to be ready at a moment's warning, and other precautions taken. A committee having been appointed to investigate the conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury, they made a report, highly honorable to the talents and integrity of that great financier.

This was a critical conjuncture in the affairs of the United States. There was a strong tendency on the part of many citizens to mingle in the affairs of contending European powers. The sagacious Washington clearly foresaw that such an interference would be impolitic and highly injurious, even though its justice were perfectly obvious. It required all his popularity to restrain his countrymen, and to keep them in the strict path of honorable neutrality.

At the solicitation of the President, Genet was recalled in February, 1794, and M. Fanchet was appointed his successor. The party which had sent Genet to America had been supplanted by that of Robespierre and Danton. Fanchet had special orders to send him back to France, and to use force if necessary. But through the firm resistance of Washington, Genet was saved, perhaps, from the guillotine.

While the President exerted himself to prevent a foreign war, he was threatened with a civil war at home. For about three years, the inhabitants of the counties of Pennsylvania, lying west of the Alleghany mountains, had opposed the execution of the laws imposing duties upon domestic spirits. The revenue officers in attempting to do their duty, were threatened with the extreme vengeance of the citizens. In the summer of 1794, the marshal of the district was attacked by an armed force, and fired upon, but without receiving any injury. He was soon after compelled, under fear of instant death, to resign his functions. The house of the inspector, near Pittsburg, was attacked, but defended with such spirit that the assailants were forced to retire. But another attack was made by a larger force, several men were killed and wounded, and the marshal and inspector escaped down the Ohio. Symptoms of open opposition to the excise law appeared in some of the other States, and the President, compelled either to surrender the government to an armed mob or compel obedience by military force, resolved upon the latter. He

issued a proclamation stating the necessity of the case, and requiring all good citizens to aid him in suppressing the insurrection. Requisitions were made upon the governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, for their quotas of about 15,000 men, to march at a minute's warning. Before resorting to military coercion, the President appointed a committee to wait upon the insurgents and offer them forgiveness for the past, upon condition of future submission to the laws.



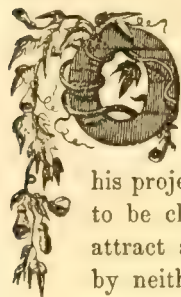
MEETINGS were held in various places throughout the district, and it was even proposed by the more daring to seize the fort at Pittsburg. Bradford, one of the leaders, recommended the most violent measures. Finding persuasive means insufficient, the President ordered Governor Lee, of Virginia, with a large body of militia, to march to Bedford. Having reviewed the troops, and seeing that everything was in readiness, he gave written instructions to Lee, and returned to Philadelphia. The Secretary of War accompanied the army to Pittsburg. The result was more fortunate than had been expected. No resistance was attempted, and no blood was shed. To preserve quiet, and secure what had been gained, a body of troops remained in the disaffected district, under the orders of General Morgan.

During the summer of this year, General Wayne obtained a complete victory over the Indians on the Miami. General Wayne had, in the progress of the winter, by detachment, reoccupied the ground lost by General St. Clair, and there built Fort Recovery, on a stream of the Wabash.

Intelligence was brought to him in May, that a party of British and Indians were posted on the Miami, near the villages at the rapids, and there building a fort of considerable dimensions.

In June, Fort Recovery was invested by a strong party of Indians, who, after a violent assault with small-arms, kept up the fire for about twenty-four hours; but sustaining some loss, they withdrew, and abandoned the enterprise. About the middle of July, General Scott, who commanded the Kentucky militia, had assembled 1600 volunteers, being the full number called for, or more. It is believed, that those Kentuckians who had seen General Wayne's army the year before, gave a very different description of it from that which had been given of the army of General St. Clair; which had removed much of the reluctance felt the preceding year to serve or fight with regulars. From Georgetown, the general rendezvous, the troops marched for head-quarters. On the 26th of the month, the general, with the first division, joined the regular army, at

that time consisting of 1600 effectives, well appointed, trained, and disciplined, to the entire satisfaction of their commander.



On the 28th, General Wayne put the united forces in motion for Fort Recovery, and thence to St. Mary's, by an obscure route, with the view of surprising the Indians; but arriving the 9th of August, he found only deserted villages. The more effectually to ensure the success of his projected *coup de main* on this place, he had caused two roads to be cleared out from Greenville, in that direction, in order to attract and divide the attention of the enemy, while he marched by neither. All this generalship was, however, rendered of no avail by Newman, a Kentucky volunteer, who deserted on the march, and conveyed intelligence to the Indians, that the army was approaching, in time for them to evacuate the towns. At this place a fort was built, and named St. Mary's, probably, which occupied some days — in the meantime, the residue of the Kentucky troops came up. On the 12th of August, several prisoners were brought to the general-in-chief; from these he learned, that the Indian forces occupied a camp near the British garrison, at the rapids of the Miami. And having in his camp a man by the name of Miller, who had been long a prisoner with the Indians of those regions, and who very well understood their languages and customs, General Wayne determined to send him with a flag, and once more to offer them peace, with the friendship and protection of the United States, if they would be at peace; if not, war and destruction, for which they might prepare themselves.



MILLER did not like the mission. It was his opinion, from what he had observed, that the Indians were unalterably determined on war; that they would not respect a flag, but probably kill him: in short, he declined being the ambassador. General Wayne, however, could think of no other as well qualified; and being anxious to make the experiment, he assured Miller that he would hold the eight prisoners then in his custody as pledges for his safety, and that he might take with him whoever he desired. Thus encouraged, Miller consented to go and deliver the message. To attend him, he selected from the prisoners, one of the men and a squaw. With these he left camp at four o'clock, P. M. on the 13th, and next morning, at daybreak, reached the tents of the hostile chiefs, being near together, and known by his attendants, without being

previously discovered. He immediately displayed his flag, and proclaimed himself "a messenger." Instantly, he was assailed on all sides with a hideous yell, and a call to "Kill the runner! kill the spy!" But he, accosting them in their own language, and forthwith explaining to them the nature of his mission, they suspended the blow, and took him into custody.

He showed and explained the general's letter; not omitting the positive assurance, that if they did not send the bearer back to him by the 16th of the month, he would, at sunset of that day, cause every prisoner in his camp to be put to death: Miller was closely confined, and a council called by the chiefs. On the 15th, Miller was liberated, and furnished with an answer to General Wayne, stating, "that if he waited where he was ten days, and then sent Miller for them, they would come and treat with him; but that if he advanced, they would give him battle." The general's impatience prevented his waiting the return of his minister. On the 16th, Miller came up with the army on its march, and delivered the answer; to which he added, "that from the manner in which the Indians were dressed and painted, and the constant arrival of parties, it was his opinion that they had determined on war, and only wanted time to get in all their friends." The general very well knew how to improve on this intelligence, and he continued his march. The 18th, he halted his army, and built Fort Deposit, about seven miles from the British garrison. Early in the morning of the 20th, he resumed his march in that direction, and about ten o'clock his spies, a mile in advance, were fired on. The army was then halted, and put into an order of battle. General Wayne, with his regulars, took the right, resting its right on the Miami, which he had crossed, and descended from the junction with the Auglaze. One brigade of the Kentucky troops, commanded by General Todd, was on the left; the other, commanded by General Barbee, was placed in the rear, as a reserve. Major Price, who commanded the advanced battalion, finding the enemy posted in a thick brushwood, encumbered with fallen timber, the effect of a hurricane, and in great force, extending a right angle from the river, returned with the intelligence to General Wayne, to whom he suggested that he had reason to believe that the enemy were formed into several lines, which were extensive. The general-in-chief then ordered General Barbee to join Todd; and General Scott, who commanded both, was directed to extend the mounted volunteers far to the left, make a circuit, and turn the right of the enemy. The legion was then placed in two lines, while Captain Campbell, who commanded the cavalry, was ordered to the bank of the river; which he was to trace, until he penetrated and passed the Indian left. These dis-



General Wayne defeating the Indians.

positions having been made, and Major Price sent to General Scott, the enemy still keeping his position, the march was resumed. The front line of the legion, a small distance in advance, was ordered to move with arms trailed, and to rouse the savages from their cover with the bayonet, before a shot was fired; then to deliver a full fire, and press the bayonet, so as not to permit the fugitives to recharge their pieces. Rapid was the advance on the enemy—while these orders, strictly executed, and the first, supported by the second line, inclining to the left, the enemy were intercepted in an attempt to turn the left of the legion; and the whole routed, put to flight, and pursued, with such spirit and promptitude, by the front, that but a part of the second line were engaged: while the Kentucky volunteers, taking a circuit rather larger than necessary, were but very partially engaged, if at all. In less than an hour, the enemy had passed the British fort, and General Wayne halted in sight of it; where he encamped the army. No action has been more decisive. The loss of the legion, in killed and wounded, amounted to 197; among the former, were Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Towles. The loss of the Indians, probably, did not exceed that of the United States troops, who freely exposed themselves, but the enemy as little as possible.

General Wayne continued to occupy his camp for three days. While in camp, a correspondence ensued between General Wayne and Major Campbell, commandant of the British garrison; the latter inquired of the former, by what authority he approached so near his cannon, and insulted his command? In reply from the general, he was referred to the

discharges of his fire-arms, and the retreat of the Indians, who had taken refuge behind his fortification: to this was subjoined an inquiry, by what authority he had erected a garrison, under a foreign flag, within the territory of the United States? adding further, that Major Campbell ought to withdraw. While the major, in return, declined all discussion of the question of right — announced his authority from his Britannic Majesty — and his determination to maintain his post, until otherwise ordered by his superiors.



GENERAL WAYNE, having sent another flag to the Indians, again offered them peace, and invited them to a friendly meeting; then, showing some disrespect to the assumed jurisdiction of Major Campbell, broke up his camp, and returned to Fort Deposit, which he strengthened, and called Fort Defiance. From this place, he moved the army to the main forks of the river, and built Fort Wayne. The Indians having signified their pacific disposition, were invited to Greenville, where a treaty of peace was concluded.*

In the president's speech to Congress, he detailed the important events of the past year, recommended a reform in the militia system, and advised that some plan should be adopted for redeeming the public debt, which now amounted to about seventy-six millions of dollars. The Secretary of the Treasury reported a scheme for enlarging the sinking fund, for the diminution of the public debt. The scheme gave rise to much debate, but was, at length, approved and carried into operation. Before the end of the session, Hamilton resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and General Knox that of Secretary of War. Oliver Wolcott and Timothy Pickering succeeded to the vacant posts.

On the 19th of November, 1794, Mr. Jay concluded and signed, with Lord Grenville, "a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation between his Britannic majesty and the United States." It was received by the President on the 7th of March, 1795, and in June submitted to the senate, convened for its consideration. On the 24th of June, that body advised its ratification, with the exception of the 12th article, relative to the West India trade. By this treaty, the United States gained many important advantages. A reciprocal and perfect liberty of commerce was established between the countries, the British government reserving the right of countervailing the American foreign duties. The treaty gave

* Marshall.



Timothy Pickering.

great offence to the French government, and excited a violent opposition in the United States. The President firmly adhered to his approval of the treaty, in defiance of the thunders of partisan papers, and the calumnies of demagogues.

On the 19th of August, Mr. Randolph resigned the office of Secretary of State, and Mr. Pickering was appointed to succeed him, James M'Henry was appointed Secretary of War, and Charles Lee, Attorney-General. The foreign relations of the United States had begun to assume a more favorable aspect. Treaties were negotiated with Spain and Algiers, by which the free navigation of the Mississippi was secured from the former, and the release of prisoners who had suffered in bondage for years, from the latter. The President congratulated both houses, at the opening of the session of Congress, upon the improved state of affairs.

But the British treaty was destined to be the cause of still further agitation. The House of Representatives adopted a resolution, calling for the instructions which the President had given to Mr. Jay, and the correspondence and other documents relating to the negotiation. The President refused, as the House had nothing to do with treaties with foreign nations. After a violent opposition, the laws necessary for the



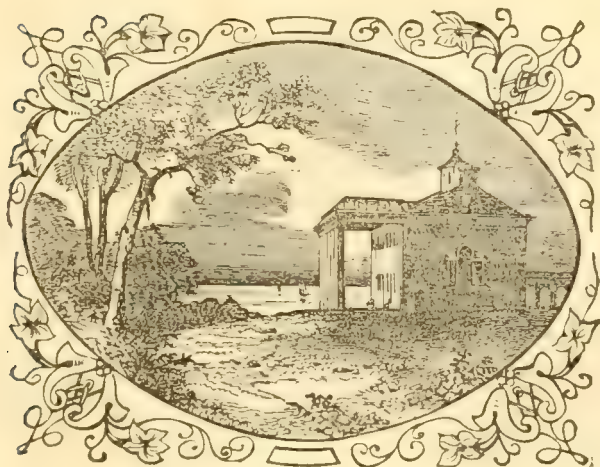
Mount Vernon.

fulfilment of the treaty were adopted. As Mr. Monroe, the minister at the French court, had not given a correct expression to the views of the American government, he was recalled, and Charles C. Pinckney appointed to succeed him.

The second term of Washington's administration was about to expire, and no consideration could tempt him to admit his re-election. Independent of his age and fatigue, popular clamor had of late, passed all decent limits, in vituperation. Besides, he thought one person had ruled long enough for a republic. His intention of retiring, Washington announced to the people in a farewell address which is cherished as a valuable monument of his wisdom and patriotism by all Americans. It is remarkable for the truth and profundity of its views and maxims, and the clearness and force of its language. The two houses came together in December, 1796, and Washington met them for the last time.

Little was done during the session. Public attention was engrossed with the novelty of a presidential election. When the votes of the electors were opened and counted in the presence of both houses, it appeared that John Adams was chosen president, and Thomas Jefferson, having the next highest number of votes, vice-president. Washington remained at Philadelphia to see his successor inaugurated, and then retired to his estate at Mount Vernon. (March, 1797.) We cannot see this illustrious patriot thus retire from the public service without reflecting upon the contrast he presented to those men of great talents who have served their countries only to enslave them. Perhaps no man ever pos-

sessed the heart of his people in so great a measure. To his gigantic exertions and unquailing resolution, that people were indebted for a righteous termination of their struggle for independence. They knew this, and they were grateful—perhaps grateful enough to resign their liberties to his will. But Washington was deaf to all suggestions of a monarchy. With his eyes steadily fixed upon an ideal of a patriot, he heeded not the bickerings of selfish gratification. Like Epaminondas of old, he received power only when the people called for his wisdom and firmness, and having relieved his country, he was content—nay, proud to be called one of her free citizens. Such truly great and generous spirits seldom appear in history; but when they do rise, they shed a never-dying lustre upon the land of their birth and demand the tribute of admiration from every freeman.





JOHN ADAMS.



CHAPTER XLIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.



HE President who was chosen to succeed Washington, was revered by the majority for his patriotism and revolutionary services. Yet being a firm and consistent advocate of the doctrines held by the federalists, it was expected that the measures of his administration would meet with a strong opposition. In his inaugural address, Mr. Adams unfolded his political views, and expressed his determination to

endeavor to carry out the principles and policy of his illustrious predecessor.

The first subject which engaged the attention of the government was a difficulty with France. The French directory announced to Mr. Pinckney their determination not to receive another minister plenipotentiary from the United States until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government, which the French had a right to expect from it. Mr. Pinckney was afterwards ordered to quit the territories of France. American vessels were captured wherever found; and, under the pretext



T. G. and.

of their wanting a document, with which the treaty of commerce had been uniformly understood to dispense, they were condemned as prizes.

The President convened Congress on the 15th of June, when in a firm and dignified speech, he stated the hostile movements of the French government, and, while desiring an accommodation upon honorable terms, expressed the opinion that decisive and spirited measures should at once be adopted, to convince the French that the Americans knew and would maintain their national rights.

In order to see what could be effected by negotiation, three envoys extraordinary, at the head of whom was General Pinckney, were appointed to proceed to France. On the 7th of July, an act was passed to declare the treaties heretofore concluded with France no longer obligatory

on the United States. In the spring of 1798, despatches were received from the American envoys, announcing the total failure of their mission. Talleyrand, the French minister of Foreign Affairs, demanded money, as an antecedent condition, not only of the reconciliation of America with France, but of any negotiation on the subject of differences. The envoys refused, and two of them were ordered to quit the territories of the republic. The despatches excited great and universal indignation. Throughout the States, the language was, "Millions for defence; not a cent for tribute."

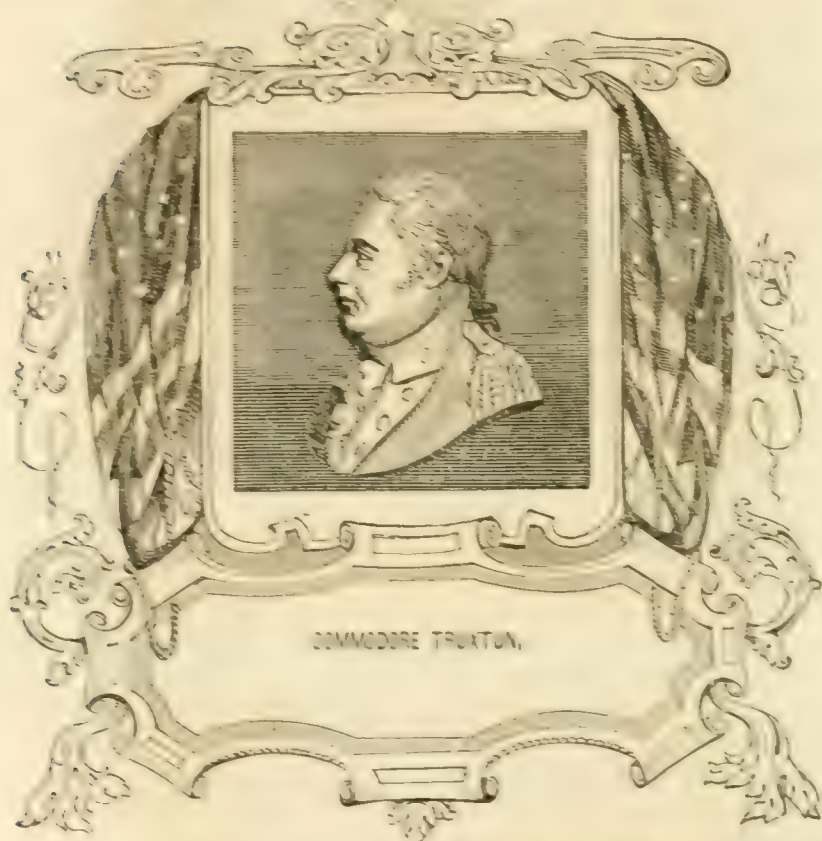
Congress caught the spirit of the people, and adopted vigorous measures. It was resolved to organize a considerable regular army. The President was authorized to raise twelve additional regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, to serve during the continuance of the difficulties with France. He was also authorized to organize volunteer corps, the persons com-

posing which were not to receive any pay, unless called into actual service. In June, Congress authorized the defence of the merchant vessels of the United States against French depredations. In July, the President appointed George Washington lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the defensive army. Washington, though wishing to enjoy the sweets of retirement, accepted the appointment, upon condition that he should be allowed to appoint the officers immediately subordinate to him. He selected Alexander Hamilton and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for major-generals, and Henry Knox for inspector-general.

On all sides was heard the bustle of preparation for invasion. The navy department was created. An alien bill, for getting rid of the French emissaries, and a sedition bill, were passed, after a violent opposition from



Napoleon.



the Democrats, or republicans. Happily, the gloom of a threatening war was dispelled. Talleyrand explained away his former conduct, and President Adams, anticipating a reaction in favor of peace, appointed Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Murray plenipotentiaries to the French republic. Napoleon had succeeded the directory as the ruling power; and as he had no interest in prolonging a state of hostility, and had other objects to engage his attention, he gave the American envoys a favorable reception.

The creation of the American navy and a few of its achievements were the most remarkable events of this short contest. In the early part of 1793, the navy was made of 42 vessels, carrying 950 guns. The defence of the American commerce in the West Indies was entrusted to Commodore Truxton, in the frigate *Constellation*, 38 guns. Such was Truxton's vigilance and activity, that the French privateers were compelled to remain in port. On the 26th of February, the *Constellation* fell in with



THOMAS WARREN

the French frigate *L'Insurgente*, one of the fastest sailers in the French navy. This being the first time since the revolutionary war that an American ship had encountered an enemy in any manner which promised a contest, the officers and men were eager for the engagement: and the enemy were not inclined to avoid it. The ships neared, until the *Constellation*, after having been thrice hailed, opened a fire upon her antagonist. A fierce cannonade ensued, while the American was drawing ahead. She suffered much in her sails and rigging, and the foremast was nearly cut off by a shot. This was, in some degree, remedied by Mr. David Porter, a midshipman, who being unable to communicate the circumstance to others, himself cut the stoppers and lowered the yard, and thus prevented the fall of the mast with its rigging. In the meantime, their superior gunnery gave the action a turn in favor of the Americans, who were at last enabled to decide the contest by two or three raking broadsides after a combat of an hour, when the Americans were routed, and would again have raked her with all their guns, had she not previously struck. The prize was greatly damaged, and had lost in all seventy men. The *Constellation* was also much damaged in her rigging, but lost only three men—wounded—one of whom—Mr. James McDonough—had his



Capture of L'Insurgente.

foot shot off. The *Insurgente* carried forty guns, and 409 men. The American vessel carried thirty-eight guns, and 309 men.

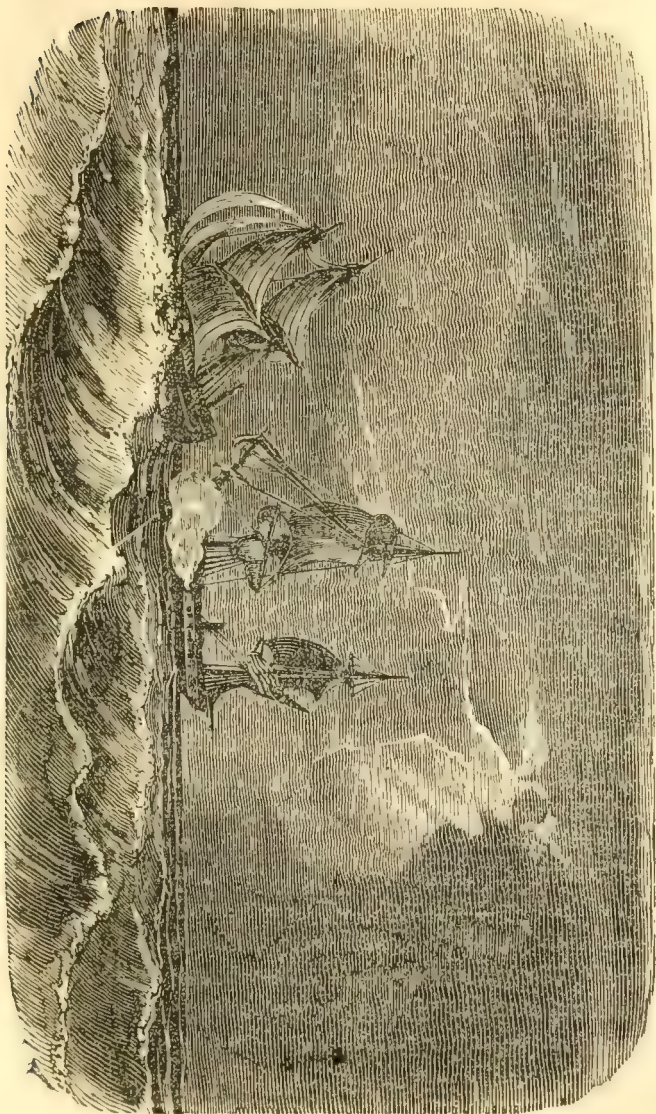
It was half-past three, in the afternoon, when the *Insurgente* struck, and Mr. Rodgers, the first lieutenant of the *Constellation*, was sent, together with Mr. Porter and eleven men, to take possession and have the prisoners removed; but, ere this could be effected, the darkness and a rise of wind separated the ships.

The situation of Rodgers, at this period, was unpleasant in the extreme. No handcuffs were to be found, and the prisoners seemed disposed to rebel. Fortunately, Rodgers was well calculated to act with decision in such circumstances, and Porter and the men were prompt in executing his orders. The prisoners were sent into the lower hold, and a sentinel stationed at each hatchway, with orders to shoot any one who should attempt to come upon deck without orders. Thus he was obliged to spend three days, at the end of which time he arrived at St. Kitts, where the *Constellation* had already arrived.

The American cruisers, which generally sailed singly, for the better protection of commerce, made many captures, and became very formidable to the French privateers and commercial vessels. Captains Murray and Barry, and lieutenants Bainbridge and Decatur, acquired the first of those laurels, to which they afterwards made such great additions.

After the capture of *L'Insurgente*, the *Constellation* sailed for the United States to refit. In the early part of 1800, she returned to her cruising ground, still under Truxtun's command. On the 1st of February,

Action with the Vengeance.





Captain Barry.

he descried a ship off the island of Guadaloupe, to which he gave chase, as she proved to be a French man-of-war. On the evening of the 2d, Truxtun came up with her, and a desperate battle followed, continuing from 8 o'clock until half-past one, when the enemy made sail to escape. Truxtun's vessel was too much crippled to follow, and the French vessel, which proved to be the *Vengeance*, reached Curaçoa in a sinking condition. The *Vengeance* carried 52 guns, a crew of between 400 or 500 men, and was commanded by Captain Pitot. Her loss was reported at 50 killed, and 110 wounded. She would have certainly been captured, but for the loss of the *Constellation*'s main-mast. The American ship had 14 men killed, and 25 wounded. Congress awarded a gold medal to Truxtun for his good conduct, and he was soon afterwards promoted to the command of the *President*, 44. The whole number of French vessels captured during the war was 308. This conferred great honor on the infant navy and its daring cruisers.

Negotiation adjusted the difference between the United States and the French republic, and a treaty was concluded at Paris, on the 30th of September, 1800; but was not finally ratified by both parties until July, 1801. Hostilities, however, had ceased, long before.



Truxton Medal.

The latter part of 1799 was marked by a melancholy event, which threw a deep gloom over the United States, and caused the deepest regret among many enlightened individuals in every country of the world. George Washington, the father of his country, and a model, whether viewed as a general, a statesman, a patriot, or a man, died on the 14th of December, in the 68th year of his age, after an illness of twenty-four hours. The nation mourned deeply and sincerely the loss of the great chief. Congress adopted various resolutions expressing their respect for his memory, and the members resolved to wear black during the remainder of the session. Elegies were written, and orations



Old Tomb of Washington.



delivered throughout the country, and no panegyric was considered too lofty for the man who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.*"

During 1799, treaties were concluded between the United States and Tunis, and the United States and Prussia. The latter was negotiated by John Quincy Adams, afterwards President of the United States. During the interval between the sessions of Congress, the seat of government had been removed from Philadelphia to Washington, and in 1800 Congress met for the first time at that place. President Adams, in his regular address, congratulated the people upon having a permanent seat of government, and implored the blessing of the Supreme Being upon it.

The term of Mr. Adams, as president, being about to expire, a new election was held. Several of the measures of the administration had

* After remaining many years in the original family tomb, the remains of Washington were transferred to a new, more secure and more elegant tomb. At a still later period, they were inclosed in a marble sarcophagus.

proved unpopular, and when the result of the election was ascertained, Mr. Adams was completely in the minority. It was found that Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr each had the same number of votes. The choice, therefore, was to be made by the House of Representatives. There, also, Jefferson and Burr had the same number of votes; and it was not until the thirty-fifth ballot that the friends of Jefferson succeeded in electing him president. Burr became vice-president. (March, 1801.)



New Tomb of Washington.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.



CHAPTER XLV.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON stood high in the favor of a majority of the people of the Union, and even those who opposed his doctrines, admitted his political talents. During the Revolution, he rose to eminence as a statesman and patriot, and had ever since continued to serve his country in a civil capacity. In his inaugural address, the president summarily stated what he deemed the "essential principles of our government, and consequently, those which ought to shape its administration." These principles were, generally, those which the republican party had advocated, and which he had ever maintained.

The president proceeded at once to make the changes in matters under the control of the executive, which he had long recommended. Through his exertions, the army and navy were reduced; some portion of the taxes which had become odious were abolished; the *levées* of the president were omitted, and future communications from the executive to Congress were to be made in writing. The most violent of his political opponents were removed from office. The abolition of internal taxes enabled him to do away with a great number of offices, and by taking measures for gradually paying the debt, Jefferson led the way towards undermining the great patronage and influence of the treasury department.

A difficulty with the French government now occurred, and threatened to end in a war. Napoleon, having effected a treaty of peace with Britain, was directing his active mind to the recovery of that colonial force which had been lost during the war. An expedition was fitted out to recover St. Domingo from the insurgent blacks. After its conquest, the army was to take possession of Louisiana, and these united would give France a preponderance in the West Indies, as well as the full command of the Mississippi and the Gulf.

The president, informed of these schemes, wrote to the envoy at Paris, to represent there the inexpediency of them, and the dangerous consequences of interrupting the good feeling of the people of all nations. The people of the Western States, deprived by the Spanish authorities of the right of having a *dépôt* at New Orleans, determined to assert their claim by force of arms; and had not fortune favored Jefferson at this time, he would have been involved in a war with France at once: but the expedition against St. Domingo failing of success, and the breach between France and England widening, every day, Napoleon's scheme became impracticable, and he offered to sell Louisiana to the United States government. The offer was accepted, and the immense tract of Louisiana was purchased for the sum of 15,000,000 dollars.

The State of Ohio was admitted into the Union on the 28th of April, 1802. In 1803, it contained 76,000 inhabitants. Public attention was now directed to another subject which had long caused uneasiness. The piratical states of Barbary, especially Algiers and Tripoli, had been committing constant depredations on American commerce.

On the 14th of May, 1801, the bashaw of Tripoli formally declared war against the United States, in consequence of the refusal of the government to grant him subsidies. Though there was no certainty of war in the United States, and intelligence of the declaration of it by the bashaw had not yet reached the government, still the character of the Barbary States was such as to render that event highly probable, and it was resolved to send out a squadron to protect our commerce. The frigates *President*, Captain James Barron; *Philadelphia*, Captain Samuel Barron; *Essex*, Captain William Bainbridge; and the schooner *Enterprise*, Lieutenant-Commandant Sterret, composed the squadron, the whole of which was put in command of Commodore Dale. He set sail on the 1st of June, and arrived off Gibraltar on the 1st of July, where he found the high-admiral of Tripoli at anchor, in a ship of 26 guns, nine and six-pounders, 260 men, and a brig of 16 guns, with 160 men. The Tripolitan stated that he had been out thirty-six days, was not at war with America, and had not captured any prizes. From all the informa-



Commodore Dale.

tion Commodore Dale could obtain at Gibraltar, Tripoli was at war with the United States. Leaving a sufficient force to blockade the port, Dale sailed for Algiers, where he delivered to Mr. O'Brien the cloth and linen which he had brought out as part of the annual present for the Dey; and from thence he sailed to Tunis, where he met Mr. Eaton, the United States consul, who expressed his opinion that the appearance of the American fleet would have a good effect upon the action of the governments of Algiers and Tunis. He then commenced a blockade of Tripoli, when the bashaw opened a correspondence with him, and endeavored to explain away the differences between him and the United States; but this was productive of no satisfactory results, and the blockade was continued for some time.

In August, the United States schooner *Enterprise*, Captain Sterret, fell in with one of these cruisers, off Malta. A desperate engagement ensued, which was, without intermission, continued nearly two hours, when the Tripolitan hauled down his colors. The crew of the *Enterprise*, ceasing to fire, cheered upon their victory; when the perfidious corsair again attacked, hoisting his colors, and renewing the action with increased desperation, but to little effect. A volley of small-arms from the Enter-

prise swept the deck of the enemy, and the cruiser was ordered under her quarters. The treacherous disposition of these buccaneers was again manifested; for, on gaining this position, they renewed, from below, the contest a third time, by pouring a broadside into the *Enterprise*, hoisting the bloody flag, in token of extermination, and using every effort to board. The crew of the *Enterprise* were now animated to a high pitch of resentment, and resolved to wreak a signal vengeance on their treacherous opponents. Such a position was taken, that the corsair was raked fore and aft. A well-directed fire carried away the mizzen-mast, and drove the enemy from their quarters. The commander, perceiving impending destruction to the remainder of his crew, threw his colors into the sea, and, bending over the side of his vessel in an attitude of supplication, implored mercy. Captain Sterett instantly arrested the work of carnage, and, setting a noble example of the triumph of civilization and generosity over barbarism, ordered every attention to be paid to the wounded Tripolitans that humanity could dictate. The masts of the cruiser were cut down, Captain Sterett's instructions not permitting him to make a prize of her; the guns thrown into the sea; and a spar being erected as a substitute for a mast, to which a tattered sail was attached, the surviving crew were thus sent into Tripoli, with an admonition not to expect tribute from a nation determined to pay it only in powder and ball.



O screen his own impolicy, the bashaw ascribed the defeat to cowardice in the captain of his vessel, whom, though wounded, he ordered to be mounted on an ass, paraded through the town, as an object of public scorn, and afterwards to receive five hundred stripes with the bastinado. Captain Sterett was honored with the special notice of the president of the United States, who, in a message to the two houses of Congress, recommended

this achievement to their particular attention. They unanimously passed resolutions expressive of their approbation of the gallantry of the commander, officers, and crew of the *Enterprise*; and voted a gold medal, with suitable emblems, to Captain Sterett, swords of value to his officers, and one month's extra pay to the non-commissioned officers, seamen, and marines.

In the year 1802, Commodore Murray, in the *Constellation*, sailed for the Mediterranean. While cruising off the port of Tripoli, and happening to be becalmed, his situation was perceived, and the whole of the Tripolitan gun-boats in the harbor came out to engage him. The low construction of this kind of craft, and their moveability in calm weather, render them formidable, in proportion as the advantages of larger vessels are counteracted, when the want of wind prevents their being steered. A man-of-war then presents the fairest mark; and accordingly, at point-blank distance, the *Constellation* was exposed to a galling, incessant fire, for more than an hour. A breeze, however, fortunately springing up, the commodore dashed in among them, and obliged the whole to retire in dismay and confusion. Several of the boats were sunk; others upset in the surf; and numbers of the crews were killed, wounded, or drowned.



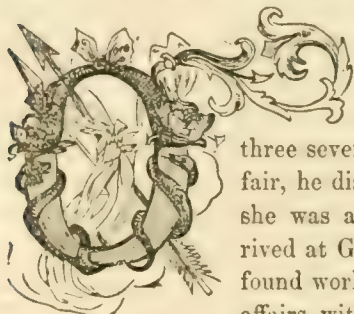
THE year 1802 elapsed without any other occurrence of interest. Early in 1803, the United States determined on vigorous measures against Tripoli. A squadron of seven sail was fitted out, consisting of the *Constitution* of 44 guns, *Philadelphia* 44, *Argus* 18, *Syren* 16, *Nautilus* 16, *Vixen* 16, and *Enterprise* 14, the command of which was given to Commodore Preble.

At this time, our situation with respect to Morocco and Tunis was critical, and in regard to Tripoli, had been hostile for more than two years. The American administration had proposed to adopt the same policy towards these powers as that submitted to by most of the governments of Europe; that is, to give them presents or annuities, in conformity to their prejudices and habits, but to make an occasional display of force in their seas, with a view to keep down their demands and expectations. The former part of the system, however, had been practised upon, at least, till after the year 1798, without the aid of the latter. The opposition in Congress to the building of vessels of war till that period, withheld from the government the means of employing force to lessen the amount or secure the effect of presents.

Great sums had been paid in specie and articles of war, especially to Algiers. The new bashaw of Tripoli, who had deposed his elder brother, wishing to gratify his subjects — thinking to sell his friendship to us at a high rate, and perhaps expecting the co-operation of one or more of the African governments, sent out his cruisers against our trade. The United States' squadron, first under Commodore Dale, and next under Comme-

dore Morris, had furnished protection to our commerce and seamen by convoys; and had annoyed Tripoli by blockading her principal cruiser in Gibraltar, and by attacking and dismantling another. Still the bashaw had not received such an impression of our ability and determination to make the war distressing to him, as to be inclined, on admissible terms, to discontinue his piracies. "Specks of war," and symptoms of insolence in the other Barbary States, rendered it important they should have a stronger conviction of the inconvenience and danger of refusing to be at peace with the United States. The commanders before Mr. Preble, had urged the necessity of an increase of our force in those seas, and, if Tripoli was to be blockaded with effect, had recommended that a larger proportion of the squadron should be small vessels, which might easily relieve each other. The last suggestion, not the former, appears to have been regarded by the government in the armament now in readiness.

Notwithstanding the most strenuous exertion, the commodore was not ready to sail with the *Constitution* till the 13th of August. The wages in the merchant service being higher than on board public ships, it was found difficult to get this frigate manned at all, and still more with native American sailors.



IN his passage to Gibraltar, he brought-to and visited, 7th September, the frigate *Maimona*, 30 guns and 150 men, belonging to the Emperor of Morocco. After

three several examinations of her papers, which were fair, he dismissed her, though he afterwards believed she was authorised to capture Americans. He arrived at Gibraltar 12th September, and immediately found work to fill his hand in the position of our affairs with Morocco. Captain Bainbridge had, on

the 26th August, captured the Moorish ship *Mirboka*, of 22 guns and 100 men. This ship had sailed from Tangier August 7th. Among her papers was an order to cruise for Americans. It was not signed, but declared by the captain to have been delivered to him sealed, with a direction to open it at sea, by Hashash, governor of Tangier. She had taken the American brig *Celia*, Captain Bowen, which was then in company, and which Captain Bainbridge retook and restored to the owner. The last of May, Captain Rogers had detained the *Mishouda*, a Tripolitan vessel under Morocco colors. She had a passport from the American consul, with a reserve for blockaded ports. She was taken attempting to go into Tripoli, which Captain Rogers, in the *John Adams*, was known to be blockading. On board her were guns and other contraband articles

not in her when she received her passport at Gibraltar ; also 20 Tripolitan subjects taken in at Algiers. The appearance was that she had been taken under the imperial flag for the purpose of being restored to our enemy. The emperor denied authorising the attempt of the Mishouda, and said if she was given up the captain should be punished. The governor Hashash, on learning the capture of the Mirboka, at which time the emperor was absent, declared she acted without authority, and that war was not intended. At the same time, her captain certified that this governor gave him his orders. Hashash was, and continued to be in the confidence of Muley Soliman. He had said "do what you please, and I will support you."



THE next day after his arrival, Commodore Preble wrote to the consul, Simpson, at Tangier, desiring him to assure the Moorish court, that the United States wished peace with his majesty, if it could be had on proper terms — that he could not suppose the emperor's subject would dare to make war without his permission ;

but as their authority was disavowed by the governor, he should punish as a pirate every Moorish cruiser who should be found to have taken an American.

Commodore Rogers, on whom the command of the former squadron under Morris devolved, and who was under orders to return to the United States with the frigates *New York* and *John Adams*, agreed to remain a few days on the station, and to join Commodore Preble in Tangier bay, to assist in effecting an adjustment.

On the 17th, taking into his ship the principal Moorish officers of the two prizes, he appeared, with the *Constitution* and *John Adams*, in Tangier bay, hoisting the white flag in token of peace, but having the men at quarters. Mr. Simpson, however, was not permitted to come on board, nor to write except on an open slip of paper ; being confined to his house, with two sentinels at his door, by order, as was said, of the governor of Tangier. The governor was at Tetuan, and the emperor was absent at Fez, and not expected for several days.

Another act of hostility had been done at Mogadore, by an order to detain all American vessels, and the actual seizure of the brig *Hannah*, of Salem, Joseph M. Williams master.

The commodore was confirmed in the propriety and benefit of a high tone and vigorous measures ; accordingly, he took a decided course. He

gave orders to his squadron to bring in for examination all vessels belonging to the emperor and his subjects; despatched three vessels to cruise off Mogadore, Salee, and Zarach, and one off Tetuan, and entered the bay of Tangier at several times. That the Tripolitans might not think they were forgotten, he despatched the *Philadelphia* and *Vixen* to lie before Tripoli.

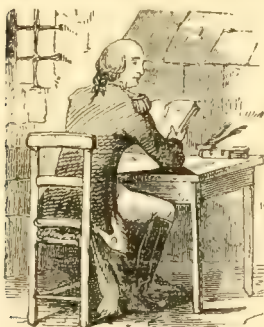


HE consul, Simpson, made representations to the emperor, who was absent, before and after the arrival of Commodore Preble, explaining our hostile movements. The answers received were general, but showed that if he had authorised war, he was now prepared to disavow it; and if the orders for the capture and detention of American vessels had been the acts

of his governor, given under a general discretion, he would refuse his sanction.

On the day assigned, the 11th, the commodore, accompanied by Colonel Lear, Mr. Morris, as secretary, and two midshipmen, landed at Tangier for an audience with the emperor. He believed there was no danger in landing; but he expressed his desire, that if he should be forcibly detained, the commanding officer on board would not enter into treaty for his release, or consider his personal safety; but open a fire upon the town. They were ushered into the castle and the presence of the sovereign through a double file of guards. The commodore at the entrance was requested, according to Moorish custom in such cases, to dispose of his side-arms. He said he must comply with the custom of his own country, and retain them, which was allowed. On coming into the imperial presence, our officer and the consul were requested to advance near the emperor, with whom they conversed by an interpreter. He expressed much sorrow and regret that any difference had arisen, for he was at peace with the United States. He disavowed having given any hostile orders; said he would restore all American vessels and property detained in consequence of any act of his governors, and renew and confirm the treaty made with his father in 1786. The commodore and consul, on the part of the United States, promised that the vessels and property of the emperor should be restored, and the orders of capture revoked. They proceeded to an interview with the minister, where the details were settled. The mutual stipulations were forthwith executed, the *Mirboka* being appraised with a view to the indemnification of the captors by our government. The commodore received a formal ratification of the treaty of 1786, and a letter of friendship and peace to the president, signed by the emperor.

Having thus adjusted the difficulties that had been started by the equivocal and crooked policy of the Emperor of Morocco towards the American government, the commodore directed his attention against Tripoli. The Philadelphia, Captain Bainbridge, being despatched, previously, to reconnoitre, standing five leagues to the eastward of that town, descried a sail in-shore, to which chase was immediately given. When it was seen that no efforts could prevent her escape, the Philadelphia, in beating off, was found to be in only seven fathoms water, and almost immediately struck. Every effort was exerted to lighten her, but in vain. The greatest depth of water was ascertained to be astern. All sails were laid aback; the top-gallant-sails loosened; three anchors thrown away from the bows; the water in the hold started; and all the guns thrown overboard, excepting a few aloft, to defend the ship against the Tripolitan gun-boats, then advancing upon her: the foremast was cut away; but every attempt proved ineffectual. The Philadelphia, deprived of the power of resistance, was compelled to strike to superior numbers of the enemy, who, with their gun-boats, covered the sea. The Tripolitans took possession of the frigate; and her officers and crew, to the number of three hundred, were made prisoners. Subsequently, on a change of wind, the Tripolitans got off the frigate, and towed her into harbor.



CAPTAIN BAINBRIDGE and his fellow-prisoners were carried before the bashaw, and thence conducted to the house previously occupied by Mr. Cathcart, the American consul. The officers were placed on parole, with a guarantee, from the bashaw's minister, for their security and forthcoming.

Shortly after, Commodore Preble captured a schooner, off Tripoli, having on board the presents of the bashaw to the Grand Signior, and several distinguished officers. It was expected that so opportune a capture might, if it did not facilitate a peace, at least afford the means of procuring a release of the crew of the Philadelphia. The commodore immediately proffered an exchange. The bashaw returned an answer, with indirect proposals for peace; but the terms consisted of inadmissible principles, viz., the ransom of the officers and crew, for five hundred dollars each, and the payment of an annual tribute from the United States, as the price of peace. Beyond this, he offered to restore the Philadelphia for the schooner. On the rejection of these terms, the bashaw varied his position, and offered an exchange of the American officers and men for the Tripolitan prisoners,

man for man, as far as they would go; a delivery of the remainder for four hundred dollars each; an exchange of the frigate for the captured schooner; and a ratification of peace, but with an annual tribute. These were, in like manner, rejected.

Captain Bainbridge,* who had been captured in the frigate Philadelphia, and still remained a prisoner in Tripoli, continued, by writing with sympathetic ink, to hold a correspondence with Commodore Preble, and his suggestions were of the highest importance to the success of the expedition. By the assistance of Mr. Nissen, the Danish consul to Tripoli, who was unwearied in his acts of kindness to the American prisoners, he transmitted a letter to Commodore Preble, in which he informed him that he thought it practicable to destroy the frigate Philadelphia at her moorings in the harbor of Tripoli. He added, that all the enemy's gun-boats were hauled up on shore, and from the ramparts he had observed, in addition to the castle, only one small battery with a few awkwardly mounted guns. To accomplish the object, he suggested the following plan:



“CHARTER a small merchant schooner, and have her commanded by fearless and determined officers. Let the vessel enter the harbor at night, with her men secreted below deck—steer her directly on board the frigate, and then let the officers and men board, sword in hand, and there was not a doubt of their success, and without any very heavy loss. It would be necessary to take several good row-boats, in order to facilitate the retreat,

after the enterprise had been accomplished. The frigate, in her present condition, is a powerful auxiliary battery for the defence of the harbor. Though it will be impossible to remove her from her anchorage, and thus restore this beautiful vessel to our navy; yet, as she may, and no doubt will be repaired, an important end would be gained by her destruction.”

Commodore Preble highly approved of the plan suggested, which he submitted to several of his confidential officers. By the first opportunity, he wrote to Captain Bainbridge, that concurring with him as to the practicability of destroying the frigate Philadelphia, he was making preparations for that purpose, and that his friend, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, had volunteered to command the enterprise.

* Harris's Life of Bainbridge.

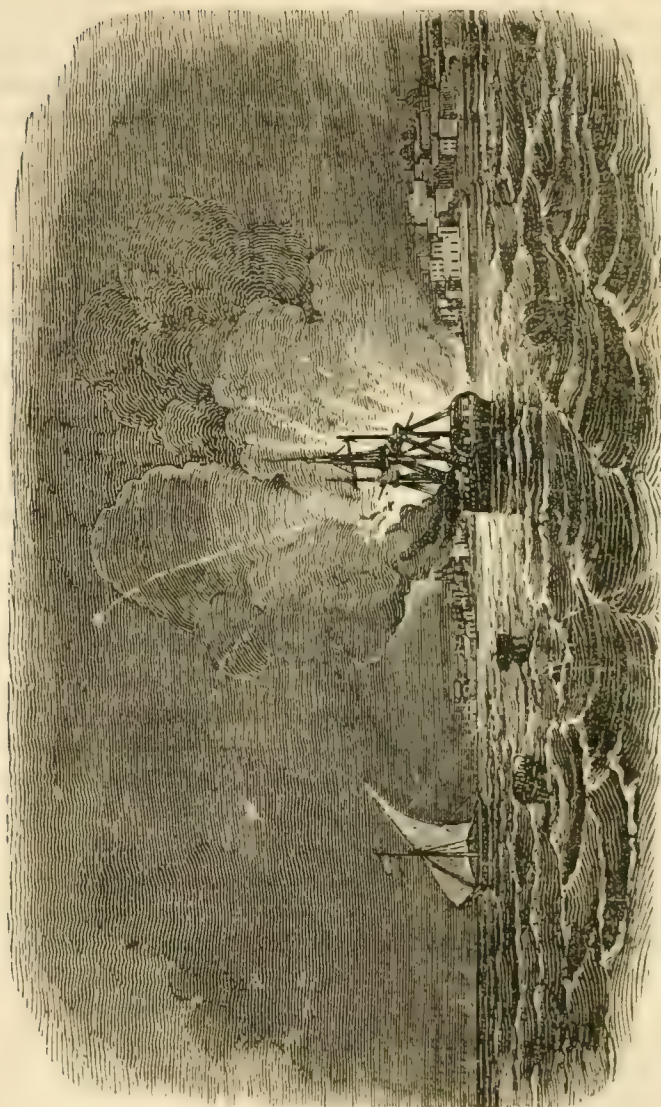
On the 15th of February, 1804, about midnight, Captain Bainbridge and the other American officers imprisoned at Tripoli, were suddenly awakened by the rapid discharge of heavy artillery from the Tripolitan batteries. They sprang to the windows, and were delighted to observe the frigate Philadelphia, the boasted trophy of the bashaw, wrapt in devouring flames. This spectacle was particularly gratifying to Captain Bainbridge, as he witnessed in it the accomplishment of his own scheme, which he had submitted some time before to Commodore Preble, and saw removed, at the same time, the vessel which he daily grudged to behold in the possession of the enemy.



HIS brilliant enterprise was achieved by Lieutenant Stephen Decatur and his brave followers. After Commodore Preble had received Captain Bainbridge's letter, containing his plan for the destruction of the captured frigate, he submitted it to Lieutenant Decatur, who promptly offered to command the expedition. The crew of the

United States frigate were piped on deck for the purpose of obtaining volunteers. As usual on such occasions on board United States vessels, twice the number volunteered that were required. Of these, seventy broad-shouldered, gallant-looking fellows were selected, and were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for service.

A Tripolitan ketch which Decatur had captured a few days before, and which was now called the Intrepid, was fitted out to carry them to the harbor of Tripoli. The officers selected for the enterprise, were Lieutenant James Lawrence and Joseph Bainbridge, with Midshipmen Charles Morris and John Henley. The Intrepid, in company with the brig Syren, Lieutenant Charles Stewart, sailed from Syracuse on the 3d of February, and, after a tempestuous passage of twelve days, arrived about twilight off their destined harbor. The hour of ten was assigned to meet the boats of the Syren, which were to accompany the expedition; but, in consequence of the change of wind, the two vessels became separated six or eight miles. As there was danger in delay, Decatur resolved to gain the inner harbor. Accordingly, at nine o'clock he increased his sail; but, owing to the lightness of the wind, three hours were lost in passing three miles. When within about a hundred yards, he was hailed from the frigate, and threatened with being fired into, unless he immediately came to anchor. A Maltese pilot, who was on board, was directed to say that the anchors were lost. The ketch, when within fifty yards of the Philadelphia, being completely becalmed, Lieutenant Decatur ordered a rope



Burning of the Philadelphia.

to be carried out in a boat, and fastened to the forechains of the frigate. This point being gained, the craft was quickly warped alongside, before her true character was suspected by the Tripolitans. Decatur immediately sprang on board, with the gallant midshipman Morris by his side, quickly followed by the other officers and men. Though a short interval elapsed before the crew succeeded in mounting after them, such was the consternation of the Turks, that they took no advantage of this delay. The brave commander, with his gallant followers, now rushed, sword in hand, on the enemy, who were crowded together on the forecastle, and soon overpowered them; but not until a large proportion of them were killed, wounded, or thrown overboard.



BEING prepared with matches and combustibles, each officer ran to such points of the ship as had been assigned him by previous arrangement, and thus fired her in a number of places at the same time. In a few seconds, she was enveloped in flames. It required great exertions to save the Intrepid from destruction —

she was attached to a vessel in a state of fearful conflagration—was fired upon by the water-battery and the castle at the same time, and had it not been for a favorable breeze which at that juncture sprang up, escape would have been impossible. In this gallant enterprise, none of the Americans were killed, and only four wounded.

Nothing could exceed the rage of the bashaw at the loss of his valuable prize. He ordered the prison to be immediately surrounded by guards, and interrupted all intercourse between the officers and men of the Philadelphia. On the 1st of March, they were conducted under a strong guard to the castle, and confined in a cold and damp apartment, with only one opening at the top, which was grated with iron. Through this aperture alone they received light and air. In this place they were entombed during the remainder of their captivity. The condition of the prisoners was, however, in no small degree, alleviated by the unwearied attentions of Mr. Nissen, the benevolent Dane.

On the 12th, of July, 1804, Commodore Preble appeared off Tripoli with a small squadron. On the 3d of August, at 3 P. M., commenced a tremendous fire between our men-of-war, and the Tripolitan castle, batteries, and gun-boats. Shot and shells were thrown into every quarter of the city, causing the greatest consternation among the inhabitants. The firing attracted the attention of the officers to the high grated window of the prison, from which they observed with unspeakable pride, three of the American gun-boats bear down, in gallant style, on the enemy's



Bombardment of Tripoli.

eastern division, consisting of nine vessels of the same class. As our vessels advanced, a few well-directed rounds of grape and musketry were fired, and as soon as the vessels came in contact, our gallant countrymen boarded sword in hand, and, after a fierce contest of a few minutes, they captured three of the Tripolitan gun-boats: the other six precipitately fled. At the moment of victory, Captain Decatur was informed that his brother, Lieutenant James Decatur, had been treacherously shot by a Tripolitan commander, after he had boarded and captured him. The fearless Decatur immediately pursued the murderer, and, succeeding in getting alongside just as he was retreating within the enemy's lines, he boarded with only eleven followers. Decatur immediately attacked the Tripolitan commander, who was armed with spear and cutlass. In the contest, which for a time appeared doubtful, Decatur broke his sword near the hilt. He seized his enemy's spear, and, after a violent struggle, succeeded in throwing him on the deck. The Turk now drew from his belt a dirk, and, when in the act of striking, Decatur caught his arm, drew from his pocket a pistol, and shot him through the head. During the continuance of this terrible struggle, the crews of each vessel impetuously rushed to the assistance of their respective commanders. Such was the carnage in this furious and desperate battle, that it was with difficulty Decatur could extricate himself from the killed and wounded by which he was surrounded.

In this affair, an American sailor, named Reuben James, manifested

the most heroic self-devotion. Seeing a Tripolitan officer aiming a blow at Decatur's head, while he was struggling with his prostrate foe, and which must have proved fatal, had not the generous and fearless tar, who had been deprived of the use of both his hands, by severe wounds, rushed between the sabre and his commander and received the blow on his head, by which his skull was fractured.*

The boat commanded by Lieutenant Joseph Bainbridge received a shot that carried away her lateen-yards, by which all his exertions to get alongside of the enemy were rendered altogether unavailing. Being within musket-shot, however, he directed a brisk fire, which did great execution. Unable to manage his boat without sails, she grounded near the enemy's batteries; but, by courage and great exertions, she was extricated from her perilous situation.

Captain Somers, being unable to beat to windward, in order to co-operate with Decatur, bore down with his single boat, on the leeward division of the enemy, and attacked, within pistol-shot, five of the Tripolitan vessels. He maintained the action with great spirit until the other division of the enemy was defeated, when this also precipitately fled within their harbor.

The enemy's boats again rallied, and attempted to surround the American gun-boats and prizes. This bold enterprise was defeated, however, by the advance of Commodore Preble, in the frigate Constitution, which, by a few spirited broadsides, effectually covered the retreat of the brave little squadron, which had so signally triumphed. The frigate Constitution, bomb-vessels, &c., created great alarm and confusion in the city, by throwing shot and shells. The frigate was several times within three cables' length of the batteries, and each time silenced those against whom her broadsides were directed. These advantages, however, the gallant commander was unable to secure without more assistance, for, so soon as he changed his position, the firing recommenced at the points of the fort, from which the men had been driven.

Availing themselves of the land-breeze, which commenced to blow between four and five in the afternoon, the squadron retired from the action. The damages sustained by the Americans were quite inconsiderable, when compared with the apparent danger to which they were exposed. The loss of the enemy was very great. The three boats captured from the Tripolitans contained 103 men, of whom 47 were killed, and 26 wounded. Three of their boats were sunk, and the crews buried in the waves. A number of guns in the batteries were dismounted, the city was

* Harris's Life of Bainbridge.



Explosion of the Intrepid.

considerably injured, and many of the inhabitants killed. A great proportion of the inhabitants, and all the foreign consuls fled from the city, with the exception of the benevolent Mr. Nissen.

On the 7th, the squadron repeated their attack, conducted with ability and effect, surpassing, if possible, the former one; and on the 29th, a most desperate engagement took place. One hundred and twenty rounds were fired by the American squadron, which did extensive injury to the town and batteries. One polacre, and several gun-boats, were sunk on the part of the enemy. The Constitution frigate anchored within pistol-shot of the principal shore-battery, and received twelve shot in her hull. The Tripolitans on this occasion, mustered very strong; and their batteries, mounting 115 guns, were well served. Forty-five thousand Arabs defended the town, in addition to the ordinary population; and the harbor was flanked by one brig, two schooners, and nineteen gun-boats.*

On the 4th of September, the ketch Intrepid, fitted up as an explosion vessel, was sent in, filled with 100 barrels of powder, and 300 shells, to burn the Tripolitan vessels in their own harbor, which service was entrusted to Lieutenant Somers, accompanied by Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel, and ten men, with orders to approach as near to the town and batteries as possible. The party took with them two fast-rowing boats, wherein they were, after applying the matches, to escape to the Syren,

* Ramsay's United States.

which followed to receive them. Two of the enemy's galleys, containing 100 men each, rowed up at the critical moment, and lying alongside, the explosion suddenly took place, with the most awful effect, and blew them with their contents into the air. It was generally supposed that the lamented and undaunted Somers, perceiving all means of escape cut off, and preferring loss of life to ignominious slavery, set fire to the powder with his own hand, and consigned to destruction himself, his comrades, and all of the enemy who surrounded him. About 100 shells fell into the town and castle, spreading consternation in every direction.

Commodore Preble had gained, during the whole of his command, the uninterrupted esteem and affection of his officers, who addressed him, on his taking leave, in the warmest terms of regard and friendship. On his arrival in the United States, he was greeted with the liveliest acknowledgements of a grateful nation. Congress voted him their thanks for his signal services to his country, and requested the president to bestow on him an emblematical gold medal. Commodore Preble was the first officer who received the thanks of the citizens of the United States, by their representatives and senators in congress assembled, since the adoption of the federal constitution, and the institution of the present form of government.

It was ascertained that the crew of the Philadelphia, captives in Tripoli, were treated with the most barbarous cruelty. They were compelled to submit to the extremities of weather, fatigue, privations, and stripes. They were chained to loaded carts, and, like oxen, obliged to drag them through the town. Every remonstrance of Captain Bainbridge in behalf of his suffering men was unheeded, and all his efforts to mitigate their misfortunes were rendered unavailing.

A fresh enterprise, novel in its character, but, romantic as it may appear, wisely planned as to its object, was now determined upon, in connexion with a naval armament, with a view to the liberation of the prisoners, and the compulsion of the enemy to make peace. This was an expedition concerted with Hamet, the ex-bashaw of Tripoli, who had been unjustly deprived of the government, and expelled by his brother, the reigning bashaw.

To General William Eaton, this important mission was confided, who proceeded forthwith to make arrangements for its execution. Eaton, in his share of the bold and arduous undertaking, acquitted himself with distinguished lustre, under all the trying circumstances in which he was placed. After great difficulties, which perseverance and patience, almost unexampled, alone enabled him to surmount, he effected an interview with the ci-devant bashaw, then an exile in Upper Egypt, and commanding an

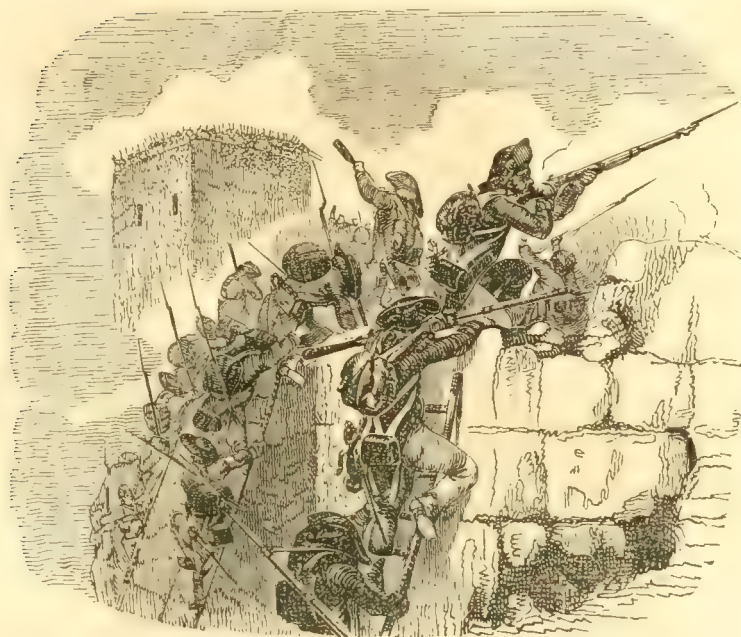


General Eaton.

army of Mamelukes, at war with the Turkish government. Hamet highly approved the scheme, and appointed the general to the command of the forces destined for its accomplishment.

On the 6th of March, 1805, General Eaton, accompanied by Hamet, commenced his march from Alexandria, at the head of a respectable force of well-mounted Arabs, and other partisans of Hamet, with about seventy Christians. After accomplishing a route of one thousand miles, a parallel to which, in peril, fatigue, and suffering, can hardly be found but in romance, he arrived before Derne, on the 25th of April, 1805. The views of the expedition had been discovered by the reigning bashaw, and he advanced an army for the defence of the province, within one day's march of Derne, when the general arrived before it. No time was, therefore, to be lost. On the morning of the 26th, a flag was sent to the governor, with overtures of friendship, on condition of his immediate surrender of the city, and his future allegiance to Hamet. He returned for answer: "My head, or yours!"

On the 27th, Derne was assaulted, and, after a contest of two hours and a half, carried with the bayonet. The assault was supported by part of the American squadron, which had previously arrived in the bay, as



Capture of Derna.

agreed upon. The governor and his adherents fled ; some to the desert, and others to the advancing Tripolitan army. The Christians suffered severely in the action ; placing themselves in the van to encourage their allies, they were peculiarly exposed, and nearly one-third of them were killed or wounded. The general himself was wounded in the wrist by a musket-ball.

The army was now employed in fortifying the captured city. Hamet, the new ally of the United States, opened his divan in the palace of the late governor ; and his authority was universally submitted to by the inhabitants and surrounding country.

On the 18th of May, the Tripolitan army advanced, and attacked the city ; but, after a contest of four hours, with various success, the assailants were forced to retire precipitately beyond the mountains. The issue of this contest revives, in the recollection, all that is recorded in history and romance, of the feats of Sir William Wallace and his valorous partisans. The Christians engaged the barbarians in the proportion of tens to hundreds, and actually put them to flight.

Several minor skirmishes took place between the contending parties, about the skirts of the city, until the 10th of June, when a general battle was fought, which terminated in the repulse of the assailants. The



Captain Merriweather Lewis.

vessels in the harbor co-operated most effectually, and by their well-directed fire, checked, in every instance, the advance of the Tripolitans.

On the following day, the *Constitution* frigate arrived in the harbor of Derne. Her appearance communicated fresh terror to the enemy, who fled in great confusion to the desert, leaving behind the greater part of their baggage.

The operations of General Eaton, which had been, and were likely to be, marked with the most brilliant successes, were now suspended, by the conclusion of a treaty between the reigning bashaw and Tobias Lear, Esq., on the part of the United States, in June, 1805.

This treaty, among the provisions for terminating the existing misunderstandings, and regulating the intercourse between the United States and Tripoli, stipulated the release of all the American prisoners, for the sum of 60,000 dollars. It also engaged, that the Americans, in withdrawing their forces, should use their influence to induce Hamet to retire. The frigate *President* sailed from Syracuse on the 7th of July, 1805, and arrived in the United States on the 6th of August, having on board the released prisoners. Thus terminated the first war in the Mediterranean.

In the summer of 1804, a difficulty arose between Colonel Burr, the

vice-president, and General Hamilton, distinguished for his civil and military services. A duel was the result, and Hamilton was mortally wounded. He was greatly lamented, even by those who had been his bitterest opponents while in power, as he possessed the highest ability, energy, and purity of character.

At the end of 1804, another presidential election was held; and Mr. Jefferson's course being approved, he was again elected to the office of chief magistrate. Burr, who had disgusted all parties, was thrown out, and George Clinton, of New York, a decided democrat, was chosen to fill the office of vice-president.

During 1805, several treaties were concluded with the Indians, on the northwestern and southwestern frontiers, by the United States, which thus became secure in the possession of a vast tract of country. The president sent Captains Lewis and Clarke to explore the far-western territory, and to discover the best communication between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. These adventurers succeeded in reaching the Pacific.

The ever-restless and ambitious Colonel Burr, seeking some avenue to distinction, became, about this time, involved in a scheme which nearly cost him his life. In September and October, 1806, Jefferson learned that mysterious operations were proceeding along the Ohio, and he had reason to believe these preparations were set on foot by Burr, and their object was the violation of the neutral laws of the United States, by revolutionizing Mexico, or the western part of the Union. General Wilkinson, the military commander at New Orleans, intimated that propositions of a daring and dangerous character had been transmitted to him. Burr's proceedings were conducted with such secrecy, that when he was arrested and tried, nothing of a treasonable nature could be ascertained. He assembled between 60 and 100 men, and sailed down the Mississippi River; but finding no support in Louisiana, and unable to resist the force under General Wilkinson, his followers dispersed and he was arrested while endeavoring to escape to Mobile. He was tried for treason; but after a long course of proceedings, was acquitted of the main charge. Burr went to Europe, and never again appeared upon the political stage.

About this time the foreign relations of the United States began to assume a threatening aspect. The contest between France and England had become the contest of all the powers of Europe. Napoleon's rapid victories gave him the mastery on land. But England was equally triumphant upon the sea. The United States derived important commercial advantages from this warlike position of Europe. The only neutral maritime power, she kept an extensive shipping employed in the carrying trade. But a severe reverse was felt when American vessels

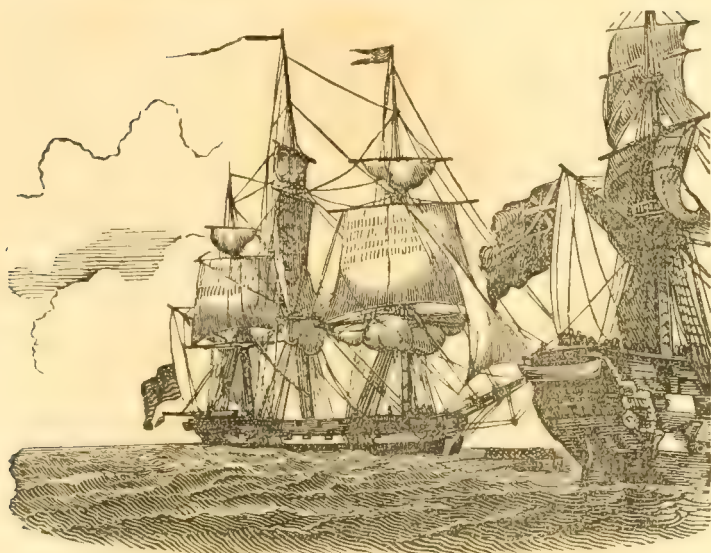


General Wilkinson.

could not appear in foreign seas without being liable to capture. The British government claimed the right to search American vessels for British deserters, and having the power to enforce this supposed right, the Americans could only complain to their own government, and ask for redress. It was alleged that of those claimed as British deserters, by far the greater portion were native Americans.

On Mr. Fox's accession to power in 1806, he informed Mr. Monroe, the American ambassador, that the practice of impressment would be suspended. Jefferson, encouraged to hope for the maintenance of peace, added Pinckney to the embassy, with a view to conclude a final arrangement. Fox dying soon after, Lord Grenville succeeded to the post of premier. Lords Holland and Auckland were named commissioners to carry on the negotiation. They stated that the right of impressment could not be formally conceded, but would be exercised with greater caution. The American commissioners signed the treaty upon this basis, but Jefferson refused to sanction it.

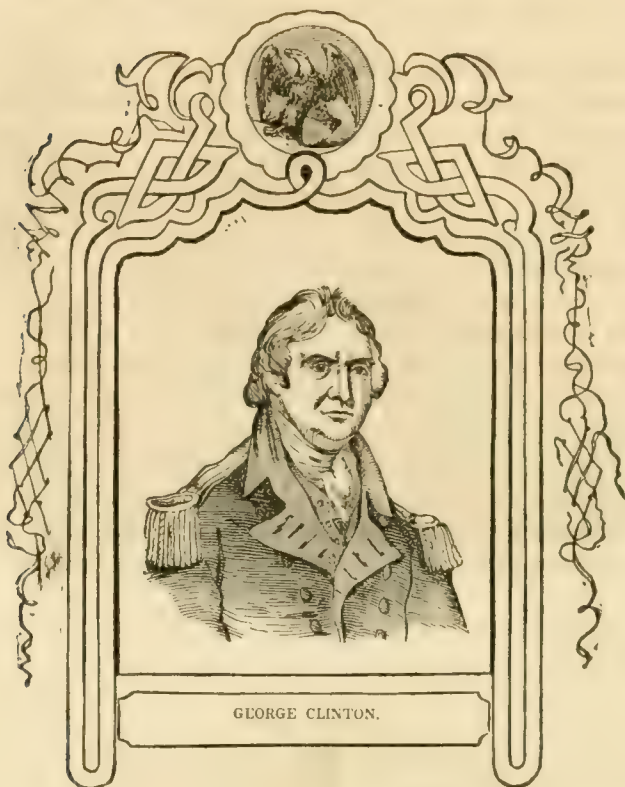
The estrangement between the people of the two countries was aggravated by a tragical event. Admiral Berkeley, then commanding on the



Affair of the Chesapeake.

coast of the United States, learning that several men belonging to his squadron, were on board the American frigate Chesapeake, gave orders for their seizure to Captain Humphreys of the frigate Leopard. The Chesapeake was met soon after she left Hampton Roads. Humphreys sent a boat's crew on board of her, asking permission to search for the British deserters. Barron, the captain of the Chesapeake, replied that he could not allow his men to be mustered by any other than himself. The boat returned, and the Leopard instantly opened a fire upon the Chesapeake. The latter vessel was totally unprepared for action. Barron endeavored to get some of his guns to bear, but without success, and three of his men being killed and 18 wounded, he struck. The British officer came on board, took four men, whom he claimed as deserters, and departed. This affair caused a general clamor throughout the country; and Jefferson issued a proclamation, excluding British ships of war from all the waters of the United States.

In the meantime, Mr. Canning had succeeded to the post in England, which had been occupied by a member of the party more favorably disposed to America. He refused to negotiate with the American ambassadors after the rejection of the treaty by Jefferson. He disavowed the action of Admiral Berkeley, in the affair of the Chesapeake, and offered to give ample compensation. But Jefferson was resolute not to treat upon that subject, unless in conjunction with a prohibition of all future impress-

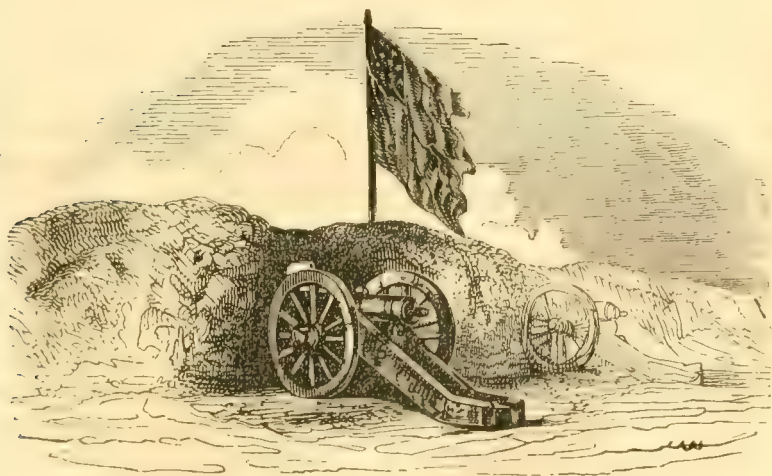


ment. Canning despatched Mr. Rose to Washington to treat especially upon the affair of the Chesapeake; but as Jefferson would not entertain that matter singly, the British envoy returned without effecting his object.

The Berlin and Milan decrees, issued by Napoleon to injure the British commerce, placed the American vessels in a double danger, they being liable to be captured by either belligerent. To obtain some redress for the injury thus done to American commerce, Jefferson proposed, and, by the aid of his party, carried an embargo act. This measure caused a great display of party feeling and animosity, and, singularly enough, from those who suffered most from the decrees of Napoleon. At length, in February, 1809, Congress determined upon non-intercourse with the belligerents, and allowance of trade with other countries. In the same month, an election for president and vice-president was held, the terms of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Clinton being about to expire. The democratic party was again triumphant, and James Madison was elected to fill the

office of president. George Clinton was re-elected to the office of vice-president.

Mr. Jefferson, whose retirement from the office of president closed his active political career, was in person tall and well formed; his countenance was bland and expressive; his conversation fluent, imaginative, various, and eloquent. Few men equalled him in the faculty of pleasing in personal intercourse, and acquiring ascendancy in political connexion. He was the acknowledged head of the republican party, from the period of its organization down to that of his retirement from public life. The unbounded praise and blame which he received as a politician must be left for the judgment of posterity. His name is one of the brightest in the revolutionary galaxy. Mr. Jefferson was a zealous cultivator of literature and science. As early as 1781, he was favorably known as an author, by his "Notes on Virginia." He published, also, various essays on political and philosophical subjects, and a "Manual of Parliamentary Practice," for the use of the Senate of the United States. In the year 1800, the French National Institute chose him for one of its members. His posthumous works, chiefly letters, fill several large volumes.



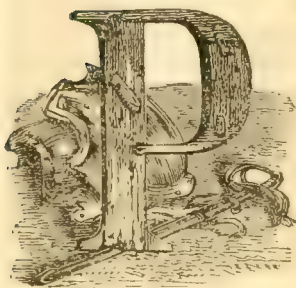


JAMES MADISON.



CHAPTER XLVI.

THE FIRST TERM OF MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.



RESIDENT MADISON had long supported the measures of the party of which Mr. Jefferson was the acknowledged head. He was known to possess extraordinary abilities, and great legal and political information. As a diplomatist and a legislator, and as secretary of state, he had been distinguished beyond the majority of his contemporaries, and his integrity of purpose was undoubted.

On the 1st of March, the embargo, which had called forth so much complaint and opposition, was repealed; but Congress passed an act, interdicting all trade with France and England. On the 23d of April, Mr. Erskine, minister plenipotentiary from England, pledged his court to repeal the anti-neutral decrees by the 10th of June, and, in consequence of an arrangement now made with the British minister, the president proclaimed that commercial intercourse would be renewed on that day. But this arrangement was disavowed by the British government. Mr. Erskine was recalled in October, and was succeeded by Mr. Jackson, who soon giving offence to the American government, all farther intercourse with him was refused, and he was recalled.



President and Little Belt.

On the 23d of March, 1810, the Rambouillet decree, alleged to be designed to retaliate the act of Congress which forbade French vessels to enter the ports of the United States, was issued by Napoleon. By this decree, all American vessels and cargoes arriving in any of the ports of France, or of countries occupied by French troops, were ordered to be seized and condemned.

The non-intercourse act expiring in this year, Madison again summoned the two European powers to remove their restrictions. To this Napoleon replied by an amicable advance, intimating, through his minister, that his decrees should be suspended. An appeal was now made to the English ministry, to follow the example of France. They hesitated, and feeling that the demand was accompanied with menace, refused to accede, more from pride than policy. In vain did the American envoy offer proof that Napoleon was sincere in his declaration to consider his decrees no longer in force. Reply was evaded, and, at length, Mr. Pinckney demanded his audience of leave, determined to put an end to a mission that was hopeless.

In this doubtful connexion between the United States and England, an event occurred tending to inflame and widen the existing differences. An English sloop-of-war, the *Little Belt*, commanded by Captain Bingham, fell in with the American frigate *President*, under Captain Rogers. The *President* bore down upon the sloop-of-war, and both commanders hailed about the same time. Without waiting for a reply, a gun was fired from the *Little Belt*, and broadsides were then given and returned. The *Little Belt* had 11 killed and 21 wounded. The *President* had only one man wounded.

In the spring of 1811, Mr. A. J. Foster, the British envoy, arrived in



Tecumseh.

the United States, and made another attempt to negotiate. Reparation was made for the attack on the Chesapeake, and the men who had been taken from that vessel as deserters were restored to the American service. Mr. Foster had no power for stipulating the repeal of the orders in council, and his mission was not, therefore, productive of much good.

The message of the President to Congress indicating an apprehension of hostilities with Great Britain, the committee of foreign relations in the House reported resolutions, for filling up the ranks of the army; for raising an additional force of 10,000 men; for authorizing the President to accept the services of 50,000 volunteers, and for ordering out the militia when he should judge it necessary; for repairing the navy; and for authorizing the arming of merchantmen in self-defence. These resolutions, were, in the main, sanctioned. A bill from the Senate for raising 25,000 men, after much discussion, was agreed to by the House.



Firmness of Harrison at Vincennes.

A new spirit of hostility had begun to display itself among the north-western tribes of Indians. The leaders of many powerful tribes had banded together, and, it is asserted, were stimulated to commence hostilities by British agents. The celebrated Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, made use of every means of persuasion to induce the Indians to unite, and wage war against the invaders of their lands. They turned the superstition of the red men to account, and induced them to believe that the Prophet had been specially commissioned by the Great Spirit to restore the dominion of the Indian, and exterminate the white race.

By various acts, the designs of Tecumseh became more and more evident; but in August, he having visited Vincennes, to see Governor Harrison, a council was held at which the real state of affairs was clearly ascertained. Tecumseh furiously denounced the whites of the "Seventeen Fires" for cheating the red men, and but for a display of firmness and decision by Harrison the council might have had a bloody termination.

Governor Harrison had made arrangements for holding the council on the portico of his own house, which had been fitted up with seats for the occasion. Here, on the morning of the fifteenth, he awaited the arrival of the chief, being attended by the judges of the Supreme Court, some officers of the army, a sergeant and twelve men, from Fort Knox, and a large number of citizens. At the appointed hour, Tecumseh, supported by forty of his principal warriors, made his appearance, the remainder

of his followers being encamped in the village and its environs. When the chief had approached within thirty or forty yards of the house, he suddenly stopped, as if awaiting some advances from the governor; an interpreter was sent, requesting him and his followers to take seats on the portico. To this Tecumseh objected—he did not think the place a suitable one for holding the conference, but preferred that it should take place in a grove of trees—to which he pointed—standing a short distance from the house. The governor said he had no objection to the grove, except that there were no seats in it for their accommodation. Tecumseh replied, that constituted no objection to the grove, the earth being the most suitable place for the Indians, who loved to repose upon the bosom of their mother. The governor yielded the point, and the benches and chairs having been removed to the spot, the conference was begun, the Indians being seated on the grass.

Tecumseh opened the meeting by stating, at length, his objections to the treaty of Fort Wayne, made by Governor Harrison, in the previous year; and in the course of his speech boldly avowed the principle of his party to be that of resistance to every cession of land, unless made by all the tribes, who, he contended, formed but one nation. He admitted that he had threatened to kill the chiefs who signed the treaty of Fort Wayne, and that it was his fixed determination not to permit the *village* chiefs, in future, to manage their affairs, but to place the power with which they had been heretofore invested, in the hands of the war chiefs. The Americans, he said, had driven the Indians from the sea-coast, and would soon push them into the lakes; and, while he disclaimed all intention of making war upon the United States, he declared it to be his unalterable resolution to take a stand, and resolutely oppose the further intrusion of the whites upon the Indian lands. He concluded by making a brief but impassioned recital of the various wrongs and aggressions inflicted by the white men upon the Indians, from the commencement of the revolutionary war down to the period of that council; all of which was calculated to arouse and inflame the minds of such of his followers as were present.

The governor rose in reply, and in examining the right of Tecumseh and his party to make objections to the treaty of Fort Wayne, took occasion to say the Indians were not one nation, having a common property in the lands. The Miamis, he contended, were the real owners of the tract on the Wabash, ceded by the late treaty, and the Shawanees had no right to interfere in the case; that upon the arrival of the whites on this continent, they had found the Miamis in possession of this land, the Shawanees being then residents of Georgia, from which they had

been driven by the Creeks, and that it was ridiculous to assert that the red men constituted but one nation; for, if such had been the intention of the Great Spirit, he would not have put different tongues in their heads, but have taught them all to speak the same language.

The governor having taken his seat, the interpreter commenced explaining the speech to Tecumseh, who, after listening to a portion of it, sprang to his feet and began to speak with great vehemence of manner.

The governor was surprised at his violent gestures, but as he did not understand him, thought he was making some explanation, and suffered his attention to be drawn towards Winnemac, a friendly Indian, lying on the grass before him, who was renewing the priming of his pistol, which he had kept concealed from the other Indians, but in full view of the governor. His attention, however, was again directed towards Tecumseh, by hearing General Gibson, who was intimately acquainted with the Shawanee language, say to Lieutenant Jennings, "those fellows intend mischief; you had better bring up the guard." At that moment, the followers of Tecumseh seized their tomahawks and war-clubs, and sprang upon their feet, their eyes turned upon the governor. As soon as he could disengage himself from the armed chair in which he sat, he rose, drew a small-sword which he had by his side, and stood on the defensive. Captain G. R. Floyd, of the army, who stood near him, drew a dirk, and the chief Winnemac cocked his pistol. The citizens present were more numerous than the Indians, but were unarmed; some of them procured clubs and brick-bats, and also stood on the defensive. The Rev. Mr. Winans, of the Methodist church, ran to the governor's house, got a gun, and posted himself at the door to defend the family. During this singular scene, no one spoke, until the guard came running up, and appearing to be in the act of firing, the governor ordered them not to do so. He then demanded of the interpreter an explanation of what had happened, who replied that Tecumseh had interrupted him, declaring that all the governor had said was *false*, and that he and the Seventeen Fires had cheated and imposed on the Indians. The governor then told Tecumseh that he was a bad man, and that he would hold no further communication with him; that as he had come to Vincennes under the protection of a council-fire, he might return in safety, but he must immediately leave the village. Here the council terminated.

The frontier settlers being alarmed by indications of the commencement of Indian warfare, Governor Harrison, with a body of militia, and the 4th United States regiment, moved towards the Prophet's town, on the Wabash, to check their threatened hostilities. On the 6th of November, he approached within a few miles of the town, and the chiefs coming out



Battle of Tippecanoe.

to meet him, requested him to encamp for the night, and a council would be held in the morning. Harrison suspected treachery, and prepared his men for a night-attack. About four on the morning of the 7th, the camp was furiously assailed, and a bloody battle ensued. The Indians were repulsed and pursued a considerable distance. On the part of the United States troops, 62 were killed, and 126 wounded. Among the killed were Colonel Davies, and other valuable officers. The loss of the Indians was much greater. Governor Harrison, having destroyed the Prophet's town, and erected forts, returned to Vincennes.

On the 3d of April, 1812, Congress passed an act, laying an embargo on all vessels then in port, or afterwards arriving, for 90 days. An act was soon after passed, to prohibit the exportation of specie, goods, wares, and merchandise, during the continuance of the embargo. On the 1st of June, the President, in a message to Congress, stated the hostile acts of Great Britain, and submitted the question "Whether the United States shall continue passive under these progressive usurpations, and these accumulated wrongs; or, opposing force to force, in defence of their national rights, shall commit a just cause into the hands of the Almighty Disposer of events." On the 3d of June, the committee on foreign relations, to whom the President's message was referred, presented to the House of Representatives a report or manifesto of the causes and the reasons of war against Great Britain, which concluded with a recom-



General Dearborn.

mendation of an immediate appeal to arms. The next day, a bill declaring war against Great Britain passed the House. The Senate sanctioned it, and on the 19th of June, the President issued a proclamation of the war. The federalists generally opposed the declaration of war, and the minority of the House of Representatives entered a protest against it, on the ground that the British orders in council were about to be repealed. A large majority, however, supported Madison, and in Baltimore the office of a newspaper opposed to the war was torn down, General Lingan killed, and several others killed or wounded. The majority were resolved upon war, and the popular feeling could not be restrained.

General Dearborn, a veteran of the revolution, was created commander-in-chief of the army. Thomas Pinckney was appointed major-general, and took command of the southern department. Preparations were immediately made for the invasion of Canada, it being supposed that the people of that province were prepared to rebel against the government of Great Britain. General William Hull, with about 2000 men, was



Colonel McArthur.

soon upon the northwestern frontier. Crossing the Maumee River, into Canada, he took possession of the town of Sandwich, two miles below Detroit. The British and Indians, numbering about 1100 men, commanded by General Brock and Tecumseh, were posted at Malden. On the 12th of July, General Hull issued a proclamation to the people of Canada, couched in the loftiest and most boastful terms, offering them security, if they submitted to the American arms, and destruction, if they opposed them.

Meantime, upon the 29th of July, Colonel Proctor had reached Malden, and perceiving instantly the power which the position of that post gave him over the supplies of the army of the United States, he commenced a series of operations, the object of which was to cut off the communications of Hull with Ohio, and thus not merely neutralize all active operations on his part, but starve him into surrender, or force him to detail his whole army in order to keep open his way to the only point from which



Detroit.

supplies could reach him. A proper force on Lake Erie, or the capture of Malden, would have prevented this annoying and fatal mode of warfare; but the imbecility of the government, and that of the general, combined to favor the plans of Proctor. Having by his measures stopped the stores, on their way to Detroit, at the river Raisin, he next defeated the insufficient band of 200 men, under Van Horne, sent by Hull to escort them; and so far withstood that of 500, under Miller, as to cause Hull to recall the remnant of that victorious and gallant band, though it had completely routed the British and Indians. By these means, Proctor amused the Americans until General Brock reached Malden, which he did upon the 13th of August, and prepared to attempt the conquest of Detroit itself. And here again occurred a most singular want of skill on the part of the Americans. In order to prevent the forces in Upper Canada from being combined against Hull, General Dearborn had been ordered to make a diversion in his favor at Niagara and Kingston; but in place of doing this, he made an armistice with the British commanders, which enabled them to turn their attention entirely to the more distant west, and left Hull to shift for himself. On the 14th of August, therefore, while a third party, under McArthur, was despatched by Hull to open his communications with the river Raisin, though by a new and impracticable road, General Brock appeared at Sandwich, and began to erect batteries to protect his farther operations. These batteries Hull would not suffer any to molest, saying that if the enemy would not fire on him, he would not on them; and though, when summoned to surrender

upon the 15th, he absolutely refused, yet upon the 16th, without a blow struck, the governor and general crowned his course of indecision and unmanly fear by surrendering the town of Detroit and territory of Michigan, together with 1400 brave men longing for battle, to 300 English soldiers, 400 Canadian militia disguised in red coats, and a band of Indian allies.

For this conduct, he was accused of treason and cowardice, and found guilty of the latter. Nor can we doubt the justice of the sentence. However brave he may have been personally, he was as a commander a coward; and, moreover, he was influenced, confessedly, by his fears as a father, lest his daughter and her children should fall into the hands of the Indians. In truth, his faculties seem to have been paralyzed by fear; fear that he should fail, fear that his troops would be untrue to him, fear that the savages would spare no one if opposed with vigor, fear of some undefined and horrid evil impending. McAfee accuses him of intemperance, but no effort was made on his trial to prove this, and we have no reason to think it a true charge; but his conduct was like that of a drunken man, without sense or spirit.

But the fall of Detroit, though the leading misfortune of this unfortunate summer, was not the only one. Word, as we have stated, had been sent, through the kindness of some friend under a frank from the American Secretary of the Treasury, informing the British commander at St. Joseph, a port about forty miles from Mackinac, of the declaration of war; while Lieutenant Hanks, commanding the American fortress itself, received no notice from any source. The consequence was an attack upon the key of the northern lakes, on the 17th of July, by a force of British, Canadians, and savages, numbering in all 1021; the garrison, amounting to but 57 effective men, felt unable to withstand so formidable a body, and to avoid the constantly threatened Indian massacre, surrendered as prisoners of war, and were dismissed on parole.

Less fortunate in its fate was the garrison of Fort Dearborn at Chicago. General Hull sent word to the commander at that fortress, (Captain Heald,) of the loss of Mackinac, and directed him to distribute his stores among the Indians, and retire to Fort Wayne. Heald proceeded to do this, but it was soon evident that the neighboring savages were not to be trusted, and he, in consequence, determined not to give them what they most of all wanted, the spirit and the powder in the fortress. This they learned, and this it was, as Black-hawk asserted, which led to the catastrophe. On the 15th of August, all being ready, the troops left the fort, but before they had proceeded a mile and a half, they were attacked by



Captain Isaac Hull.

the Indians, and two-thirds of them (from 50 to 60) massacred at once.*

The surrender of Detroit excited surprise and indignation throughout the country; but it roused the spirit of the people of the west to greater exertions. A large body of Kentucky and Ohio volunteers was soon in the field, and the command was given to Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, and the favorite leader in the west. Upwards of 2000 men collected at Sackett's Harbor; and, throughout the north and west, the most active and patriotic exertions were made to bring volunteers into the service.

The success of the American cruisers, and the serious injury they inflicted upon British commerce, compensated for ill-fortune upon land. Privateers were fitted out in almost every port of the States, and they seldom failed to make prizes. Several of the larger frigates were soon at sea, and despite the presence of a British squadron on the coast, committed great depredations upon merchant-vessels. At length, a regular naval battle and victory occurred, which created much exultation in America.

* Perkins' Western Annals.



Action between the Constitution and Guerriere

The frigate Constitution, Captain Isaac Hull, during a short cruise, in which she eluded the vigilance of the British squadron, fell in with the British frigate Guerriere, Captain Dacres, on the 20th of August. After an action of about an hour, the Guerriere being reduced to a wreck, Dacres surrendered. As his vessel was too much cut up to be brought into port, it was blown up. This naval triumph was hailed with rejoicings



Escape of the Constitution from a British Squadron.



Defence of Fort Harrison.

throughout the United States. The navy which had been deemed invincible, lost much of the terror of its name. Before this action took place, Captain Hull had won great honor by his escape from a large British squadron, in which his seamanship and the superior sailing of the *Constitution* were exhibited, to the admiration of the British commanders themselves.

The raising of troops in the west continued, and such were the American preparations for the field, that the fears aroused by Hull's surrender were allayed. General Harrison used every means to equip and discipline his men, and his energy and courage inspired every one with confidence.

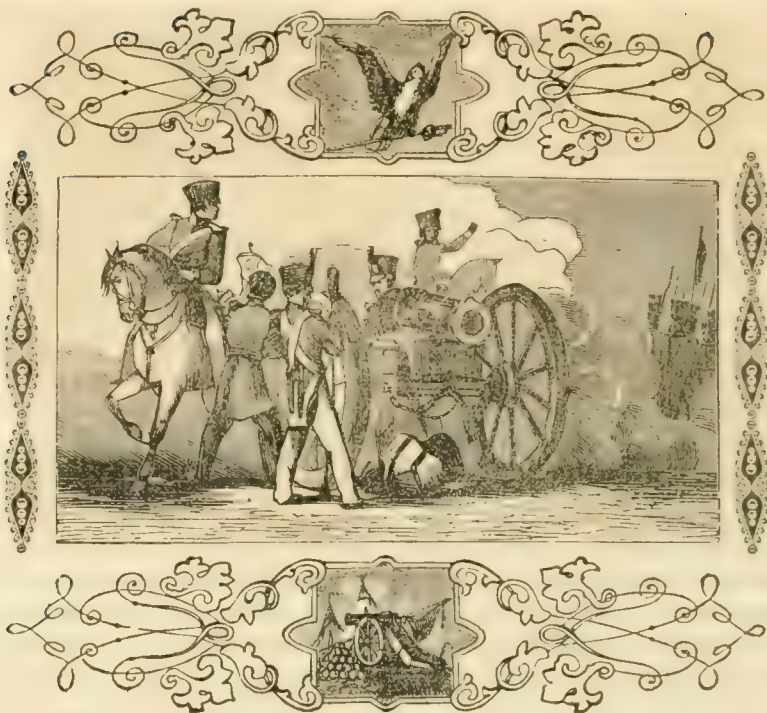
On the 5th of September, a large party of Shawnees attacked Fort Harrison, garrisoned by about twenty soldiers, under the command of Captain Taylor. The defence was desperate and successful. The Indians were repulsed with considerable loss. Fort Madison was attacked on the same day, but after losing several men, the Indians retired.

On the 15th of September, twenty-five British boats passed Madrid up the St. Lawrence, laden with military stores and munitions of war. About 140 of the militia from Ogdensburg and Hamilton, with one gunboat, posted themselves on an island to obstruct their passage. The enemy, approaching the head of the river, brought himself immediately in front of this island, when a rapid and well-directed fire made him ply for the opposite shore, where he took shelter in the woods. The militia had no small boats to pursue the flying squadron, and the British had time to rally, to procure assistance, and to return to a contest. This they

did with little delay, and after an action of three hours, they were reinforced by two gun-boats and a large body of men from Prescott. The militia being thus outnumbered, their ammunition nearly exhausted, and their loss one man killed and two wounded, abandoned the enterprise and retreated to their respective quarters. The injury sustained by the enemy has never been known.

Captain Forsyth, of the rifle regiment, being at the garrison of Ogdensburg, projected an expedition against a small village in the town of Leeds, in Canada, called Gananoque. In this village was the king's storehouse, containing immense quantities of arms and ammunition, and Captain Forsyth was resolved on its destruction. In the night of the 20th instant, therefore, a number of boats being provided, he embarked with 70 of his own men and 34 militia-men. Before daylight of the 21st, they reached the Canadian shore, and landed unobserved at a little distance from the village. The enemy soon after discovered them, and they were fired on by a party of 125 regulars and militia. Forsyth drew up his men, and returned their fire with such effect, that the British retreated in disorder and were pursued to the village, where they rallied and resolved on making a stand, and disputing the passage of a bridge. An action took place here, which resulted in the same manner as the former. The enemy again fled, making his escape over the bridge, and leaving ten of his number killed, eight regulars and several militia-men prisoners, and the village and storehouse in possession of the American party. Captain Forsyth lost one in killed and one wounded. After releasing the militia prisoners on their parole, and taking out a quantity of arms, fixed ammunition, powder, flints, and other articles of public property, and setting fire to the storehouse, he returned to Cape Vincent with these and the eight regulars prisoners.

In retaliation for this daring exploit, the enemy determined on attacking and destroying the town of Ogdensburg. Opposite to this is situated the Canadian village of Prescott, before which the British had a strong line of breastworks. On the 2d of October, they opened a heavy cannonading on the town from their batteries, and continued to bombard it, with little intermission, until the night of the 3d; one or two buildings only were injured. On Sunday, the 4th, having prepared forty boats, with from ten to fifteen armed men in each, they advanced with six pieces of artillery to storm the town. General Brown commanded at Ogdensburg in person, and when the enemy had advanced within a short distance, he ordered his troops to open a warm fire upon them. The British, nevertheless, steadily approached the shore, and kept up their fire for two hours, during which they sustained the galling fire of the Americans,

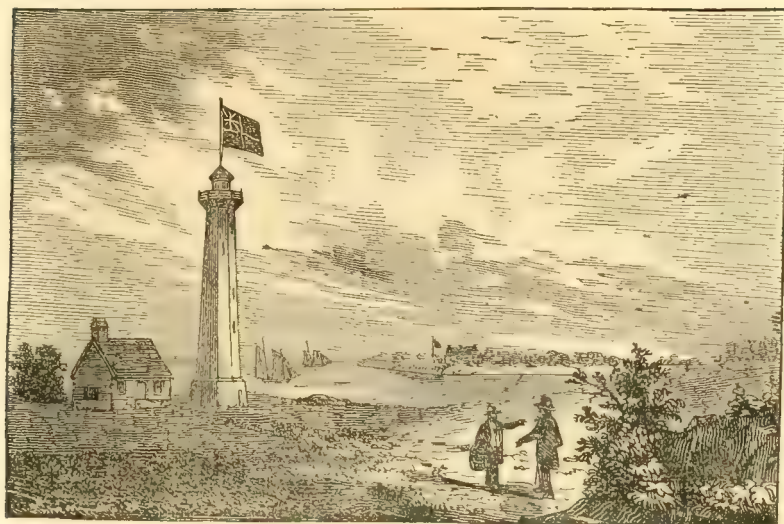


Defence of Ogdensburg.

until one of their boats was taken, and two others much shattered, when they retreated.

In the beginning of October, there were assembled at Black Rock and Buffalo 1300 newly enlisted recruits under General Smyth, 500 militia at the same place, 2900 militia near Lewistown; six companies of field and light artillery, amounting to 300 men, and 800 infantry at Fort Niagara, making an aggregate of 5800, and composing what General Smyth in his proclamations denominates the army of the centre, extending the length of the Niagara frontier. The whole of this force was under the command of Major-General Van Rensselaer, of the Albany militia. On the opposite side of the river was General Brock, with a force at Fort George, and other posts extending to and including Fort Erie, of 2400 men, consisting of the veterans of the 41st and 49th regiments, and Canadian flank companies, and 400 Indians.

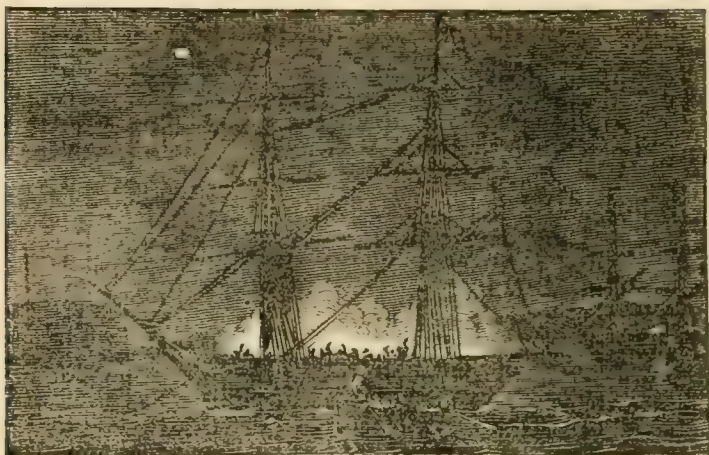
On the 8th of October, two British armed brigs, the *Detroit* and *Caledonia*, came down the lake from Malden, and anchored under the guns of Fort Erie. Lieutenant Elliott, of the navy, had then just arrived at Black Rock, with 50 seamen, to superintend the naval operations in that



Fort Niagara.

quarter. On the evening of the 9th, with his seamen and a detachment of fifty volunteers from General Smyth's brigade, he passed over from Black Rock, boarded, and took the brigs. But the wind not favoring, they drifted down the current and grounded. The Detroit, which was formerly the American brig Adams, and surrendered by Hull at Detroit, after being divested of most of her military stores, was abandoned and burnt. The Caledonia, being near enough to be protected by the guns at Black Rock, was saved: she was laden with furs to the value of \$150,000. This brilliant achievement was effected with the loss of only two killed, and four wounded.

The general tenor of the congressional debates, and the publications and the conversation of the day, had induced a settled belief, that the Canadas would be a certain, easy, and almost a bloodless conquest; that upon the appearance of a respectable force, at any point on the frontier, the Canadians in great numbers would flock to the American standard, and assist in the object. Impressed with these ideas, the militia and volunteers who had come out but for a short period, were impatient to make a descent on Canada. They insisted on being permitted to attack and drive the British from the Niagara peninsula, and return to their homes; and many threatened to leave the camp, unless led to immediate action. The success of Lieutenant Elliott had induced them to believe that the conquest was an easy one; and that they had only to show themselves to the enemy in order to conquer them. In compliance with their



Capture of the Detroit and Caledonia.

wishes, General Van Rensselaer decided on making the attempt. The principal British force was at Fort George; but they had made an establishment, and erected batteries on the heights above Queenstown; against these batteries, the efforts of the American troops were to be first directed. Batteries were erected on the American shore, to protect the passage and landing of the troops. The regular forces, under Colonel Fenwick and Major Mallary, were ordered up to Lewistown; and thirteen boats, being all that could be procured at the time, were provided for crossing. The van of the troops destined for the attack, consisted of militia, under the command of Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, aid to the general; a part of the 13th infantry, under Colonel Christie; a detachment of the 6th and 9th, under Major Mallary; the whole amounting to 400 men. At three o'clock, on the morning of the 13th, they proceeded from the camp at Lewistown to the place of embarkation. Colonel Van Rensselaer, to whom the chief command of the expedition was intrusted, with 100 men, crossed over and effected a landing. A grape-shot from a battery below Queenstown which enfiladed the passage, wounded Colonel Christie in the hand; his pilot became confused, his boatmen frightened, and he was obliged to return. The boats with Major Mallary were carried by the violence of the current below the landing place, two of them were taken, and the others returned. In ascending the bank, Colonel Van Rensselaer received four wounds. Captains Armstrong, Wool, and Malcolm, were also wounded; and Lieutenant Valleau and Ensign Morris, killed. A party of British troops having issued from an old fort below Queenstown, were fired upon by the Americans and



Battle of Queenstown.

compelled to retreat. The firing from the batteries on the heights, soon obliged the Americans to take shelter under the bank. To Colonel Van Rensselaer, who lay on the bank severely wounded, application was made for orders. He directed the batteries to be immediately stormed. The men were rallied, and 160, under the command of Captain Wool, mounted the rocks on the right of the batteries, and took them. The guns were ordered to be turned upon the enemy, but were found to be spiked. The remainder of the detachment now joined Captain Wool. Both parties were considerably reinforced, and the conflict grew severe at various points. Many of the British took shelter behind a guard-house, from whence a piece of ordnance was briskly served, but the fire from the batteries on the American side soon silenced it. The British then retired behind a large stone-house, but were soon routed and driven from the hill in every direction. General Brock rallied the troops at Queenstown, and with reinforcements, led them round the hill in rear of the batteries; Captain Wool, discerning this, detached 160 men to meet them; these were driven back. Being reinforced, they returned to the attack, and were again driven by the British to the precipice which forms the bank of the Niagara above Queenstown. Here the British pressing upon them with double their numbers, and no opportunity of retreating, an officer placed a white handkerchief upon the point of a bayonet, and raised it as



Queenstown.

a flag, with intention to surrender : Captain Wool immediately tore it off, rallied his men, and returned to the charge. The British troops were in turn routed.

General Brock, in endeavoring to rally them, was struck by three balls, and instantly killed. His aid, Colonel M'Donald, the attorney-general of Upper Canada, was mortally wounded by his side. By ten o'clock, the British were completely driven from the heights. The American line re-formed, and flanking parties were sent out. The victory now appeared complete, and General Van Rensselaer proceeded to take measures to secure the conquest. At two o'clock, General Wadsworth of the militia, with Colonels Scott, Christie, and Major Mallary, crossed over and took the command. Captain Wool was directed to retire, and have his wounds dressed. He crossed the river for that purpose, and soon returned to the field. About three o'clock a large party of Indians appeared pouring out of Chippewa, and with their savage yells, commenced a furious attack. The Americans at first gave way, but were soon rallied, and charged the savages, who directly fled to the woods, leaving one of their chiefs a prisoner, and several dead on the ground. Scarcely had this battle ended, when a large reinforcement with artillery arrived from Fort George, and the battle was renewed with increased severity.

Most of the events of the day were in view of Lewistown. The militia



Captain (afterwards General) Wool.

who had not crossed over, had now seen enough of war. Their zeal for the Canadian conquest had abated. They had discovered that the constitution did not require them to go beyond the limits of the United States. Several boat-loads which had embarked, returned, and no more could be induced to go. General Van Rensselaer returned to the American side, and by every means of persuasion and authority, promising and threatening, endeavored to bring them over to secure the victory, but to no effect. Twelve hundred, whose presence only on the opposite bank, would have decided the fortune of the day, stood on the American shore, inactive spectators of the slaughter and capture of their brethren. The regular troops, under General Smyth, who had been ordered down from Black Rock, had not arrived; and the Americans on the heights were left to protect themselves. At this time General Van Rensselaer addressed a note to General Wadsworth, informing him that it was out of his power to send him succors, and advising him to retreat to the river, where boats should be provided to take them over. The gallant band fought their way to the river against thrice their numbers, but on arriving there



General Porter.

no boats were to be found. The same panic had struck the boatmen; not a boat could be manned to bring them off, and the whole were obliged to surrender.

Three hundred and eighty-six regulars, and 368 militia were made prisoners; the number killed was not exactly ascertained, but supposed to be about 90. The whole loss in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, was estimated at 1000. General Brock was conveyed to Fort George, and interred on the 15th with military honors; the guns of Fort Niagara, as well as those of Fort George, firing during the ceremony.

Most of the militia, who were not made prisoners, were discharged, and on the 24th of October, General Van Rensselaer resigned the command to General Smyth, and retired from the service. On the 10th of November, General Smyth issued his first proclamation to the citizens of New York, informing them that one army had been lost by the precipitate attempt to pass over at the strongest point of the enemy's lines with most incompetent means; that the commanders in that expedition were destitute of theory and experience in the art of war; that in a few days the troops under his command would plant the American standard in



Major (afterwards General) Macomb.

Canada; and calling upon them to join him on horseback or on foot, in companies, half-companies, in pairs, or singly, and assuring them of the most brilliant success. This proclamation was seconded by an address from General Peter B. Porter, of Black Rock, to the men of the counties of Ontario and Genessee, calling upon them to join him in the expedition, and assuring them that he should join General Smyth; "and that a vigorous campaign of one month would relieve their brethren on the frontier from the calamities incident to those who are placed near the seat of war, palsy the savage hand that was then wielding the scalping-knife, restore peace to that section of the state, and redeem the tarnished reputation of the country." These applications to the valour and patriotism of the citizens of the western section of the state of New York were not made in vain.

On the 27th of November, the military force collected at Black Rock, under General Smyth, prepared for the invasion of Canada, amounted to 4500 effective men, consisting of New York volunteers under General Porter, and regulars and volunteers from Pennsylvania and Baltimore. Eighty-five boats were prepared for crossing the river, capable of transporting at once the necessary artillery and 3500 men. On the night of



Indignation of the Troops at not being allowed to fight.

the 27th, two parties were sent over, one under Colonel Boerstler, and the other under Captain King, assisted by a company of marines, under Lieutenant Angus, to destroy the British batteries. They effectually accomplished this object, routed the enemy, spiked their guns, and drove them from the shore. Captain King, in attempting to return, was captured, with two boats belonging to his party. Colonel Winder, with a party of 250 men, in attempting to land at a difficult point on the river, was prevented by the rapidity of the current, and obliged to return to the American side. The general embarkation commenced on the morning of the 28th, but was not completed until afternoon. They then moved up the stream from the navy-yard to Black Rock, and were ordered by General Smyth to disembark and dine. After dinner, the expedition was postponed to a future day. This attempt gave the enemy full notice of the plans of the American general. The two following days were employed in preparations for a second attempt. At three o'clock on the morning of the 1st of December, the embarkation commenced a second time; the regulars on the right, General Tanehill's brigade in the centre, and the New York volunteers on the left. General Porter, accompanied by Majors Chapin and Macomb, Captain Mills of the cavalry, and Adjutant Chace, with two pilots, took his station in the front boat, hoisted his flag, and advanced to the head of the line to lead the expedition.

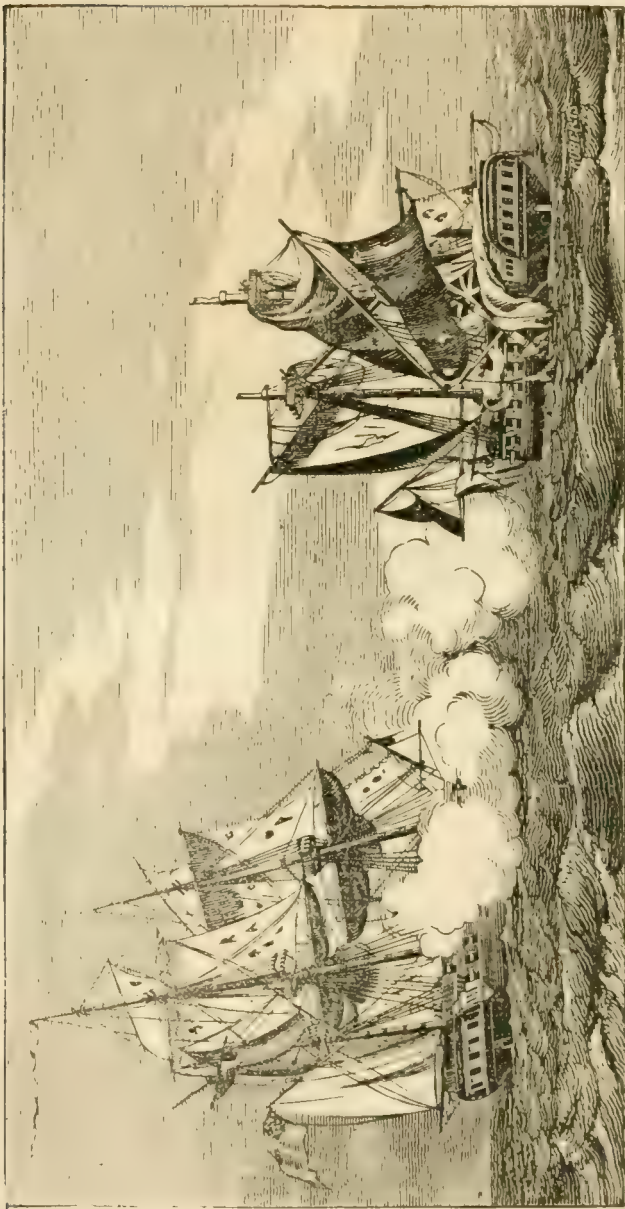
The troops, in fine spirits and in eager expectation, awaited their orders from General Smyth, when, after considerable delay, they were given,



Captain Decatur.

not to proceed to the Canada shore, but to disembark and go into winter-quarters. Nothing could exceed the chagrin and disappointment of the troops upon this occasion; disorder and insubordination ensued; General Smyth's life was threatened, and in imminent danger; the militia disbanded and went home; and General Smyth finding that the Canadas were not to be taken by proclamation, and being disinclined to make use of more powerful means, retired from the service.

The American cruisers continued successful at sea, and committed vast injuries upon British commerce. On the 25th of October, the frigate United States, Captain Decatur, fell in with the British frigate Macedonian, carrying 49 guns. After an action of an hour and a half, the Macedonian surrendered. During the greater part of the action, the advantages of wind and swell were upon the side of the British. Their loss was 36 killed and 68 wounded. That of the Americans was five killed and seven wounded. Decatur gained new laurels by this brilliant achievement. On the 18th of October, the United States sloop-of-war Wasp, Captain Jones, fell in with the British sloop-of-war Frolic, Captain Winyates. A long and well-fought contest ensued, ending in the capture of the Frolic. Both vessels were much cut up, and the Frolic was a complete wreck.



United States and Macedonian.



Capture of the Frolic.

The British loss was about 30 killed, and 45 wounded; that of the Americans was only five killed, and five wounded. Soon after the engagement, the *Wasp* and her prize were captured by the British ship *Poictiers*.

In the course of November, several expeditions against the Indian towns were undertaken, and those in which General Hopkins and Colonel Russell had command were successful. The Prophet's Town and several Kickapoo villages were destroyed, together with the adjacent corn-fields.

On the 18th of November, General Harrison sent Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Campbell with a detachment of 600 men on an expedition against the Indians of the Miami tribes, residing in the Mississinewa towns. On the morning of the 17th December the detachment charged on the first of those towns, drove the Indians across the Mississinewa River, killed seven warriors, and took 37 prisoners. During this contest a part of the detachment was sent to the other towns, which were immediately evacuated by the inhabitants, and soon after destroyed by the detachment, which then returned to the ground first occupied. On the morning of the 18th, at daylight, the camp was attacked by a number of Indians, of the Miami and Delaware tribes, amounting to about 300. The attack commenced on the right of the line, which was occupied by Major Ball's squadron of horse, who gallantly contended against them for one hour, and sustained almost the whole conflict. The Indians then fell back and were courageously charged by Captain Trotter at the head of his company of Kentucky dragoons.



In this charge Captain Trotter was wounded in the hand: the Indians fled with great velocity, and were pursued as far as was thought prudent. Captain Pierce, of the Zanesville troop, was killed whilst charging the foe. Lieutenant Waltz was shot through the arm, but being resolved on losing no share of honor, he remounted his horse, and in that act was killed by a shot through the head. He was of the Pennsylvania volunteers. Captains Markle and M'Clelland of the same corps, and Captains Garrard and Hopkins were complimented by the commanding general. Lieutenant-Colonel Simmerall, Major M'Dowell, and Captains Hite and Smith, are said to have distinguished themselves with persevering bravery; and the whole detachment exhibiting throughout a great degree of patience, fortitude, and coolness, rendered the victory more honorable to the American arms, by respecting the high and inestimable principles of



The Prophet.

humanity, and rendering them as they ever ought to be, inseparable from bravery. The general's orders, on their departure, were to that effect, and the most rigid obedience was paid to them.

The battle being ended, and the object of the expedition completely accomplished, Colonel Campbell took up his march for Greenville on his return, having first forwarded an express for reinforcements, Tecumseh being reported to be in the neighborhood with 500 warriors, and the name of Tecumseh had now become terrible. If the detachment should be intercepted an obstinate engagement must follow, and by the morning report of the 24th, 303 of the men were rendered unfit for duty by being frost-bitten; an attack from a superior body of Indians could not therefore be sustained with any prospect of success. The detachment reached Greenville, however, without being once molested, and the citizens received the troops with marks of approbation for their gallantry, and for

the lustre which they had thrown upon the northwestern army. In the destruction of the first town the American loss was one killed, and one wounded; in the action of the following morning, eight killed, and 25 wounded; the Indian loss in killed was known to be forty, the number of wounded could not be ascertained. The prisoners were brought away by the detachment. It has been thought to be unaccountable that the Indians did not attack the detachment in its retrograde movement, but this circumstance may be attributed to the loss of their prophet, who, it is supposed by many, was killed in the second engagement.



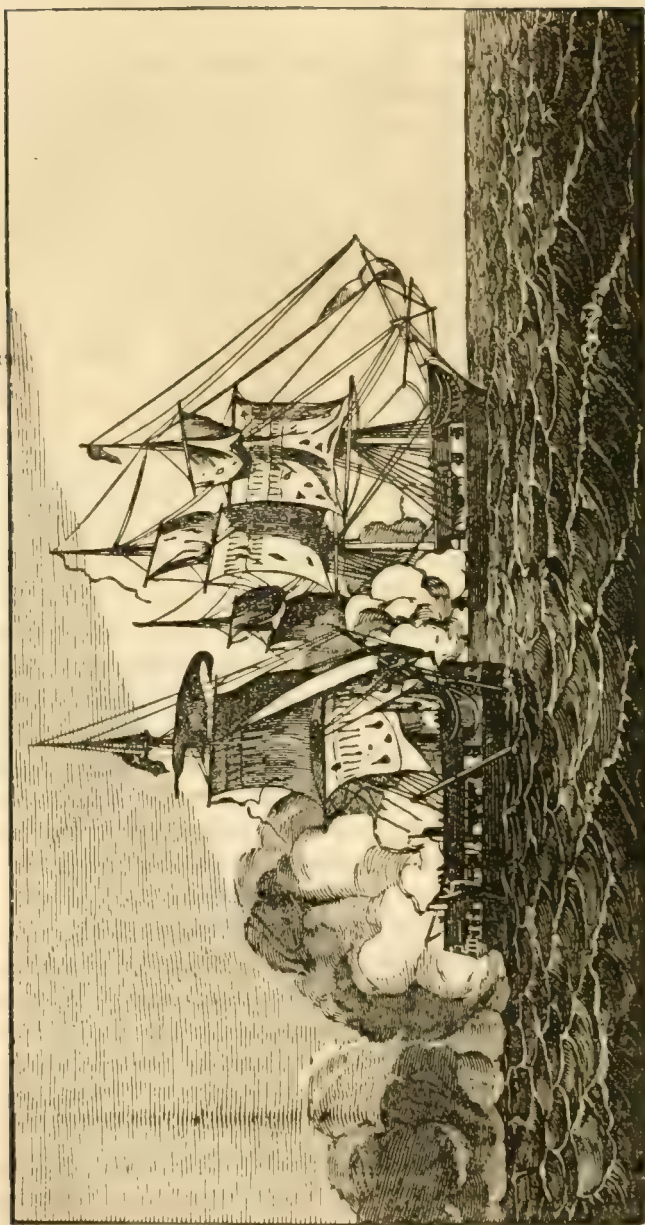
THOUGH the season was already so far advanced, and the difficulties in marching against the enemy were every day increasing, General Harrison was too steadily determined on the recovery of Michigan, and the subjugation of Malden and the country surrounding it, to be put aside from his views by any such obstacles. Every implement was provided which might possibly be necessary, the military stores and trains of artillery were already at the different depôts, and the troops from Pennsylvania being at Mansfield, those from Virginia at Delaware, and those from Ohio at Fort M'Arthur, the purposed concentration could be almost immediately effected. General Winchester, with the left wing, moved from Fort Winchester to the Rapids, in conformity with the previous order of General Harrison, who was now commissioned a major-general in the army of the United States, and appointed to the command of the northwestern army. A line of posts was to be established, and strong fortifications erected as intermediate places of rendezvous, at equal distances between Defiance and Detroit; and that he might with more convenience superintend the building of these, the commander-in-chief fixed his head-quarters at Upper Sandusky.

A brigade of Kentuckians had been sent into the Indiana territory, under General Samuel Hopkins, with instructions to attack every settlement on the Wabash, and then to fall on the Illinois. On the 11th of November they marched from Fort Harrison with a view to the destruction of the Prophet's Town. Seven boats, with provisions, forage, and military stores, commanded by Colonel Barbour, accompanied the expedition, and the troops marched on the east side of the Wabash to protect them, until the 19th, when they reached the town, and were engaged three days in the destruction of it and a large Kickapoo village adjoining, while General Butler, with 300 men, surrounded and destroyed the

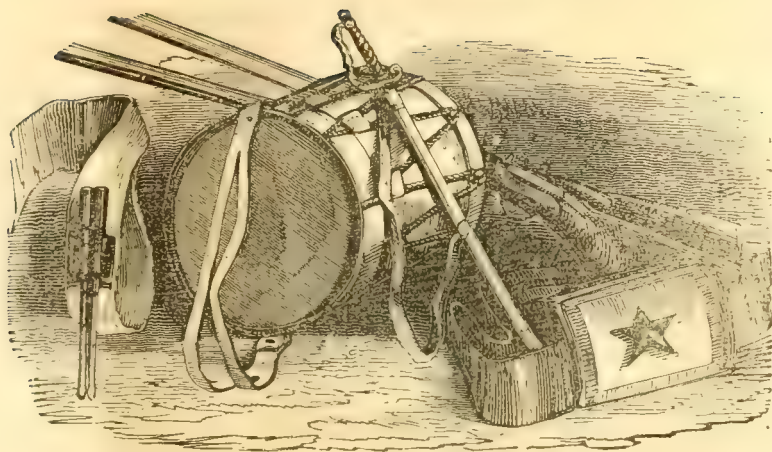
Winnebago town on the *Ponce-passu* creek: each of these towns had been abandoned by the Indian warriors, and a small party was sent out to reconnoitre the surrounding woods and to seek out their hiding-places. Several Indians showed themselves, fired on the party, killed one man and compelled the others to retire. This occurrence was no sooner made known to the troops than 60 horsemen offered to proceed to the ground to bury their companion and to encounter the enemy. When they attained the point, near the Indian encampment, they were fired upon from an ambuscade and eighteen of the party were killed and wounded, among them several promising young officers. The enemy had taken possession of a strong defensive position, in which there was no hope of effectually assailing him, having a deep rapid creek in its rear in the form of a semicircle, and being fronted by a high and almost perpendicular bluff of 100 feet, which could only be penetrated by three steep ravines. The death of these gallant young men excited a spirit of revenge among the troops, and they moved forward under a heavy fall of snow, determined to attack the enemy in his stronghold at every risk. But on arriving at the place, they found that the Indians had evacuated it and crossed over *Ponce-passu* on their retreat. There being now no certain point to which the operations of the troops could be directed, General Hopkins gave orders for their return to Fort Harrison, where they arrived after an absence of sixteen days, having in that time traversed 100 miles of a county of which, to use the words of their commander, they had no cognizance.

Meantime, the opposition to the measures of the government made by the federal party, found violent expression in New England. They criticised and protested against the war with England, and maintained that it was unconstitutional and illegal to employ the militia of the states in offensive warfare. Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to furnish their contingent of troops for the invasion of Canada. The presidential election took place in the autumn of this year. Mr. Madison was re-elected without difficulty, whilst Mr. Gerry became vice-president. The friends of the administration were in a great majority.

Congress met in November. The president, in his message, frankly stated the ill success of the operations on the northern frontier, but mentioned with just pride the victories of the American cruisers. His request for a more efficient organization of the army was granted. The pay of the troops was increased, and twenty additional regiments of infantry were ordered to be raised.

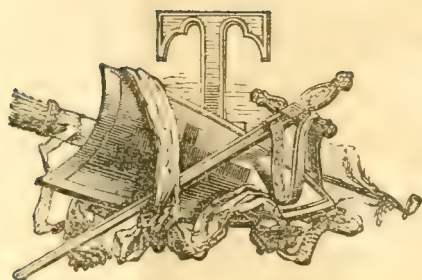


Constitution and Java.



CHAPTER XLVII.

EVENTS OF 1813.



THE news of another naval triumph was the first cause of rejoicing in the Union, at the opening of 1813. On the 27th of December, the frigate *Constitution*, Captain Bainbridge, fell in with the British frigate *Java*, of 49 guns, Captain Lambert, off the northern coast of Brazil. At fifty minutes past one

P. M. the enemy bore down with an intention of raking the *Constitution*, which she avoided by wearing. Much manœuvring took place on both sides, the object of the enemy being to rake, and of the *Constitution* to avoid being raked, and to draw the enemy from the neutral coast. At two P. M., the enemy was within half a mile of the *Constitution*, and to windward, having hauled down his colors, except the union jack, which was at the mizzen-masthead. A gun was then fired ahead of him, to make him show his colors; but this gun was answered by a whole broadside. The enemy's colors were then hoisted, and the action began with round and grape; but he kept at so great a distance that the grape had little effect, and to bring him nearer would expose the *Constitution* to



Captain Bainbridge.

severe raking. At thirty minutes past two, both ships were within good canister distance, when the Constitution's wheel was shot away. At forty minutes past two, the fore and mainsail were set, and Commodore Bainbridge being now determined to close with him, luffed up for that purpose, and in ten minutes after, the enemy's jibboom got foul of the Constitution's mizzen rigging, and in another ten minutes, his bowsprit and jibboom were shot away. At five minutes past three, his main-topmast was shot away just above the cap. This was followed by the loss of his gaff and spanker boom, and soon after, his mainmast went nearly by the board. At five minutes past four, the enemy was completely silenced, and his colors at the main being down, it was thought he had surrendered. The Constitution therefore shot ahead to repair damages, which being done, and the enemy's flag being discovered to be still flying, she wore, stood for the enemy in handsome style, and got close athwart his bows in an effectual position for raking, when his mainmast having also gone by the board, and seeing that further resistance would be useless whilst he lay so unmanageable a wreck, he struck his colors. The Constitution had 9 men killed and 25 wounded. The Java 60 killed and 170 wounded.

In the west and northwest the American arms were unfortunate. The



General Winchester.

left wing of the northwestern army was commanded by General James Winchester. Receiving intelligence that the British and Indians were posted at French Town, on the river Raisin, Harrison ordered this detachment to proceed against them, if its commander thought it practicable. Winchester immediately detached an efficient force, under Colonel Lewis, which made a rapid march, and reached the vicinity of French Town on the 18th of January. The enemy were prepared to receive them: but the Americans advanced with such impetuosity that the enemy were dislodged from their works, and driven to the distance of two miles. The battle lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon until dark. The American detachment then encamped on the spot from which it had driven the enemy. The loss of the British and Indians was very severe. That of the Americans was 12 killed and 55 wounded. General Winchester, with about 300, arrived at French Town on the 20th.

On the morning of the 22d, the Americans were surprised and attacked by a greatly superior force of British and Indians, commanded by Colonel



Massacre on the River Raisin.

Proctor. The action was warmly contested for about a half hour, when the enemy's fire becoming too galling, Winchester ordered his men to form on the north bank of the river; but they gave way, and could not be rallied. The Indians gained their rear, and thus borne down by numbers, General Winchester, 35 officers, and 487 noncommissioned officers and privates, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Before the troops surrendered, the British commander promised them protection from the ferocity of the Indians: but the promise was made to be broken. At break of day, the next morning, the savages were suffered to commit every depredation they pleased. An indiscriminate slaughter of all who were unable to walk ensued; many were tomahawked, and many were burned alive in the houses. Every species of private property remaining in the tents was appropriated by the Indians. The whole detachment was captured or destroyed. The loss of the British and Indians was not ascertained, but must have been severe, since, for a time, the Americans fought with the fury of desperation. There is no doubt that this disaster was owing to Winchester's want of caution.

On the 24th of February, the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, Captain James Lawrence, fell in with the British brig *Peacock*, Captain William Peake. The forces were about equal; but after an action of about twenty minutes, the *Peacock* surrendered, being then in a sinking condition. The crew of the American vessel made every exertion to remove the wounded and prisoners from the sinking wreck; but she went down with thirteen of her

Hornet and Peacock.





Captain James Lawrence.

own crew and three noble seamen belonging to the *Hornet*. The loss on board the *Hornet* during the action was only one killed and three wounded. Of the British, Captain Peake and five men were killed, and about thirty-three men wounded.

Early in April, preparations were made by the American General Dearborn for an attack upon the British post at York, Upper Canada. Commodore Chauncey had succeeded in equipping an efficient naval force on Lake Ontario. He received on board his squadron, at Sackett's Harbor, 1700 men, commanded by General Dearborn, and sailed, on the 25th of April, for York. On the morning of the 27th, the troops were landed about a mile below the principal fort of the enemy. The British, posted in a thick wood, received the Americans with a galling fire; but the latter attacked the enemy vigorously, and compelled them to retreat with considerable loss. The squadron opened an effective fire upon the principal work of the enemy; and the troops, under the command of Brigadier-general Pike, attacked and carried two redoubts. As they approached the principal works, the enemy blew up their magazine, which killed or



Commodore Chauncey.

wounded about 100 of the assailants. General Pike was among the slain. His talents and daring activity had endeared him to his troops, and his



Death of General Pike.



General Pike.

fall was much lamented. The Americans pressed on, however, and took possession of York. The loss of the British during the action was much greater than that of the assailants. A considerable quantity of military stores fell to the victors.

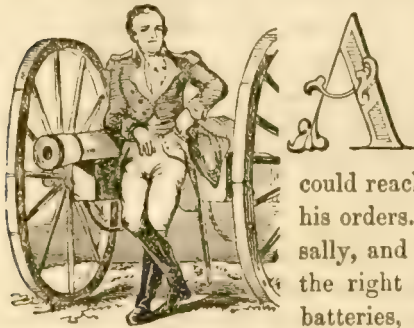
After the defeat and capture of General Winchester and his army at the river Raisin, General Harrison established his advanced post at the foot of the Miami rapids, enclosing about eight acres with strong pickets, and establishing batteries at the most commanding points. This position was selected as being convenient for keeping open a communication, and receiving reinforcements and supplies from Kentucky, and the settled parts of the state of Ohio; and, at the same time, affording the best station for protecting the borders of Lake Erie, re-capturing Detroit, and carrying the war into the British territories: it was denominated Fort Meigs, in honor of the zeal and talents of the governor of Ohio. The Miami of the Lake is formed by the St. Mary's, which comes from the south, and the St. Joseph's, which rises in the Indiana territory. These rivers unite at Fort Wayne, near the west line of the state of Ohio: from this point the river assumes the name of Miami, and runs a north-easterly



General Harrison.

direction, about fifty miles to Fort Winchester, formerly Fort Defiance, where it receives the waters of the Auglaize from the south. Thence it continues the same course forty miles further to the rapids, and after passing a short distance below Fort Meigs on the left, and the ruins of a small village on the right, and embracing a large island, falls into the Miami bay, opposite the site of an old British fort, eighteen miles from Lake Erie. The rapids terminate at Fort Meigs, three miles above the head of the bay. On the breaking up of the ice in Lake Erie, General Proctor, with all his disposable force, consisting of regulars and Canadian militia from Malden, and a large body of Indians under their celebrated chief Tecumseh, amounting in the whole to 2000 men, laid siege to Fort Meigs. To encourage the Indians, he had promised them an easy conquest; and assured them that General Harrison should be delivered up to Tecumseh. On the 26th of April, the British columns appeared on the opposite bank of the river, and established their principal batteries on a

commanding eminence opposite the fort. On the 27th, the Indians crossed the river, and established themselves in the rear of the American lines. The garrison, not having completed their wells, had no water except what they obtained from the river, under a constant firing of the enemy. On the 1st, 2d, and 3d of May, their batteries kept up an incessant shower of balls and shells upon the fort. On the night of the 3d, the British erected a gun and mortar battery on the left bank of the river, within two hundred and fifty yards of the American lines. The Indians climbed the trees in the neighborhood of the fort, and poured in a galling fire upon the garrison. In this situation General Harrison received a summons from Proctor for a surrender of the garrison, greatly magnifying the means of annoyance; this was answered by a prompt refusal, assuring the British general that if he obtained possession of the fort, it would not be by capitulation. Apprehensive of such an attack, General Harrison had made the governors of Kentucky and Ohio minutely acquainted with his situation, and stated to them the necessity of reinforcements for the relief of Fort Meigs. His requisitions had been zealously anticipated, and General Clay was at this moment descending the Miami with 1200 Kentuckians for his relief.



At twelve o'clock in the night of the 4th, an officer arrived from General Clay, with the welcome intelligence of his approach, stating that he was just above the rapids, and could reach him in two hours, and requesting his orders. Harrison determined on a general sally, and directed Clay to land 800 men on the right bank, take possession of the British batteries, spike their cannon, immediately return to their boats, and cross over to the American fort. The remainder of Clay's force was ordered to land on the left bank, and fight their way to the fort, while sorties were to be made from the garrison in aid of these operations. Captain Hamilton was directed to proceed up the river in a periauger, land a subaltern on the left bank, who should be a pilot to conduct General Clay to the fort; and then cross over and station his periauger at the place designated for the other division to land. General Clay, having received these orders, descended the river in order of battle in solid columns, each officer taking position according to his rank. Colonel Dudley, being the eldest in command, led the van, and was ordered to take the men in the twelve front boats, and execute General Harrison's orders on the right bank. He effected his landing at the place designated,

without difficulty. General Clay kept close along the left bank until he came opposite the place of Colonel Dudley's landing, but not finding the subaltern there, he attempted to cross over and join Colonel Dudley; this was prevented by the violence of the current on the rapids, and he again attempted to land on the left bank, and effected it with only fifty men, amid a brisk fire from the enemy on shore, and made his way to the fort, receiving their fire until within the protection of its guns. The other boats, under the command of Colonel Boswell, were driven further down the current, and landed on the right to join Colonel Dudley. Here they were ordered to re-embark, land on the left bank, and proceed to the fort. In the meantime, two sorties were made from the garrison, one on the left, in aid of Colonel Boswell, by which the Canadian militia and Indians were defeated, and he enabled to reach the fort in safety, and one on the right, against the British batteries, which was also successful.



COLONEL DUDLEY, with his detachment of 800 Kentucky militia, completely succeeded in driving the British from their batteries, and spiking the cannon. Having accomplished this object, his orders were peremptory to return immediately to his boats, and cross over to the fort; but the blind confidence which generally attends militia when successful, proved their ruin.

Although repeatedly ordered by Colonel Dudley, and warned of their danger, and called upon from the fort to leave the ground; and although there was abundant time for that purpose, before the British reinforcements arrived; yet they commenced a pursuit of the Indians, and suffered themselves to be drawn into an ambuscade by some feint skirmishing, while the British troops and large bodies of Indians were brought up, and intercepted their return to the river. Elated with their first success, they considered the victory as already gained, and pursued the enemy nearly two miles into the woods and swamps, where they were suddenly caught in a defile, and surrounded by double their numbers. Finding themselves in this situation, consternation prevailed; their line became broken and disordered, and huddled together in unresisting crowds, they were obliged to surrender to the mercy of the savages. Fortunately for these unhappy victims, of their own rashness, General Tecumseh commanded at this ambuscade, and had imbibed, since his appointment, more humane feelings than his brother Proctor. After the surrender, and all resistance had ceased, the Indians, finding 500 prisoners at their mercy, began the work of massacre with the most savage delight. Tecumseh sternly forbade it,

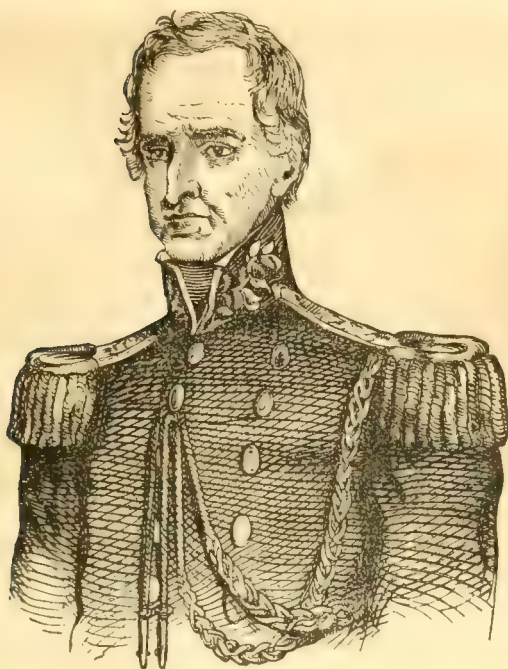


Sortie from Fort Meigs.

and buried his tomahawk in the head of one of his chiefs who refused obedience. This order, accompanied with this decisive manner of enforcing it, put an end to the massacre. Of 800 men, only 150 escaped. The residue were slain or made prisoners. Colonel Dudley was severely wounded in the action, and afterwards tomahawked and scalped.

Proctor, seeing no prospect of taking the fort, and finding his Indians fast leaving him, raised the siege on the 9th of May, and returned with precipitation to Malden. Tecumseh and a considerable portion of the Indians remained in service; but large numbers left it in disgust, and were ready to join the Americans. On the left bank, in the several sorties of the 5th of May, and during the siege, the American loss was 81 killed, and 189 wounded. General Harrison having repaired the fort, and committed its defence to General Clay, repaired to Franklinton to organize the new levies, and systematize a plan of defence for the Erie frontier. At Lower Sandusky, he met Governor Meigs, at the head of a large body of Ohio volunteers, pressing on to his relief, and gave him the pleasing intelligence that the siege was raised. The volunteers were there discharged with the warmest acknowledgments of the governor and general for their promptness and zeal in marching to the relief of Fort Meigs.

Having raised the siege of Camp Meigs, the British sailed round into Sandusky Bay, while a competent number of their savage allies marched across through the swamps of Portage River, to co-operate in a combined



Colonel Croghan.

attack on Lower Sandusky, expecting, no doubt, that General Harrison's attention would be chiefly directed to Forts Winchester and Meigs. The general, however, had calculated on their taking this course, and had been careful to keep patroles down the bay, opposite the mouth of Portage, where he supposed their forces would debark.

Several days before the British had invested Fort Meigs, General Harrison, with Major Croghan and some other officers, had examined the heights which surround Fort Stephenson; and as the hill on the opposite or south-east side of the river was found to be the most commanding eminence, the general had some thoughts of removing the fort to that place, and Major Croghan declared his readiness to undertake the work. But the general did not authorize him to do it, as he believed that if the enemy intended to invade our territory again, they would do it before the removal could be completed. It was then finally concluded that the fort, which was calculated for a garrison of only 200 men, could not be defended against the heavy artillery of the enemy; and that if the British should approach it by water, which would cause a presumption that they had brought their heavy artillery, the fort must be abandoned and burnt,

provided a retreat could be effected with safety. In the orders left with Major Croghan, it was stated—"Should the British troops approach you in force with cannon, and you can discover them in time to effect a retreat, you will do so immediately, destroying all the public stores."

"You must be aware that the attempt to retreat in the face of an Indian force would be vain. Against such an enemy your garrison would be safe, however great the number."



ON the evening, of the 29th, General Harrison received intelligence, by express, from General Clay, that the enemy had abandoned the siege of Fort Meigs; and as the Indians on that day had swarmed in the woods round his camp, he entertained no doubt that an immediate attack was intended either on Sandusky or Seneca. He therefore immediately called a council of war, consisting of M'Arthur, Cass, Ball,

Paul, Wood, Hukill, Holmes and Graham, who were unanimously of the opinion that Fort Stephenson was untenable against heavy artillery, and that as the enemy could bring with facility any quantity of battering cannon against it, by which it must inevitably fall, and as it was an unimportant post, containing nothing the loss of which would be felt by us, that the garrison should therefore not be reinforced, but withdrawn, and the place destroyed. In pursuance of this decision, the general immediately despatched the order to Major Croghan, directing him immediately to abandon Fort Stephenson, to set it on fire and repair with his command to head-quarters—cross the river and come up on the opposite side, and if he should find it impracticable to reach the general's quarters, to take the road to Huron, and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and despatch. This order was sent by Mr. Conner and two Indians, who lost their way in the dark, and did not reach Fort Stephenson till 11 o'clock the next day. When Major Croghan received it, he was of opinion that he could not then retreat with safety, as the Indians were hovering round the fort in considerable force. He called a council of his officers, a majority of whom coincided with him in opinion that a retreat would be unsafe, and that the post could be maintained against the enemy, at least till further instructions could be received from head-quarters. The major therefore immediately returned the following answer: "Sir, I have just received yours of yesterday, 10 o'clock, P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens

we can." In writing this note, Major Croghan had a view to the probability of its falling into the hands of the enemy, and on that account made use of stronger language than would have otherwise been consistent with propriety. It reached the general on the same day, who did not fully understand the circumstances and motives under which it had been dictated. The following order was therefore immediately prepared and sent with Colonel Wells in the morning, escorted by Colonel Ball, with his corps of dragoons.

"July 30, 1813.

"SIR—The general has just received your letter of this date, informing him that you had thought proper to disobey the order issued from this office, and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the information which dictated the order was incorrect; and as you did not receive it in the night, as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstance and your situation, before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over; but I am directed to say to you, that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution, and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his general, can no longer be entrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him, and repair with Colonel Ball's squadron to this place. By command, &c.

A. H. HOLMES, *Assistant Adjutant General.*"

Colonel Wells being left in the command of Fort Stephenson, Major Croghan returned with the squadron to head-quarters. He there explained his motives for writing such a note, which were deemed satisfactory; and having remained all night with the general, who treated him politely, he was permitted to return to his command in the morning, with written orders similar to those he had received before.

A reconnoitring party which had been sent from head-quarters to the shore of the lake, about 20 miles distant from Fort Stephenson, discovered the approach of the enemy, by water, on the evening of the 31st of July. They returned by the fort after 12 o'clock the next day, and had passed it but a few hours, when the enemy made their appearance before it. The Indians showed themselves first on the hill over the river, and were saluted by a six-pounder, the only piece of artillery in the fort, which soon caused them to retire. In half an hour the British gun-boats came in sight, and the Indian forces displayed themselves in every direction, with a view to intercept the garrison, should a retreat be attempted. The six-pounder was fired a few times at the gun-boats, which was returned by the artillery of the enemy. A landing of their troops with a five and

a half-inch howitzer was effected about a mile below the fort; and Major Chambers, accompanied by Dickson, was despatched towards the fort with a flag, and was met on the part of Major Croghan by Ensign Shipp, of the 17th regiment. After the usual ceremonies, Major Chambers observed to Ensign Shipp, that he was instructed by General Proctor to demand the surrender of the fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of human blood, which he could not do, should he be under the necessity of reducing it, by the powerful force of artillery, regulars and Indians under his command. Shipp replied, that the commandant of the fort and its garrison were determined to defend it to the last extremity; that no force however great could induce them to surrender, as they were resolved to maintain their post, or to bury themselves in its ruins. Dickson then said that their immense body of Indians could not be restrained from murdering the whole garrison in case of success, of which we have no doubt, rejoined Chambers, as we are amply prepared. Dickson then proceeded to remark, that it was a great pity so fine a young man should fall into the hands of the savages—Sir, for God's sake, surrender, and prevent the dreadful massacre that will be caused by your resistance. Mr. Shipp replied, that when the fort was taken, there would be none to massacre. It will not be given up while a man is able to resist. An Indian at this moment came out of an adjoining ravine, and advancing to the ensign, took hold of his sword and attempted to wrest it from him. Dickson interfered, and having restrained the Indian, affected great anxiety to get him safe into the fort.



THE enemy now opened their fire from their six-pounders in the gun-boats and the howitzer on shore, which they continued through the night with but little intermission and with very little effect. The forces of the enemy consisted of 500 regulars, and about 800 Indians commanded by Dickson, the whole being commanded by General Proctor in person. Tecumseh was stationed on the road to Fort Meigs with a body of 2000 Indians, hoping to intercept a reinforcement which was expected to advance by that route.

Major Croghan through the evening at intervals, fired his six-pounder, at the same time changing its place occasionally to induce a belief that he had more than one piece. As it produced very little execution on the enemy, and he was desirous of saving his ammunition, he soon discontinued his fire. The enemy had directed their fire against the northwestern

angle of the fort, which induced the commander to believe that an attempt to storm his works would be made at that point. In the night, Captain Hunter was directed to remove the six-pounder to a block-house, from which it would rake that angle. By great industry and personal exertion, Captain Hunter soon accomplished this object in secrecy. The embrasure was masked, and the piece loaded with a half-charge of powder, and double charge of slugs and grape-shot. Early on the morning of the 2d, the enemy opened their fire from their howitzer and three six-pounders, which they had landed in the night, and planted in a point of woods, about 250 yards from the fort. In the afternoon, about 4 o'clock, they concentrated the fire of all their guns on the northwest angle, which convinced Major Croghan that they would endeavor to make a breach and storm the works at that point; he therefore immediately had that place strengthened as much as possible with bags of flour and sand, which were so effectual that the picketing in that place sustained no material injury. Sergeant Weaver, with five or six gentlemen of the Petersburg volunteers and Pittsburg blues, who happened to be in the fort, was intrusted with the management of the six-pounder.

Late in the evening, when the smoke of the firing had completely enveloped the fort, the enemy proceeded to make the assault. Two feints were made towards the southern angle, where Captain Hunter's lines were formed; and at the same time a column of 350 men was discovered advancing through the smoke, within 20 paces of the northwestern angle. A heavy galling fire of musketry was now opened upon them from the fort, which threw them into some confusion. Colonel Short, who headed the principal column, soon rallied his men, and led them with great bravery to the brink of the ditch. After a momentary pause he leaped into the ditch, calling to his men to follow him, and in a few minutes it was full. The masked port-hole was now opened, and the six-pounder, at the distance of 30 feet, poured such destruction among them that but few who had entered the ditch were fortunate enough to escape. A precipitate and confused retreat was the immediate consequence, although some of the officers attempted to rally their men. The other column, which was led by Colonel Warburton and Major Chambers, was also routed in confusion by a destructive fire from the line commanded by Captain Hunter. The whole of them fled into the adjoining wood, beyond the reach of our fire-arms. During the assault, which lasted half an hour, the enemy kept up an incessant fire from their howitzer and five six-pounders. They left Colonel Short, a lieutenant and twenty-five privates, dead in the ditch; and the total number of prisoners taken was twenty-six, most of them badly wounded. Major Muir was knocked down in

the ditch, and lay among the dead, till the darkness of the night enabled him to escape in safety. The loss of the garrison was one killed and seven slightly wounded. The total loss of the enemy could not be less than 150 killed and wounded.

When night came on, which was soon after the assault, the wounded in the ditch were in a desperate situation. Complete relief could not be brought to them by either side with any degree of safety. Major Croghan, however, relieved them as much as possible—he contrived to convey to them water over the picketing in buckets, and a ditch was opened under the pickets, through which those who were able and willing, were encouraged to crawl into the fort. All who were able, preferred, of course, to follow their defeated comrades, and many others were carried from the vicinity of the fort by the Indians, particularly their own killed and wounded; and in the night about 3 o'clock, the whole British and Indian force commenced a disorderly retreat. So great was their precipitation that they left a sail-boat containing some clothing and a considerable quantity of military stores: and on the next day, seventy stand of arms and some braces of pistols were picked up around the fort. Their hurry and confusion were caused by the apprehension of an attack from General Harrison, of whose position and force they had probably received an exaggerated account.



It was the intention of General Harrison, should the enemy succeed against Fort Stephenson, or should they endeavor to turn his left and fall on Upper Sandusky, to leave his camp at Seneca and fall back for the protection of that place. But he discovered by the firing on the evening of the 1st, that the enemy had nothing but light artillery, which could make no impression on the fort; and he knew that an attempt to storm

it without making a breach, could be successfully repelled by the garrison; he therefore determined to wait for the arrival of 250 mounted volunteers under Colonel Rennick, being the advance of 700 who were approaching by the way of Upper Sandusky, and then to march against the enemy and raise the siege, if their force was not still too great for his. On the 2d, he sent several scouts to ascertain their situation and force; but the woods were so infested with Indians, that none of them could proceed sufficiently near the fort to make the necessary discoveries. In the night the messenger arrived at head-quarters with intelligence that the enemy were preparing to retreat. About 9 o'clock, Major Croghan had ascer-

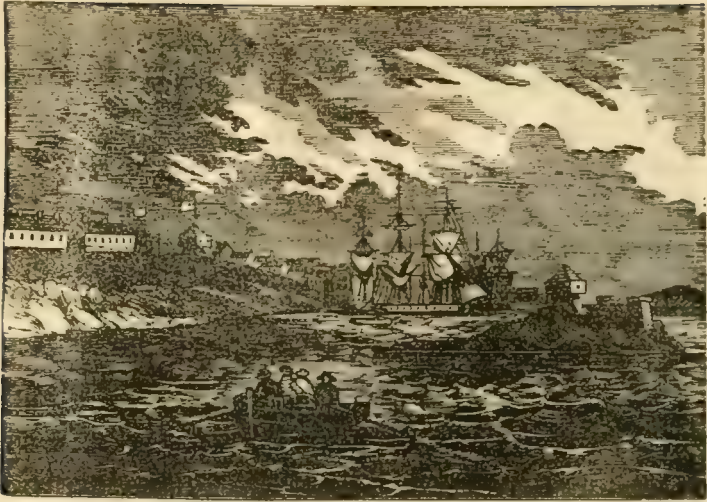


Capture of Fort George.

tained from their collecting about their boats, that they were preparing to embark, and had immediately sent an express to the commander-in-chief with this information. The general now determined to wait no longer for the reinforcements, and immediately set out with the dragoons, with which he reached the fort early next morning, having ordered Generals M'Arthur and Cass, who had arrived at Seneca several days before, to follow him with all the disposable infantry at that place, and which at this time was about 700 men, after the numerous sick, and the force necessary to maintain the position, were left behind. Finding that the enemy had fled entirely from the fort, so as not to be reached by him, and learning that Tecumseh was somewhere in the direction of Fort Meigs, with 2000 warriors, he immediately ordered the infantry to fall back to Seneca, lest Tecumseh should make an attack on that place, or intercept the small reinforcements advancing from Ohio.

In his official report of this affair, General Harrison observes that — “It will not be among the least of General Proctor's mortifications, that he has been baffled by a youth, who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, General George R. Clarke.”

Captain Hunter, of the 17th regiment, the second in command, conducted himself with great propriety: and never was there a set of finer



Sackett's Harbor

young fellows than the subalterns, viz.: Lieutenants Johnson and Baylor of the 17th, Meeks of the 7th, and Ensigns Shipp and Duncan of the 17th. Lieutenant Anderson of the 24th was also noticed for his good conduct. Being without a command, he solicited Major Croghan for a musket and a post to fight at, which he did with the greatest bravery. "Too much praise," says Major Croghan, "cannot be bestowed on the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates under my command, for their gallantry and good conduct during the siege." The brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel was immediately conferred on Major Croghan, by the president of the United States, for his gallant conduct on this occasion. The ladies of Chillicothe also presented him an elegant sword, accompanied by a suitable address.

In the meantime, the operations of the Americans directed against the British posts on Lake Ontario, were successful. Fort George on the Canada shore, was one of the most important of these posts. Troops were assembled, the Ontario squadron prepared, and the 27th of May fixed for the attack upon the fort. Commodore Chauncey made judicious arrangements for silencing the enemy's batteries near the point of landing. The light troops, commanded by Colonel Scott and Major Forsyth, landed first and were followed by the remainder of the army. The landing was warmly and obstinately disputed by the British forces; but the impetuosity of the Americans soon compelled them to give ground. Fort George was rendered untenable, and the enemy, after firing a few guns, and exploding



General Jacob Brown.

the magazines, rapidly retreated. In this brilliant affair, the Americans had 17 killed and 45 wounded. The enemy had 90 killed, 160 wounded, and about 100 taken prisoners.

On the 29th of May, the British squadron, with about 1000 regular troops on board commanded by Sir George Prevost, made an attack upon Sackett's Harbor. The American force at that post was commanded by General Jacob Brown.

The movements of the enemy indicated his intention to land on the peninsula called Horse Island. General Brown, therefore, determined on resisting him at the water's edge with the Albany volunteers, under Colonel Mills, and such militia as could be instantly collected. Alarm guns were therefore fired, and expresses sent out for that purpose. Lieutenant-Colonel Backus, of the 1st regiment United States dragoons, was to form a second line with the regulars. The regular artillerymen were stationed in Fort Tompkins, and the defence of Navy Point was committed to Lieutenant Chauncey.

On the 28th, the Wolfe, the Royal George, the Prince Regent, the

Earl of Moira, and one brig, two schooners, and two gun-boats, with 33 flat bottomed boats and barges, containing in all 1200 troops, appeared in the offing, at five miles distance. They were standing their course for the harbor, when, having discovered a fleet of American barges, coming round Stony Point, with troops from Oswego, the whole of their boats were immediately despatched to cut them off. They succeeded in taking twelve of them, after they had been run on shore and abandoned by their crews, who arrived at the harbor in the night. The remainder, seven in number, escaped from their pursuers, and got safely in.



THE British commanders, being then under an impression that other barges would be sailing from Oswego, stood into South Bay, and despatched their armed boats to waylay them. In this they were disappointed; and during the delay which was caused by this interruption of their intended operations, the militia from the neighboring counties collected at the harbor, and showed great eagerness to engage in the contest with the invading enemy. They were ordered to be stationed on the water side, near the island on which Colonel Mills was posted with his volunteers. The strength at that point was nearly 500 men. But the whole force, including the regulars, effectives, and invalids, did not exceed 1000.

The plan of defence had been conceived with great skill, and if the conduct of the militia had proved to be consistent with their promises, it would have been executed with equal ability. Every thing being ordered, General Brown directed his army to lay upon their arms, whilst he continued personally to reconnoitre the shores of the harbor, during the whole night of the 28th. At the only favorable point of landing, he had caused a breastwork to be thrown up, and a battery *en barbette*, to be erected. Behind this most of the militia were stationed.

At the dawn of the 29th, the enemy was discovered with his vessels drawn up in line, between Horse Island and Stony Point; and in a few minutes all his boats and barges approached the shore under cover of his gun-boats, those being the heaviest of his vessels, which, in consequence of the lightness of the wind, could be brought up. The troops with which the boats were filled, were commanded by Sir George Prevost in person. Commodore Yeo directed the movements of the barges. General Brown instantly issued his orders, that the troops should lie close, and reserve



Defence of Sackett's Harbor.

their fire until the enemy should have approached so near that every shot might take effect. This order was executed, and the fire was so destructive, that the enemy's advance boats were obliged to make a temporary pause, and numbers of their officers and men were seen to fall.

Encouraged by the decided effect of the first fire, the militia loaded their pieces with the utmost quickness, and the artillery was ordered to be opened at the moment of their second. But, before the second round had been completely discharged, the whole body of the militia, none of whom had ever seen an enemy until now, and who were entirely unaccustomed to subordination, though they were well protected by the breast-work, rose from behind it, and abandoning those honorable promises of noble daring which they had made but a little while before, they fled with equal precipitation and disorder. A strange and unaccountable panic seized the whole line, and with the exception of a very few, terror and dismay were depicted in every countenance. Colonel Mills, vainly endeavoring to rally his men, was killed as he was reminding them of the solemn pledges which they had given; but the fall of this brave officer

served rather to increase their confusion than to actuate them to revenge it.

General Brown seeing that his plan was already frustrated, and fearing his inability to execute any other, without the vigorous co-operation of the militia, hastened to intercept their retreat, and finding one company of about 100 men, who had been rallied by the active and zealous conduct of Captain M'Nitt of that corps, he brought them up and ordered them to form in line with the regulars and volunteers who had continued to keep their ground.



IN the interval which had thus elapsed, the enemy had effected his debarkation with little opposition, and drawing up his whole force on Horse Island, he commenced his march for the village; on the road to which he was met by a small party of infantry, under Major Aspinwall, and a few dismounted dragoons under Major Laval, who opposed him with much gallantry. Two of the gunboats ranged up the shore and covered the field with grape. This handful of troops then gradually retired from an immense superiority of numbers, and occupied the intervals between the barracks.

Lieutenant-Colonel Backus, with his reserve of regulars, first engaged the enemy, when the militia company of Captain M'Nitt was formed on his flank, and in the vigorous fight which then followed, this company behaved with as much gallantry as the bravest of the regulars. The whole force was compelled to fall back, however, by the superior strength of the enemy's column, and resorting to the barracks for what shelter they could afford, they posted themselves in the unprotected log-houses and kept up an incessant and effective fire. From these, the most violent assaults, and the repeated and most energetic efforts of the British were incompetent to dislodge them. Colonel Gray, the quartermaster-general of the enemy's forces, advanced to the weakest part of the barracks at the head of a column of regulars, and after exchanging shots with an inferior party of militia and regulars, led his men on to the assault. A small boy, who was a drummer in Major Aspinwall's corps, seized a musket and levelling it at the colonel, immediately brought him to the ground. At that moment Lieutenant Fanning, of the artillery, who had been so severely wounded by the explosion at Little York, and was yet considered unable to do any kind of duty, leaned upon his piece whilst it was drawn up, and having given it the proper elevation, discharged three

rounds of grape into the faces of the enemy, who immediately fell back in disorder. At this instant Lieutenant-Colonel Backus fell severely wounded.

Whilst the battle was raging with its greatest violence, information was brought to Lieutenant Chauncey of the intention of the American forces to surrender. He therefore, in conformity to his previous orders relating to such an event, fired the navy barracks, and destroyed all the property and public stores which had previously belonged to the harbor, as well as the provisions and equipments which had been brought from New York. The destruction of these buildings, and the conflagration which was thence produced, was thought to have been caused by the troops of the enemy, and although the undisciplined militia and volunteers, and the invalid regulars, were suspicious of being placed between the fire of two divisions of the enemy, they continued to fight on, regardless of their inferiority or the consequences of their capture.



GENERAL Brown was all this time actively superintending the operations of his little army. He now determined on making a diversion in its favor, which if it should be successful, would be the only means of saving the place, or of relieving his exhausted troops. Having learned that the militia who had fled from their stations in the early part of the engagement had not yet entirely dispersed, and that they were still within a short distance of

the scene of action, he hastened to exhort them to imitate the conduct of their brave brethren in arms. He reproached them with shameful timidity, and ordered them instantly to form and follow him, and threatened with instant death the first man who should refuse. His order was obeyed with alacrity. He then attempted a stratagem by which to deceive the enemy with regard to the forces against which he was contending. Silently passing through a distant wood which led toward the place at which the enemy had landed, General Brown persuaded the British general of his intention to gain the rear of his forces, to take possession of the boats and effectually to cut off their retreat.

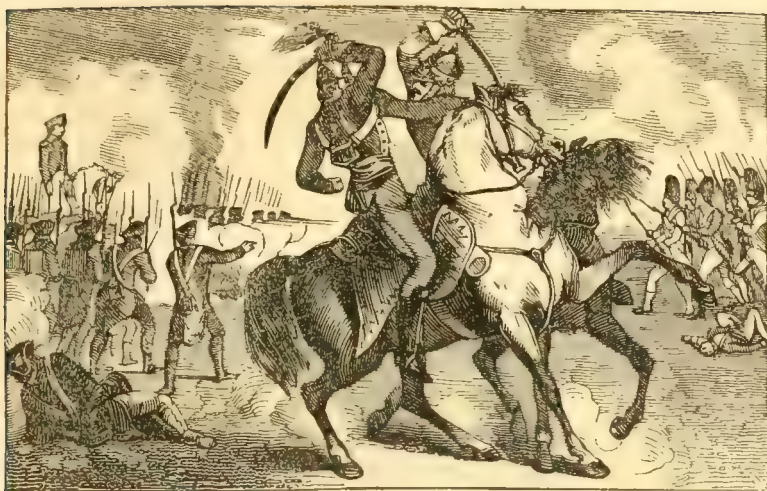
This was done with such effect, at the moment when the fire of Lieutenant Fanning's piece had caused the destruction in the British line, that General Sir George Prevost was well convinced of the vast superiority of the American force to his own. He gave up all thoughts of the capture of the place, and hurrying to his boats, put off immediately to the



Retreat of the British from Sackett's Harbor.

British squadron. He was not pursued, because if the real number of the American troops had been exposed to his view, he would have returned to the contest, might easily have outflanked, and in all human probability would still have captured the army and the village.

But the precipitation of this flight was such, that he left not only the wounded bodies of his ordinary men upon the field, but those of the dead and wounded of his most distinguished officers. Among these were Quartermaster-General Gray, Majors Moodie and Evans, and three captains. The return of his loss, as accurately as it had been ascertained, amounted to three field officers, one captain, and 25 rank and file found dead on the field; two captains and 20 rank and file found wounded; and two captains, one ensign, and 32 rank and file made prisoners. In addition to which, many were killed in the boats, and numbers had been carried away previously to the retreat. The loss of the Americans was greater in proportion, as the number of the men engaged were less. One colonel



Battle of Stony Creek.

of volunteers, twenty regulars, privates, and one volunteer private were killed; one lieutenant-colonel, three lieutenants, and one ensign of the regulars, and 79 non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded; and 26 non-commissioned officers and privates were missing. Their aggregate loss was 110 regulars, 21 volunteers, and twenty-five militia; making a total of 156. It was severe, because of the worth, more than of the number of those who fell. The injury in public stores sustained at Sackett's Harbor, though not by any act of the invading enemy, was extensive; but the gallantry of several individuals prevented its being more so.

The courage and skill displayed by General Brown in this important defence won him the applause of his countrymen, and the appointment of brigadier-general in the regular army. His subsequent achievements equalled the promise of his first, and showed that the confidence of the government in his talents for command was not misplaced.

On the 5th of June, a detachment of the American army, commanded by General Winder, marched against the British post at Stony Creek, near the head of Lake Ontario. The advanced body of the enemy was driven in, and the Americans pursued. The latter then returned and rested on the field during the night. Before daylight the next morning, the British attacked the Americans, captured Generals Winder and Chandler, and for a while had a decided advantage. The detachment, however, rallied, and drove the foe from the field with a severe loss. The Americans, under Colonel Burn, then returned to the main army. Their

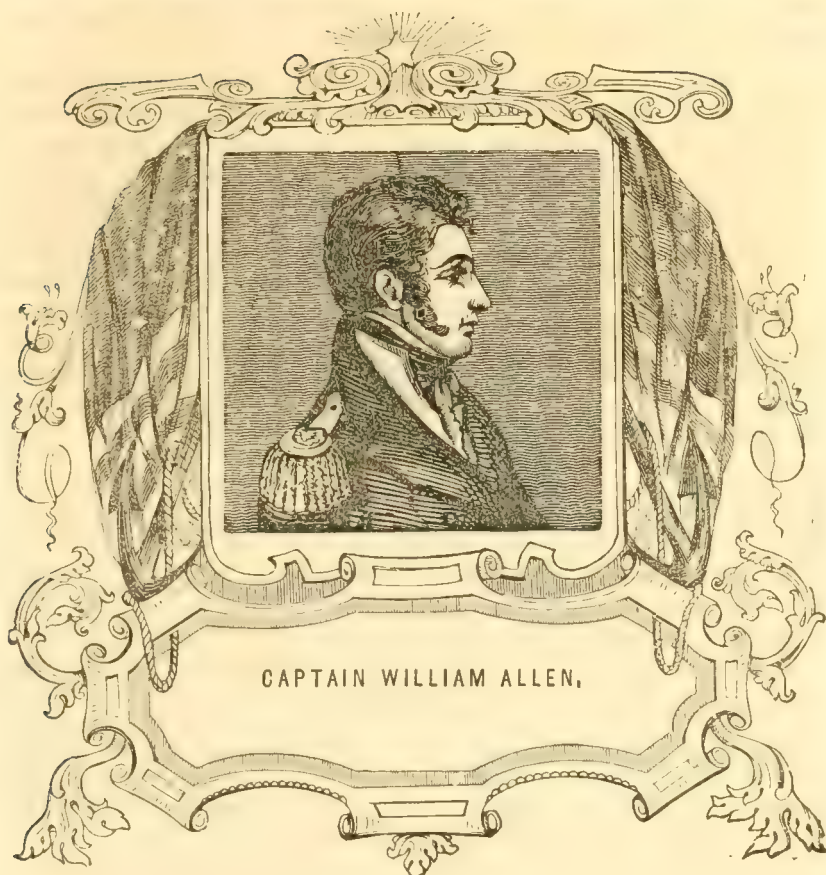
loss in the action was small. That of the enemy in killed, wounded and prisoners, was about 250 men.



THE naval triumphs of the Americans had given them confidence in the skill of their commanders and the quality of their cruisers. But this career of victory now experienced some interruptions. The United States frigate *Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence, being anchored in President's Roads, the commander of the British frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke, sent a challenge to the American commander to meet him in equal combat frigate to frigate. Although the *Chesapeake* was not in a condition for action, the chivalrous Lawrence accepted the challenge, and met the *Shannon* on the 1st of June. The action commenced within pistol shot, both crews suffering greatly from the broadsides. The principal officers of the *Chesapeake*, including Captain Lawrence, were disabled early in the action. After a desperate and bloody combat, the Americans having lost nearly all their officers, the enemy gained complete possession of the ship. On board the *Chesapeake*, 47 men were killed and 98 wounded. The loss of the British was 26 killed and 58 wounded. Captain Lawrence, even after the enemy had boarded his ship, exhorted his men to keep their colors flying. He was greatly lamented in the United States. The victory caused much exultation among the British, though it was rather the result of unavoidable accidents than of their superior skill and bravery.

The brig *Argus*, 20, Captain Allen, performed a very successful cruise in the course of the year, capturing about twenty British vessels, and committing great depredations upon the commerce of the British seas. At length, on the 14th of August, the *Argus* was encountered by the British brig *Pelican*, 21, and after an action of forty-seven minutes, captured. The *Pelican* was a much larger vessel. The *Argus* had 11 men killed and 12 wounded. Among the slain was the gallant Allen. The British stated their loss at seven killed and wounded.

On the 5th of October, the brig *Enterprise*, 14 guns, Lieutenant Burrows, encountered the British brig *Boxer*, of about the same force. The action was close and bloody. Captain Blythe, of the *Boxer*, and Lieutenant Burrows both fell. The enemy was out-manœuvred and cut up by the raking fire of the *Enterprise*, and at length surrendered. The prize was brought into Portland, where the remains of the two commanders were buried with military honors.



About this time, the American privateers were floating in every direction on the ocean. They cruised before the entrances of most of the British colonial ports, and relying on the swiftness of their sailing, many of them had ventured into the chops of the British Channel. The alarm which was, in consequence, excited among the merchants of Great Britain, and the vast number of captures which were making by these vessels, induced the English government to fit out several sloop-of-war for the protection of their coast. The brig *Charybdis*, of 18 thirty-two-pounders, and the *Opossum* sloop-of-war, were ordered to cruise for several privateers which were then known to be in the neighborhood of the coast, and which it was confidently expected would be brought in by one or the other of these armed vessels. The *Charybdis* fell in with the privateer *Blockade* of New York, of eight guns; and after an obstinate engagement of one hour and twenty minutes, in which the *Charybdis* lost 28 of



Action between the Enterprise and Boxer.

her officers and men killed and wounded, and the Blockade eight men only, the latter was carried and taken into port. The Opossum encountered the "Orders in Council," a small privateer, who fought her until they had exchanged seven broadsides, when, finding the enemy's force to be too powerful, she abandoned the contest and effected her escape.

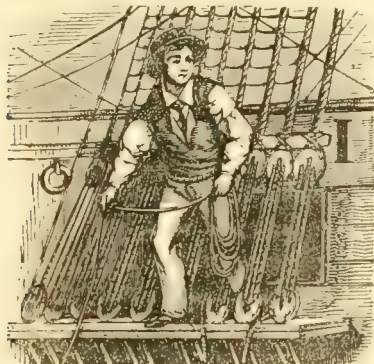
The privateer Tom, Captain Wilson, of Baltimore, on the 23d of November descried a sail, gave chase, overhauled and brought her to an action, which terminated in the surrender of the enemy, with the loss of her captain and four men killed, and several wounded. She proved to be the British packet Townsend, M'Coy, from Falmouth for Barbadoes. Her mail had been thrown overboard, but was picked up by the Tom's boats, and after being ransomed, she was suffered to proceed.

The Bona privateer, of Baltimore, having discovered a British ship of 800 tons and 22 guns, then on a voyage from Madeira, ran up and engaged her, when the great gun bursted, and Captain Dameron put 20 officers and men into his boats, and despatched them to board her. After a severe fight upon her decks, they carried her with little loss. Two strange sail at this moment coming up in chase, the Bona left the prize in possession of those on board, and bore away to draw the chasing vessels after her.

The privateer Dolphin, Captain W. S. Stafford, of 10 guns and 60 men, also of Baltimore, being off Cape St. Vincent, engaged a ship of 16 guns and 40 men, and a brig of 10 guns and 25 men, at the same instant, and after a long and gallant action made prizes of both. The Dolphin had four men wounded; the enemy 19 killed and 40 wounded, among them the captain of one of the vessels. Instances of the bold

and daring intrepidity of the crews of the private armed vessels of the United States are so numerous, that the recital of them would swell this work very far beyond the limits which have been assigned to it. The enemy's commerce was every where assailed by them, and the British government was obliged to protect their merchant ships by large convoys of vessels of war.

The declaration of war against Great Britain was no sooner made known at that court, than its ministers determined on sending into their provinces of Canada the veteran regiments of their army, and adopted effectual measures to forward to the coast of the American states a naval force competent to blockade its principal bays and rivers. Incensed at the successes of the American naval arms over the frigates and sloops-of-war of their nation, they hastened the departure of their different fleets, and in retaliation for the invasion of their provinces by the American troops, instructed their commanders to burn and otherwise to destroy, not only the coasting and river craft, but the towns and villages on the navigable inlets; and more particularly in the southern department of the Union. Early in the spring of 1813, detachments of these fleets arrived at the mouth of the Delaware, and at the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay. Others were to rendezvous at Bermuda, and thence to proceed to the reinforcement of the blockading squadrons.



IN the month of March, the Poitiers seventy-four, Commodore Beresford; the frigate Belvidere, and several smaller vessels of war entered the bay of Delaware, and destroyed great numbers of small trading vessels. In the course of that month, they were repeatedly repulsed in their attempts to capture others which lay near the shore, by the militia of Delaware; and several instances occur of sharp fighting,

which tended to improve the discipline of the volunteers of that state, and to inspire them with confidence.

Among other expedients for obtaining supplies, a demand was made upon the people of Lewistown for a supply of provisions for the blockading squadron, which being spiritedly refused, on the 6th of April, Sir John P. Beresford directed Captain Byron to move as near the town, with the Belvidere, as the waters would permit him, and, having first notified its inhabitants, to bombard it until his demands were complied with. On the night of the 6th, the bombardment accordingly took place. The shells

did not reach the town; the rockets passed over it; but the thirty-two pounders injured several of the houses.

On the 10th of May, the same squadron proceeded from their anchorage to a place seven miles distant from Lewistown, and sent out their barges to procure water from the shore. Colonel Davis immediately despatched Major George Hunter, with 150 men, to oppose their landing, which the major did with much gallantry, and compelled them to return to their shipping. The Poitiers and the Belvidere then sailed out of the bay for Bermuda; and the militia took up the buoys, which had previously been set in the river by the enemy.

The Spartan frigate having entered the Delaware soon after the departure of this squadron, attempted, on the 31st of the same month, to land about 60 of her men near Morris's river, on the Jersey side, with a view to obtain provisions. A small party of the militia of that state, however, hastily collected and drove them off before they had an opportunity of visiting the farmers' houses.



IN the month of June, the frigate Statira and the sloop-of-war Martin reinforced the enemy, and had captured many large merchant vessels bound up the Delaware. The whole trade between the capes and Philadelphia, and many of the intermediate places, was liable to be intercepted; and, unless they were protected by a convoy, the small vessels usually employed on the river did not attempt to sail. On the 23d, a squadron of nine gun-boats and two armed sloops, under Lieutenant-Commandant Angus, of the navy, convoyed three sloops laden with timber for a forty-four, then building at Philadelphia, under the eye of the enemy. The gun-boats engaged the two frigates, whilst the sloops effected their passage, and the Statira and Spartan moved from their anchorage to a situation out of reach of annoyance.

A merchant sloop having entered the bay on the 22d of July, on her return from sea, was cut off by the Martin sloop-of-war, which had just reappeared in the Delaware. The sloop ran aground to avoid capture; and although she was afterwards attacked by a tender and four barges well manned and armed, a hasty collection of militia, with one field-piece, under Lieutenant Townsend, drove off her assailants, and saved the sloop.

A detachment of the gun-boat flotilla, being at this time but a few miles off, were apprized of the attack made by the sloop-of-war, and Captain Angus immediately proceeded down the bay, with eight gun-boats and two block sloops. On the 29th, he discovered the Martin, grounded

slightly on the outer ridge of Crow's shoals, and determining to attack her in that situation, he anchored his squadron within three-quarters of a mile of the enemy, and opened a fire from the whole line. The *Junon* frigate came up to the assistance of the sloop-of-war, and anchored within half a mile below her. Between both of the enemy's vessels, mounting in all 69 guns, and the gun-boat squadron, a cannonade followed, and continued about one hour and forty-five minutes; in all which time, scarcely a shot struck either of the gun-boats, whilst at almost every fire the latter told upon the hulls of the sloop and frigate. This difference of effect in the firing being discovered by the British, they manned their launches, barges, and cutters, ten in number, and despatched them to cut off the boats on the extremity of the line.



NO. 121, a boat commanded by Sailing-master Shead, which, by some accident, had fallen a very great distance out of the line, and was prevented from recovering its situation by a strong ebb, and the wind dying away, became the object of attack from the enemy's barges. Eight of them, mounting among them three twelve-pound carronades, assailed the gun-boat at one time. Mr. Shead continued, nevertheless, to sweep her toward the squadron, and to discharge his twenty-four pounder alternately at one or the other of the pursuing barges, until they gained so fast upon him, that he resolved to anchor his boat, and receive them as warmly as the disparity of numbers would permit him. He then gave them a discharge of his great gun with much effect, though to the injury of the piece, which being fired a second time, and the carriage breaking down, it became necessary to oppose the enemy, who were closing fast, by the boarders. With these Mr. Shead resisted them, until his deck was covered with men, and the vessel entirely surrounded by the barges. Such was the impetuous fury of the English sailors, that the Americans were driven below, and the authority of the enemy's officers could scarcely protect them from violence. The flag was struck, and the boat carried off in triumph to the men-of-war.

In this assault the British lost seven killed and twelve wounded. On board the boat, seven men were wounded, but none killed. The squadron was all this time firing at the enemy's ships, who retired after capturing Mr. Shead, the *Martin* having been extricated from her situation on the shoal. On board the flotilla, not a man was injured, and but one of the boat's rigging cut; this was No. 125, commanded by Sailingmaster

Moliere. The engagement continued nearly two hours, and was the last affair of any consequence which occurred in the Delaware during this year.

In and along the shores of the bay of Chesapeake, where the blockading squadron consisted of four seventy-fours, several frigates and large sloops of war, and a number of tenders and barges kept for the purpose of navigating the smallest inlets, depredations of every kind, and to a very extensive degree, were carried on with unremitting activity. The various farms, bounded by the different creeks and rivers, tributary to the bay, became the scenes of indiscriminate and unjustifiable plunder. The stocks of many of them were completely destroyed: the slaves of the planters allured from their service, armed against their masters' defenceless families, and encouraged to the commission of every kind of pillage. Along a coast of such an extent it was almost impossible to station troops to resist every incursion, or to draw out, and transfer from one point to another with sufficient celerity, even the neighboring militia. But many instances occurred, notwithstanding, in which the invaders were opposed, and sometimes severely repulsed, by a handful of militia, collected without authority, and frequently without a leader.



ON the shores of the Rappahannock, one of two divisions of the enemy was beaten and routed with loss, by a small party of Virginia militia. In the neighborhood of Easton (Maryland) they took possession of several islands. From Sharp's, Tilghman's, and Poplar Island, they obtained provisions for the fleet, and attempted many incursions to the opposite shores, their success in which was prevented by bodies of cavalry and infantry, which the spirited citizens of Maryland had arranged at different rendezvous along the shores of the bay, in anticipation of a visit from the blockading fleet.

The commanding officer of the fleet, Sir John B. Warren, was at this time in Bermuda, making preparations for its augmentation; and the vessels then in the bay were commanded by Rear Admiral George Cockburn. About the latter part of April, this officer determined on attacking and destroying the towns most contiguous to the head of the bay; and for this purpose, on the 29th, he led a few hundred of his marines in the barges of his ship, the Marlborough, to the attack of Frenchtown, a place containing about six houses, two storehouses, and several stables; and important only because of being a place of interme-



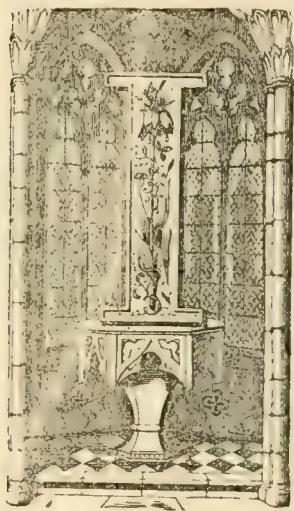
Attack on Havre de Grace.

diate depôt, between Baltimore and Philadelphia. A party of militia from Elkton, too inferior to the invaders to justify an attempt at resistance, retired on their approach, and Admiral Cockburn landed his marines and destroyed the storehouses, in which were deposited a quantity of goods belonging to merchants of those cities, of immense value, and a splendid architectural drop curtain and other paintings, belonging to the Philadelphia and Baltimore theatres. The marines being no professed admirers of the arts, these were destroyed without much hesitation. The private houses were saved by the interference of some respectable citizens; and after plundering the others, and setting fire to two vessels lying in the harbor, the British returned to their shipping.

The town of Havre de Grace, situated on the west side of the Susquehanna, about two miles from the head of the bay, and through which the great post-road passes, was the next object in the plan of the admiral's operations. On the morning of the 3d of May he proceeded to its assault with nineteen barges, and when within a short distance of the town commenced a tremendous bombardment, accompanied by the firing of cannon and the discharge of numerous rockets. In expectation of an attack from the enemy, the people of Havre de Grace had made preparations for the defence of the place, and a battery had been erected of two six-pounders and one nine.

At the time of the assault the inhabitants were in their beds, and there being no sentinels, the first notice they had of the approach of the enemy

was from the discharge of one of his pieces. The battery had been assigned as a place of rendezvous in the event of an attack; but such was the surprise which the presence of the enemy excited, and so incessant his discharges of shells and rockets, that five or six men only were fearless enough to repair to their breastwork and resist the approaches of the British barges. This small party kept up a fire from the battery until the enemy's advance commenced its debarkation; when all, except O'Neill, an old citizen of Havre de Grace, abandoned their posts, and following the militia, who had fled with shameful precipitation, left the women and children of the place to the mercy of the invaders. O'Neill continued, with great difficulty, to discharge one of the six-pounders, until in recoiling it ran over his thigh and rendered him incapable of further resistance in that way. But collecting all his strength, he armed himself with two muskets, and retreating from the battery to the rear of the town, vainly endeavored to retard the flight of the militia.



IN the meantime the whole body of the enemy had landed, and were actively engaged in destroying the houses. They set fire to those which had not been injured by their shells, broke the furniture, and cut open the bedding of the citizens to augment the flames; destroyed the public stages, maimed the horses, cut to pieces the private baggage of the passengers, tore the clothing of some of the inhabitants from their backs, and left to others those only which they wore. Women and children, flying in every direction to avoid a relentless foe, and to seek protection from their own countrymen, were insulted by the morose seamen and marines; and the only house which yet remained entirely uninjured, was sought by one and all as an asylum. In this, which was a spacious and elegant private mansion, several ladies of the first distinction had taken refuge, and among them the wife of Commodore Rodgers. An officer, who had just before made prisoner of O'Neill, was entreated to suffer this house, at least, to escape the general conflagration: but as he was obeying the orders of Admiral Cockburn, the most he could do was to suspend his purpose until those unprotected women could prevail upon the admiral to countermand them. The only act partaking of the least degree of humanity which the admiral could boast of on this occasion, was his compliance with these earnest entreaties.

Having spread desolation through the whole town, and destroyed the doors and windows of a handsome church contiguous to it, the admiral divided his party into three sections, one of which remained in the town to give notice of the approach of danger; the second proceeded on the road leading toward Baltimore, plundering the houses between Havre de Grace and Patterson's Mills, and robbing private travellers on the highway of their money and apparel; and the third went six miles up the river to a place called Cresswell's Ferry, whence, after committing many acts of outrage, they returned to concentrate their force at the place of landing. Here the admiral ordered them to re-embark, and having crossed the Susquehanna, the whole squadron of his barges made round the point which is formed at its entrance, and shaped their course three miles further up the bay, where the party relanded, repaired to those important and valuable works, Cecil furnace, where lay upwards of fifty pieces of newly-cast cannon, the only legitimate object of destruction which the invaders had yet met with. These they spiked, stuffed the muzzles with clay and broken pieces of iron, and knocked off the trunnions. Not content, however, with demolishing them and destroying other implements of war, they battered down the furnace, which was private property, set fire to the stables belonging to it, and as the last act of atrocity with which this expedition was destined to be marked, they tore up a small bridge constructed over a deep though narrow creek, and over which travellers of every description were obliged to pass, or venture through a wider channel at the imminent hazard of their lives.



HAVING attained all the objects of this enterprise, the British sailors and marines returned to their shipping in the bay; and on the 6th they sailed from the neighborhood of Havre de Grace, to the great joy of its distressed and ruined inhabitants. O'Neill, who had dared to resist them in the early stage of their proceedings, was taken on board the blockading fleet, and detained there several days. Such of the inhabitants as were not left entirely desti-

tute, were deprived of those articles of property which could relieve others; and it became necessary to apply for assistance to the principal and most opulent town of Maryland. The citizens of Baltimore relieved the sufferers, and preparations were soon after made to rebuild the houses.

In the relation of such scenes as those which occurred at Havre de Grace, it seldom happens that an account is to be given of the killed and

wounded in an action. In the slight resistance which was made by O'Neill and his companions, however, the enemy had three men killed and two wounded. Of the inhabitants, one man was killed by the explosion of a rocket.

Fraught with the immense booty that he had brought away from Havre de Grace, and finding his sailors and marines to be elated at the facility which the prospect of an attack on other equally defenceless towns held out of enriching themselves, the rear admiral contemplated an early assault upon such as he should discover to contain the most valuable spoil. The treachery of some citizens of the republic, and the easy intercourse which he kept up with his appointed agents, such as are employed by officers on all stations, enabled him to discover the situation of those towns and villages along the bay shore, with as much readiness as he could be wafted by his ships from one point of assault to another. On the river Sassafras, emptying itself into the bay, at a short sailing distance from the admiral's anchorage, and separating the counties of Kent and Cecil, stood nearly opposite each other, the villages of Georgetown and Fredericktown, containing, either of them, about twenty houses. These had attracted the attention of Admiral Cockburn, and he determined on the possession of the property of the inhabitants. On the 6th, he therefore entered that river, with eighteen barges, each carrying one great gun, and manned altogether by 600 men.



FREDERICKTOWN was his first object. At this place, one small cannon had been mounted, and about eighty militia collected, under Colonel Veazy, on the approach of the barges. The latter commenced a heavy fire, and having discharged an immense number of langrage rockets, grape shot, and musket balls within a few minutes, more than one-half of the militia fled. Thirty-five only, under the colonel, stood their ground, and worked the cannon with such skill, that the boats, whose fire was principally directed at the battery, suffered very severely. The invaders were gallantly resisted for more than half an hour, when they effected a landing, and marching towards the town, compelled the militia to retire. Colonel Veazy effected his retreat in excellent order. Admiral Cockburn then marched at the head of his men to the village; where, after having plundered the houses of their most valuable moveables, he set fire to every building in the town. The entreaties of the distressed women and children availed not with the admiral; and he would not quit the place until he had entirely deprived them of every refuge. Whilst the flames were raging in every part of Fredericktown, the admiral moved



Burning of Fredericktown.

over Sassafras River to Georgetown, and demolished all the stone, and burned the wooden buildings. The wretched inhabitants of the opposite towns were left to console each other, and the enemy's squadron of barges, glutted with fresh spoil, retired to their shipping.

Succeeding this affair, were several repulses of small parties of the enemy from the shores of the bay. Many attempts were made to land at the different farms, and the barge crews frequently assailed the planters' houses, and took off provisions, clothing, money, and plate.

About this time, too, Admiral Warren issued a proclamation from Bermuda, declaring, besides the Chesapeake and Delaware, the ports of New York, Charleston, Port Royal, Savannah, and the whole of the river Mississippi, to be in a state of rigorous blockade. From all these ports, however, notwithstanding the efficiency of Admiral Warren's force, the public ships of war of the United States, the private armed vessels, and numerous merchantmen, were daily putting to sea. Prizes to these, which had been captured at immense distances from the coast, were continually sent into the harbors declared to be blockaded; and neutral vessels did not hesitate to enter and depart at the pleasure of those concerned in them. Admiral Warren shortly after arrived in the Chesapeake with an additional fleet, and a large number of soldiers and marines under General Sir Sidney Beckwith. Between these officers and Admiral Cockburn various plans were designed for the attack of the more important assailable towns.

By the capture of the bay craft, they were well supplied with tenders to the different vessels of the fleet; and the strength of their armament enabled them to equip the craft in a warlike manner. The revenue cutter *Surveyor*, Captain Travis, was assailed by the barges and tender of the *Narcissus* frigate, on the 10th of June, near York River; and after a gallant resistance, was captured by a force nine times superior to her own. This cutter was transferred to the British service, and frequently employed in penetrating the narrow passes and rivulets along the shore. The depredations of the enemy received about this time, however, a salutary check from several private armed vessels which had been hired into the American service to cruise along the bay.



At that quarter, the enemy's force consisted of seven seventy-fours, twelve frigates, and many smaller vessels; and from their suspicious movements and menacing attitudes, the citizens of all the surrounding towns became apprehensive of an attack. Hampton and Norfolk were thought to be their more immediate objects; and preparations were made at the latter to man all the works

which had been previously constructed. At Norfolk, the militia force very soon consisted of 10,000 men. At Hampton, a force of not more than 450 men had yet been organized.

On the 18th, three of the frigates entered Hampton roads, and despatched several barges to destroy the small vessels coming down James River. Two or three gun-boats being in the vicinity of that river, obliged the barges to retire, and communicated to the naval commander of the station, Commodore Cassin, intelligence of the approach of the frigates. The flotilla of gun-boats in Elizabeth River, on which Norfolk is situated, was then commanded by Lieutenant-Commandant Tarbell. The frigate *Constellation* was moored at the navy-yard opposite Norfolk, and it was determined by Commodore Cassin to man fifteen of the gun-boats from the crew of the *Constellation*, and to despatch them against that frigate of the enemy which was reported to be three miles ahead of the others.

On the 19th, Captain Tarbell proceeded with his boats in two divisions; Lieutenant Gardner having command of the first, and Lieutenant R. Henly of the second. The prevalence of adverse winds prevented his coming within reach of the enemy until four P. M. of the 20th, at which hour he stationed his divisions, and commenced a rapid fire at the distance of three-quarters of a mile. The frigate opened on the boats, and the cannonade continued half an hour, to the great injury of the frigate,

(the *Junon*,) when the other frigates were enabled, by a fresh breeze, to get under way to the assistance of their companion. Captain Tarbell was then obliged to haul off to a greater distance, still, however, keeping up a well-directed and incessant fire upon the enemy's whole squadron. The first frigate was by this time so much injured that her fire was only occasionally delivered; and, between the others and the gun-boats, the cannonade was prolonged one hour longer; in which time, several heavy broadsides were discharged at the flotilla. Captain Tarbell then withdrew from the engagement, with the loss of one killed, Mr. Allison, a master's mate, and three of the boats slightly injured. The enemy were supposed to have suffered severely. The frigate first engaged was so much shattered, that the vessels which came to her assistance were obliged to employ all their hands to repair her. In this affair, the Americans had 15 guns; the British 150 and upwards. Captain Tarbell's conduct, as well as that of Lieutenants Gardner, Henly, and others, received the fullest approbation of the surrounding garrisons, and of the citizens of Norfolk.



THE firing during this action being distinctly heard by the enemy's fleet in the bay, and fears being entertained by the admiral about the safety of the three frigates, thirteen sail of the line-of-battle ships and frigates were ordered to proceed to Hampton roads. In the course of the 20th, they dropped to the mouth of James River, where they learned the cause of the recent cannonade, and determined on forthwith reducing the forts and garrisons, on which the defence of Norfolk depended.

An immense number of barges were apparently preparing for an attack on Crany island, the nearest obstruction to the enemy's advances. Captain Tarbell directed Lieutenants Neale, Shubrick, and Saunders, each of the *Constellation*, to land one hundred seamen on that island, to man a battery on its north-west side, and dispose the gun-boats so as to annoy the enemy from the other.

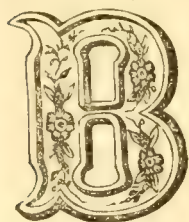
At the dawn of the 22d, the British approached the island with their barges, round the point of Nansemond River, to the number of about 4000 men, many of whom were French, from time to time made prisoners by the English, and occasionally received into their service. The place at which they had chosen to land was out of the reach of the gun-boats, and when they had approached within a few hundred yards of the shore, the gallant Lieutenant Neale, assisted by Shubrick and Saunders opened a

galling fire from his battery, and compelled the enemy to make a momentary pause. The battery was manned altogether by 150 men, including Lieutenant Breckenridge and his marines. An eighteen-pounder which was stationed at it, was fired with such precision, that many of the barges were cut through the middle, and would inevitably have carried down the crew, but for the immediate assistance rendered by the others of the squadron. Every attempt to approach the shore having heretofore failed, and the admiral's boat, the *Centipede*, upwards of 50 feet in length, and filled with men, being pierced in so many places, that she sunk as soon as she was abandoned, the enemy, whose seamen were falling in every barge, determined on returning to his shipping with as little delay as possible. But, even in his retreat, he suffered severely from the small battery.

Whilst this gallant resistance was made to his approaches from the water, by the naval division on the island, the enemy's troops, who had landed on the main shore, and crossed a narrow inlet to the west side, were warmly engaged with the Virginia volunteers. Previously to the movement of the barges, upwards of 800 soldiers had been landed by the enemy at the place above mentioned, and were already crossing the inlet, which, at low water, is passable by infantry. Colonel Beatty, who commanded the military division on the island, made instant and judicious preparations to receive the enemy. Under Major Faulkner, of the artillery, two twenty-four-pounders and four six-pounders, had been drawn up to resist them. One division of this battery was commanded by Captain Emmerson, and two others by Lieutenants Howl and Godwin. The enemy's troops had not all landed when this cannon was opened upon them with great address; and those which had not crossed the gulf, were compelled to retreat, by the velocity and precision of the fire. Those which had already gained the island, fell back to its rear, and threw several rockets from a house which stood there; but they were very soon dislodged by one of the gun-boats, in which a twenty-four-pounder was brought to bear upon the house, and with great difficulty escaped from the island; when, joining the troops who had been previously repulsed, they were all conducted back to the British fleet.

When that division of the enemy which was composed of his seamen and marines, had been foiled in its attempt to land, Lieutenant Neale gave directions to his intrepid sailors to haul up the boats which had been sunk, and to assist the British sailors and marines, who were making for safety to the shore. The *Centipede* was accordingly drawn up, and a small brass three-pounder, a number of small-arms, and a quantity of pistols and cutlasses taken out of her. Twenty-two of her men came

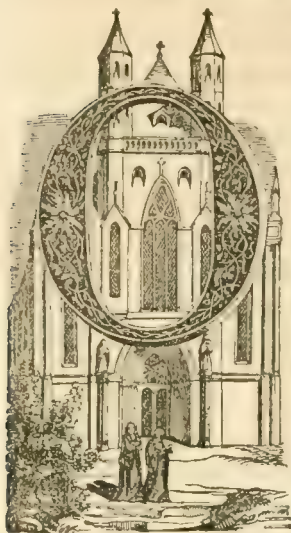
on the island with her, and surrendered themselves as deserters. In this warm and spirited engagement, in which 3000 British soldiers, sailors, and marines, were opposed to 480 Virginia militia, and 150 sailors and marines; the loss on the side of the invaders in killed, wounded and drowned, was upwards of 200, exclusive of 40 deserters; on the side of the invaded, not a man was killed or wounded.



Y the gallant services of the defenders of this island the safety of the town of Norfolk was, for a time at least, secured, and to the intrepid bravery and indefatigable exertions of Lieutenant Neale and his companions, Shubrick, Saunders, and Breckenridge; of Lieutenant-Colonel Beatty and his officers, Major Faulkner, Captain Emmerson, and Lieutenants Howl and Godwin, and two non-commissioned volunteers, Sergeant Young and Corporal Moffit, and the valiant men who assisted in the defence of the island, the gratitude of the citizens of Norfolk and the surrounding towns, Portsmouth, Gosport, and others, has been frequently manifested.

Immediately after this repulse of the British, a conference was held between Admirals Warren and Cockburn, and Sir Sidney Beckwith; the result of which was a determination to revenge the loss they had sustained, and to facilitate the success of their next attempt, by cutting off the communication between the upper part of Virginia and the borough of Norfolk. This communication they supposed to be entirely commanded by the small garrison at Hampton, an inconsiderable town eighteen miles distant from Norfolk, and separated from it by Hampton roads. All things being ready upon their part, they proceeded on the 25th, three days after the late engagement, with upwards of 2000 men, in a large squadron of their principal barges. Of these, the 102d regiment, two companies of Canadian chasseurs, and three companies of marines composed the advance, under Lieutenant-Colonel Napier. The remainder of the troops consisted of royal marine battalions, under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, the whole commanded by Sir Sidney. A number of launches and rocket-boats, filled with sailors, and covered by the sloop of war Mohawk, Captain Pechell, were commanded by Admiral Cockburn, and directed to take a station before the town to throw in the rockets and keep up a constant cannonade, whilst the troops under Sir Sidney should land at a distance of several miles below the town, and gain the rear of the undisciplined American militia. The plan of operations being thus arranged, the movement was commenced at the dawn of day, and with this irresistible force and equipment the enemy proceeded to assault a

garrison of 349 infantry and rifle, 62 artillerymen, with four twelves and three sixes, and 27 cavalry, making in all a force of 438 men.



On the approach of that division of the enemy which was to attack from the water, Major Crutchfield, the commandant at Hampton, immediately formed his troops on Little England Plantation, which was divided from the town by a narrow creek, over which a slight bridge had been previously constructed. The enemy's barges were approaching this creek and keeping up a fire of round shot, until they gained Black-beard Point, when the four twelve-pounders were opened upon them with so much effect, that Admiral Cockburn thought it advisable to draw back and shelter himself behind the point. Thence he continued to throw his rockets, and twelves and eighteens, nearly an hour, without doing the smallest injury to the encampment; his shot either falling short of

his object or going over it.

Meantime Sir Sidney had landed and was coming down the great road on the rear of the Americans, when Major Crutchfield being apprised of his march, had despatched a rifle company under Captain Servant, to conceal themselves in a wood near which the invaders would be obliged to pass. Captain Servant executed his orders with the utmost precision, and annoyed the advancing British column with great severity. But his force was too inefficient to sustain a contest of any length of time, and Major Crutchfield seeing that the barges would not approach until they knew of the arrival of Sir Sidney within the camp, drew out the infantry forces to the aid of the riflemen, and to prevent the enemy's cutting off his retreat. As this portion of the Americans were marching in column near a defile which led to Celey's road, they were fired upon by the enemy's musketeers from a thick wood at 200 yards distance. Major Crutchfield immediately wheeled his column into line and marched towards the thicket to return the fire and rout the enemy. He had not advanced 50 yards before the British delivered him a fire from two six-pounders, accompanied by an unexpected discharge of rockets. Being now apprized of the danger of proceeding in that direction against ordnance with so small a force, he wheeled again into column and attempted to gain a passage through the defile in the woods, at the extremity of which Captain Servant with his riflemen had heretofore kept the British

in continual check. His column, under the fire from the two sixes, was not formed with as much celerity as it had been displayed, but he succeeded at length in putting it in marching order, and proceeded to the defile. Captain Cooper, with the cavalry, was at this moment engaged with the enemy's left flank, and notwithstanding the fatigue which his troops had already experienced in patrolling, he annoyed them so successfully, that the British general, augmenting the strength of that flank, issued a direction to cut him off. In this the enemy did not succeed, and Captain Cooper, drawing up his troops in a charging column, effected his retreat with great skill and intrepidity.

The column under Major Crutchfield had now gained, and were passing through the defile, under a constant fire from the enemy's six-pounders. It had just attained the wood, on the left of the riflemen, when a third six-pounder opened upon it, and in conjunction with the others, threw into confusion the different companies of which the column was composed. Several platoons immediately took up their retreat; but those which were nearer the head of the column, led on by Major Crutchfield and Major Corbin, wheeled with great judgment into the wood, and forming on the rifle corps, under their separate captains, Shield and Herndon, kept up the action with an unflagging spirit, until it was deemed necessary for the whole body to retreat. Captain Pryor, who had been left in the encampment with the artillery, to continue the fire upon the enemy's barges, resisted their approaches until the sailors had landed in front of the town, and the British troops were in his rear. They had already advanced within sixty yards of his battery; his corps were ready to yield themselves up as prisoners of war, and the royal marines were preparing to take them. They saw no possibility of escaping, until their gallant commander gave an order to spike the guns and break through the enemy's rear. Intrepid as himself, they executed his commands; and pressing furiously through the British marines, whom they threw into a temporary derangement, found their further escape obstructed by the creek. Captain Pryor, still determined on retiring beyond the enemy's reach, threw himself into the creek, and commanding his men to follow, with their carbines, effected the retreat of his corps in good order, and without an individual loss. Such was the disparity of force, when the barge crews and the troops of the enemy had effected a union, that the retreat of the whole American detachment became indispensable, and Major Crutchfield gave an order to that effect. The British general pursued the retreating column about two miles, without effecting any purpose, though the latter frequently halted, formed behind fences, and delivered a smart fire.

The American loss in this action amounted to 7 killed, 12 wounded, 11

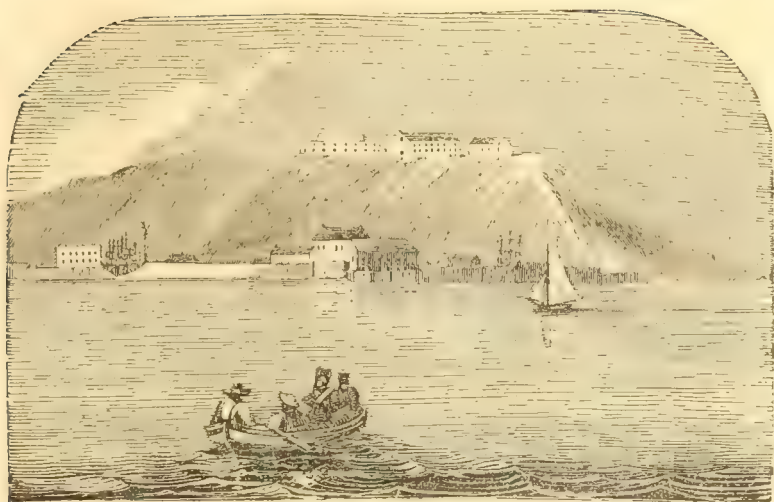


Sacking of Hampton.

missing, and one prisoner — total, 31. The British loss, by the acknowledgment of many of their officers, amounted to 90 killed, and 120 wounded — total, 210. Among these were one colonel and one captain of marines, killed; and three lieutenants wounded. Admiral Warren's official letter, however, allows but 5 killed, 33 wounded, and 10 missing — total, 48.

The troops under Sir Sidney, and the sailors under Admiral Cockburn, no sooner found themselves in possession of the town of Hampton, than they indulged in a system of pillage not less indiscriminate than that which had attended the visit of most of the same men to Havre de Grace. To these acts of cruelty and oppression upon the unresisting inhabitants, they added others of the most atrocious and lawless nature, the occurrence of which has been proved by the solemn affirmation of the most respectable people of that country. Neither age, innocence, nor sex, could protect the inhabitants, whose inability to escape obliged them to throw themselves upon the mercy of the conquerors.

The operations of the army under the immediate command of General Dearborn, though furnishing many instances of the triumph of American bravery, had not given satisfaction to the people of the country. The general himself was an invalid during the greater part of the time, and a want of energy and enterprise was obvious. He was now superseded, General James Wilkinson being appointed to the command of the northern department. A new plan of operations was formed, Kingston, the prin-



The Citadel of Kingston, from the River.

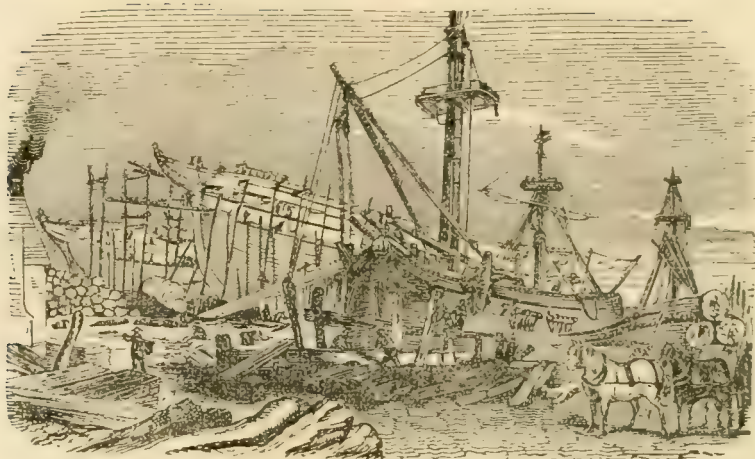
principal British naval station on the lakes, being the great object of attack. The war department removed to Sackett's Harbor.

On the 24th of June, Colonel Boerstler, with 570 men, marching against the British detachment at Beaver's Dams, was attacked when within two miles of that place, surrounded, and after a brave resistance, compelled to surrender.

The success of the new plan of operations depended upon gaining a naval superiority upon Lake Ontario. The squadron commanded by Commodore Chauncey was nearly equal in force to that of Sir James Yeo, and the American commander sought an engagement: but Sir James Yeo manœuvred to avoid it. He preferred to harass the Americans by night attacks. Sir George Prevost, commander of the British land forces, was active and enterprising, but accomplished little. He threatened Fort George frequently, and skirmishes occurred with parties from the garrison; but he found the position too strong for his force.

The command of Lake Erie was also deemed necessary for the execution of the plan of operations formed by the American government. Soon after the surrender of Detroit, Captain Oliver Hazard Perry had been appointed to superintend the construction of a squadron sufficient to cope with that of the British. The difficulties of such a service may easily be conceived.

Ship-builders, sailors, naval stores, guns, and ammunition, were to be transported by land over bad roads a distance of 400 miles, either from Albany by the way of Buffalo, or from Philadelphia by the way of Pitts-



Building of the fleet on Lake Erie.

burgh to the harbor of Erie. Under all these embarrassments, by the first of August, 1813, Commodore Perry had provided a flotilla, consisting of the ships *Lawrence* and *Niagara* of 20 guns each, and seven smaller vessels, to wit, one of four guns, one of three, two of two, and three of one; in the whole, fifty-four guns. While the ships were building, the enemy frequently appeared off the harbor and threatened their destruction, but the shallowness of the water on the bar, there being but five feet, prevented their approach. The same cause, which ensured the safety of the ships while building, seemed to prevent their being of any service. The two largest drew several feet more water than there was on the bar. The inventive genius of Commodore Perry, however, soon surmounted this difficulty; he placed large scows on each side of the two largest ships, filled them so as to sink to the water edge, then attached them to the ships by strong pieces of timber, and pumped out the water. The scows then buoyed up the ships so as to pass the bar in safety. This operation was performed on both the large ships, in the presence of a superior enemy. Having gotten his fleet in readiness, Commodore Perry proceeded to the head of the lake and anchored in Put-in-Bay, opposite to, and distant 30 miles from Malden, where the British fleet lay under the guns of the fort. He lay at anchor here several days, watching the motions of the enemy, determined to give him battle the first favorable opportunity. On the 10th of September at sunrise, the British fleet, consisting of one ship of nineteen guns, one of seventeen, one of thirteen, one of ten, one of three, and one of one, amounting to sixty-four, and exceeding the Americans by ten guns, under the command of Com-

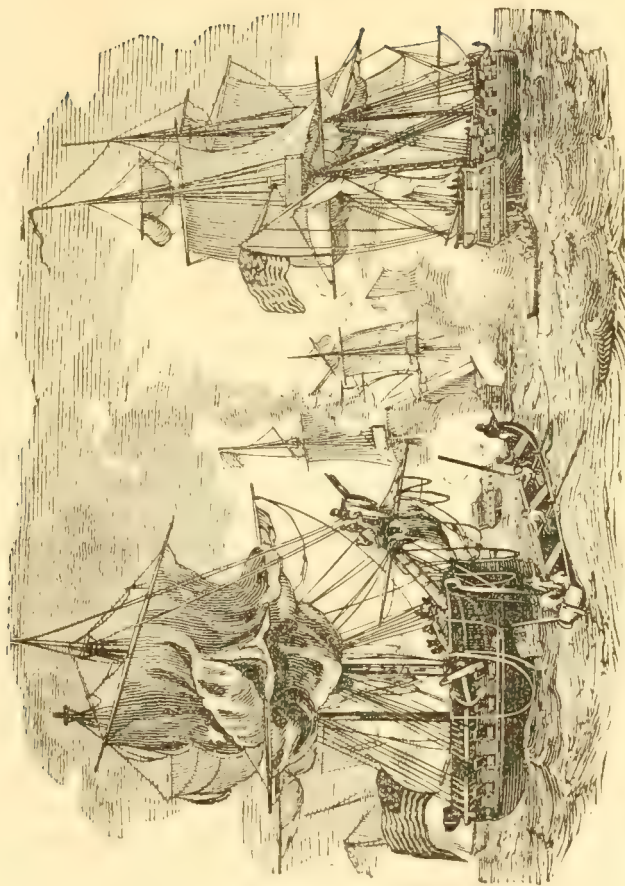


Commodore Barclay, appeared off Put-in-bay, distant about ten miles. Commodore Perry immediately got under weigh with a light breeze at south-west. At 10 o'clock, the wind hauled to the south-east, which brought the American squadron to the windward, and gave them the weathergage. Commodore Perry, on board the *Lawrence*, then hoisted his union jack, having for a motto the dying words of Captain Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" which was received with repeated cheers by the crew.

He then formed the line of battle, and bore up for the enemy, who at the same time hauled his courses and prepared for action. The lightness of the wind occasioned the hostile squadrons to approach each other but slowly, and prolonged for two hours, the solemn interval of suspense and anxiety which precedes a battle. At fifteen minutes after eleven, a bugle was sounded on board the enemy's head-most ship, *Detroit*, loud cheers

burst from all their crews, and a tremendous fire opened upon the *Lawrence*, from the British long guns, which, from the shortness of the *Lawrence's*, she was obliged to sustain for 40 minutes without being able to return a shot.

Commodore Perry, without waiting for the other ships, kept on his course in such gallant and determined style, that the enemy supposed he meant immediately to board. At five minutes before twelve, having gained a nearer position, the *Lawrence* opened her fire, but the long guns of the British still gave them greatly the advantage, and the *Lawrence* was exceedingly cut up without being able to do much damage in return. Their shot pierced her side in all directions, killing the men in the berth-deck and steerage, where they had been carried to be dressed. One shot had nearly produced a fatal explosion; passing through the light room, it knocked the snuff of the candle into the magazine: fortunately the gunner saw it, and had the presence of mind immediately to extinguish it. It appeared to be the enemy's plan at all events to destroy the commodore's ship; their heaviest fire was directed against the *Lawrence*, and blazed incessantly from all their largest vessels. Commodore Perry, finding the hazard of his situation, made all sail and directed the other vessels to follow for the purpose of closing with the enemy. The tremendous fire, however, to which he was exposed, soon cut away every brace and bowline of the *Lawrence*, and she became unmanageable. The other vessels were unable to get up; and in this disastrous situation she sustained the main force of the enemy's fire for upwards of two hours, within cannister distance, though a considerable part of the time not more than two or three of her guns could be brought to bear upon her antagonist. The utmost order and regularity prevailed during this scene of horror; as fast as the men at the guns were wounded, they were carried below, and others stepped into their places; the dead remained where they fell until after the action; at this juncture the enemy believed the battle to be won. The *Lawrence* was reduced to a mere wreck, her deck was streaming with blood, and covered with the mangled limbs and bodies of the slain; nearly the whole of her crew were either killed or wounded; her guns were dismounted, and the commodore and his officers helped to work the last that was capable of service. At two, Captain Elliott was enabled by the aid of a fresh breeze to bring his ship into close action in gallant style: and the commodore immediately determined to shift his flag on board that ship; and giving his own in charge to Lieutenant Yarnell, he hauled down his union jack and taking it under his arm, ordered a boat to put him on board the *Niagara*. Broad-sides were levelled at his boat, and a shower of musketry from three of the



Battle of Lake Erie.

enemy's ships. He arrived safe and hoisted his union jack, with the animating motto, on board the Niagara. Captain Elliott, by direction of the commodore, immediately put off in a boat to bring up the schooners which had been kept back by the lightness of the wind. At this moment the flag of the Lawrence was hauled down; she had sustained the principal force of the enemy's fire for two hours, and was rendered incapable of defence. Any further show of resistance would have been a useless sacrifice of the remains of her brave and mangled crew. The enemy were at the same time so crippled, that they were unable to take possession of her, and circumstances soon enabled her crew again to hoist her flag. Commodore Perry now gave the signal to all the vessels for close action. The small vessels, under the direction of Captain Elliott, got out their sweeps, and made all sail. Finding the Niagara but little injured, the commander determined upon the bold expedient of breaking the enemy's line; he accordingly bore up and passed the head of the two ships and brig, giving them a raking fire from his starboard guns, and also a raking fire upon a large schooner and sloop, from his larboard quarter, at half-pistol shot. Having gotten the whole squadron into action, he luffed up and laid his ship alongside of the British commodore. The small vessels having now got up within good grape and cannister distance on the other quarter, enclosed their enemy between them and the Niagara, and in this position kept up a most destructive fire on both quarters of the British, until every ship struck her colors.

The engagement lasted about three hours, and never was victory more decisive and complete. More prisoners were taken than there were men on board the American squadron at the close of the action. The principal loss in killed and wounded was on board the Lawrence, before the other vessels were brought into action. Of her crew 22 were killed, and 60 wounded. When her flag was struck, but 20 men remained on deck fit for duty. The loss on board of all the other vessels was only five killed, and 36 wounded. The British loss must have been much more considerable. Commodore Barclay was dangerously wounded. He had lost one arm in the battle of Trafalgar. The other was now rendered useless, by the loss of a part of his shoulder-blade; he received also a severe wound in the hip.

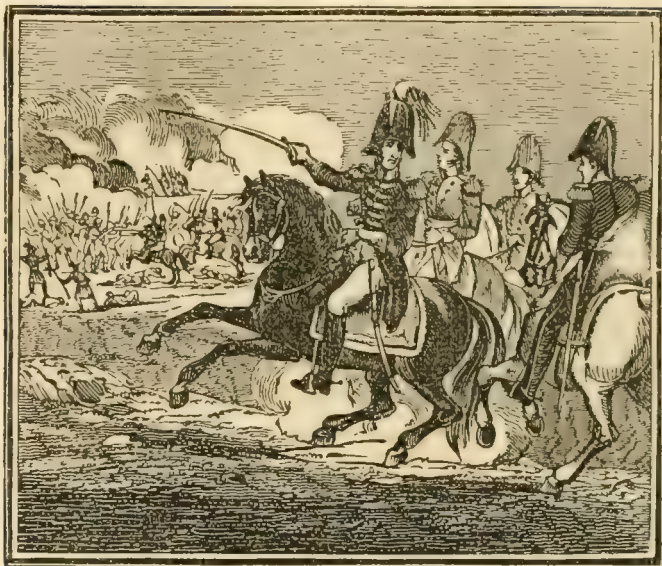
General Harrison, with the main body of the American army, which had been strongly reinforced by volunteers from Ohio and Kentucky under command of Governor Shelby, and amounted to about 6000 men, lay around Sandusky Bay and at Fort Meigs. As soon as he heard of Perry's victory upon the lake, he prepared to cross to Canada and attack Proctor. On the 27th of September, the army was embarked at Portage, and landed



General Harrison crossing Lake Erie.

at Malden. Proctor's army consisted of nearly 700 regulars, and between 800 and 900 Indians, commanded by their great chief, Tecumseh. He had abandoned Malden and retreated as the Americans approached. As Harrison rapidly pursued, the British commander determined to meet him, and accordingly posted his army on the right bank of the river Thames, near the Moravian Towns. Here he was overtaken on the 5th of October, by Harrison. By the novel manœuvre of charging a line of infantry with mounted riflemen, Harrison at once threw the enemy into confusion, and they could not be rallied. The Indians, however, stood firm, and a desperate contest ensued between them and the mounted Kentuckians, commanded by Colonel Johnson. Tecumseh cheered on his warriors until he was shot dead by an unknown hand. The enemy were then completely defeated. Of the British troops, twelve were killed, 22 wounded, and 601 regulars taken prisoners. The Indians had more than 100 men killed and wounded. The loss of the Americans was seven killed and 22 wounded. Eight pieces of artillery and a large quantity of small-arms fell to the victors. Proctor, with a few dragoons, escaped. This brilliant victory ended the war in this quarter in favor of the Americans, and gained for General Harrison the applause of his countrymen.

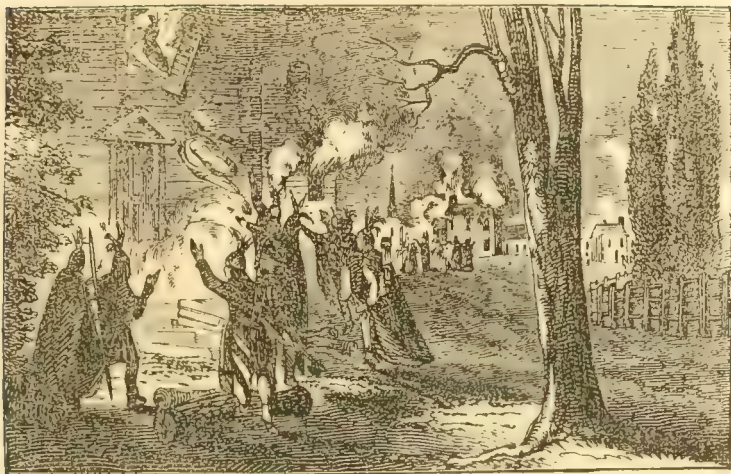
From the 2d to the 5th of October, the general had penetrated the wilderness a distance of 80 miles; overtaken and vanquished an enemy, his equal in numbers, on their own ground; and he returned to Detroit by the 9th. The authors of the dreadful massacre at the Raisin were now in the power of the friends of the slaughtered men, and the rules of war would have justified retaliation. But the victors were too noble-



Battle of the Thames.

mind to imitate a bad example or to slaughter unresisting men. Their glory was bright and unspotted.

The American generals now formed a plan of operations, of which Montreal was the principal object. Two armies were prepared to co-operate in this enterprise; one of nearly 6000 men, under General Hampton, from Lake Champlain; and the other, of nearly 8800 men, under General Wilkinson, from Grenadier Island, on Lake Ontario. Hampton passed the frontier towards the end of October, but found the British advanced body so advantageously posted on the river Chateaguay, that his progress was checked. Several vigorous attacks were made, but the British repulsed them, and Hampton, believing himself opposed by the whole force of the enemy, retreated. Meantime, Wilkinson, having crossed Lake Ontario, entered the St. Lawrence. On the 11th of November, an American detachment, under Major-General Boyd, landing to clear the banks, was encountered by an inferior force, under Colonel Morrison. A very obstinate conflict ensued, in which both parties claimed the victory. Near Cornwall, Wilkinson received a despatch from Hampton, informing him that he could not co-operate; and Wilkinson then conceived it necessary to give up, for the season, any attempt upon Montreal. The people of Canada, he found, were attached to the British government. He therefore placed his army in winter-quarters near French Mills,



Burning of Lewistown.

whence, however, he was compelled, by want of provisions, to fall back upon Plattsburg.

While the main army of the Americans was employed in this abortive expedition, the British were enabled to resume the offensive on the Niagara frontier. The American force in this quarter was not only small, but commanded by General M'Clure, an officer of little enterprise. On the advance of a strong British detachment, under Colonel Murray, M'Clure fell back upon Fort George and then abandoned that post, having previously reduced the town of Newark to ashes. Murray, not content with driving the Americans beyond the river, crossed it, surprised and stormed Fort Niagara, taking above 400 prisoners, and a large quantity of arms and stores. The British afterwards burned the villages of Lewistown, Black Rock and Buffalo. Thus, in this quarter, the success of the British compensated for their disasters elsewhere.

While the war was raging on the northern frontier, a destructive contest with the Creek Indians was being carried on in the south. This powerful tribe had been stimulated to hostility by the efforts of Tecumseh. In September, 117 Georgia volunteers were attacked near the Lachway Towns by a superior force of Creeks, and defeated. General Andrew Jackson, with 2500 Tennessee volunteers, was then sent against this tribe, and succeeded in intimidating them. On the 30th of August, 600 Indians, commanded by Weatherford, attacked about half their number of settlers at Fort Mimms, near the Alabama. They cut their way into



Erection of the Fort at Ten Islands.

the fort, drove the garrison into the houses and set them on fire. Those whom the flames spared fell victims to the tomahawk. Out of 300 men, women and children, only seventeen escaped.

On receiving the news of this massacre, 3500 militia were raised in Tennessee, and placed under the command of General Andrew Jackson and General Cocke. On the 3d of November, General Coffee, with 900 militia, proceeded to the Tallushatchee towns. The Indians were prepared to receive them, and a desperate contest ensued. The Indians were driven into the town, but fought as long as they could stand, neither asking nor receiving quarter. One hundred and eighty-six were killed, and the few survivors who were wounded, together with the women and children, taken prisoners. General Coffee had five men killed and 40 wounded.

General Jackson established his head-quarters at the Ten Islands, on the Coosa, and fortified his position, giving it the name of Camp Strother. On the evening of the 7th of November, a runner arrived from the friendly Indians at Tallageda Fort, thirty miles below on the same river, giving information that the hostile Creeks had encamped in great force near that place, and were preparing to destroy it, earnestly soliciting immediate assistance. General Jackson determined on commencing his march the same night, and despatched a runner to General White, informing him of his movement, and urging him to hasten his march to Camp Strother, to protect it in his advance. He had previously ordered General White to form a junction with him as speedily as possible, and received



Massacre at Fort Mims.



Weatherford.

his assurances that he would be with him on the 7th. General Jackson immediately commenced crossing the river at the Ten Islands, leaving his baggage-wagons and whatever might retard his progress in the camp, and halted at midnight within six miles of the Tallageda. Here a runner arrived with a note from General White, informing him that he had altered his course, and was on his march back to join General Cocke at the mouth of the Chataga.

It was then too late for the general to change his plan of operations, or make any new arrangements. He renewed his march at three o'clock, and at sunrise came within half a mile of his enemy, whom he found encamped a quarter of a mile in advance of the fort. He immediately formed the line of battle; the militia on the left, the volunteers on the right, and the cavalry on the wings; and advanced in a curve, keeping his rear connected with the advance of the infantry line, so as to enclose the enemy in a circle. The advance guard met the attack of the Indians

with intrepidity, and having poured upon them four or five rounds, fell back to the main body. The enemy pursued, and were met by the front line. This line was broken, and several companies of militia retreated. At this moment, a corps of cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Dyer, which was kept as a reserve, was ordered to dismount and fill the vacancy. The order was promptly executed, the militia soon rallied, and returned to the charge. The fire now became general along the first line and the contiguous wings. The Indians fled, and were met and pursued in every direction. The right wing followed them with a destructive fire to the mountains, three miles distant. Two hundred and ninety of their warriors were found dead, and a large number killed in the pursuit, who were not found. General Jackson lost 15 men killed, and 18 wounded. In consequence of the failure of General White to proceed to Camp Strother, General Jackson was obliged to give up further pursuit, and immediately return to his camp to protect his sick, wounded, and baggage.

In the meantime, General White, with a party of Tennessee militia, attacked the towns of the Hillabee tribe, killed 60 warriors, and returned with 250 prisoners. General White was ignorant of the fact, that these Indians had offered to accept peace on any terms. On the 29th of November, General Floyd, with a party of Georgia militia, attacked the Autosee towns, and after a contest of three hours, routed the Indians, and killed about 200 warriors. His own loss was 11 killed and 54 wounded.



THE same troops were again called into service early in October, 1813, under General Jackson, to oppose the Creeks. After their return from the battle of Tallageda, they claimed that their term of service would expire on the 10th of December, 1813, being twelve months from the time of their first rendezvous at Nashville.

General Jackson exhausted all the arts of persuasion to induce them to continue in service a longer period; he by no means admitted their claim to be discharged, contending that they were bound to continue in actual service one year out of the two, if required; but waiving that question, the disbanding the troops at this period would expose the Mississippi territory, and the frontier inhabitants of Tennessee and Georgia, to certain destruction. The Creeks,

though severely chastised, were by no means subdued. They were then collecting in large numbers, at various points in the territory, and when they found this army disbanded, would renew their ravages with increased fury. These considerations had but little effect; most of his army left him on or soon after the 10th of December: their places, however, were partially supplied by newly raised volunteers.



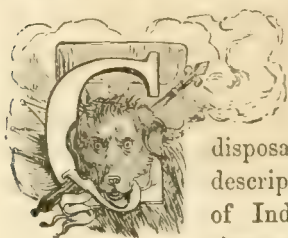
On the 17th of January, 1814, General Jackson, finding himself in a condition to commence active offensive operations, marched from his encampment at Fort Strother with 900 volunteers, who were soon afterwards joined by 300 friendly Indians, against an assemblage of Creeks at the Great Bend of the Tallapoosa. On the evening of the 21st, he fell upon a large trail, which indicated the neighborhood of a strong force. At eleven o'clock at night, his spies came in and informed him that there was a large encampment of Indians at about three miles distance, who, from their war-whoops and dances, appeared to be apprised of his approach, and would either commence a night attack upon him, or make their escape. Having received this intelligence, General Jackson put himself in readiness to meet an attack, or pursue them as soon as daylight appeared.

At six o'clock in the morning, a vigorous attack was made upon his left flank, which sustained it with bravery; the action continued to rage at that point, and on the left of the rear, for half an hour. As soon as it became light enough to pursue, the left wing was reinforced by Captain Ferril's company of infantry, and led on to the charge by General Coffee. The enemy was completely routed at every point; and the friendly Indians joining in the pursuit, they were chased about two miles with great slaughter. The chase being over, General Coffee was detached to burn their encampment, but finding it fortified, he returned to the main body for artillery. Half an hour after his return, a large force appeared and commenced an attack upon the right flank. General Coffee was permitted, at his own request, to take 200 men and turn the enemy's left, but by some mistake, only 54 followed him; with these he commenced an attack on their left; 200 of the friendly Indians were ordered to fall upon the enemy's right, and co-operate with the general. The Creeks intended this attack on Jackson's right as a feint, and expecting to find his left weakened, directed their main force against that quarter; but General Jackson, perceiving the object of the enemy, had directed that flank to remain firm in its position, and at the first moment of attack, they were supported by the reserve under Captain Ferril. The whole line met the approach of the enemy with vigor, and after a few fires, made a bold and

decisive charge. The Creeks fled with precipitation, and were pursued a considerable distance with a destructive fire. In the meantime, General Coffee was contending on the right with a superior force; the friendly Indians who had been ordered to his support, seeing the enemy routed on the left, quit their post and joined in the chase. That being over, Jim Fife, with the friendly Indians, was again ordered to support General Coffee; as soon as he reached him, they made a decisive charge, routed the enemy, and pursued him three miles. Forty-five of the enemy's slain were found. General Coffee was wounded in the body, and his aid, Colonel Donaldson, and three others slain. The next day, General Jackson commenced his return march to Fort Strother. His men and horses were exhausted, and he was not furnished with either provisions or forage for a longer stay. The enemy, supposing they had defeated the general, hung on his rear; and in the morning of the 24th, as he was on the point of crossing Enotachopeo creek, the front guard having crossed, with part of the flank columns and the wounded, and the artillery just entering the water, an attack commenced on the rear. The main part of the rear guard precipitately gave way, leaving only 25 men, under Colonel Carrol, who maintained their ground as long as possible. There then remained on the left of the creek to meet the enemy, the remnant of the rear guard, the artillery company, and Captain Russell's company of spies. Lieutenant Armstrong, of the artillery, immediately ordered them to form and advance to the top of the hill, while he and a few of his men dragged up a six-pounder, amid a most galling fire from more than ten times their numbers. Arrived at the top, they formed and poured in upon their assailants a fire of grape, and at length made a charge and repelled them. Lieutenant Armstrong, Captains Hamilton, Bradford, and M'Govock, fell in this rencontre. By this time, a considerable number had re-crossed the creek and joined the chase; Captain Gordon, of the spies, rushed from the front, and partially succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank. The Creeks now fled in the greatest consternation, throwing off their packs, and every thing that retarded their flight, and were pursued for more than two miles. Twenty-six of their warriors were left dead on the field. General Jackson's loss, in the several engagements of the 22d and 24th, was 24 killed and 70 wounded. After the battle of the 24th, General Jackson was enabled to return to Fort Strother without further molestation.

The Creeks, encouraged by what they considered a victory over General Jackson's forces in the battles of the 22d and 24th of January, continued to concentrate their forces, and fortify themselves at the Great Bend of the Tallapoosa. This river forms the north-eastern branch of the Ala-

bama. Several miles above its junction with the Coosa, is a curve in the river in the form of a horse-shoe, called by the whites the Great Bend, and by the Indians Emucsau. The peninsula formed by the bend contains about one hundred acres, and the isthmus leading to it is about forty rods across; at the bottom of the peninsula is the village of Tohopisca, containing about two hundred houses. On this peninsula, the Indians from the adjoining districts had concentrated their forces, to the amount of 1000 warriors, with ample stores of provisions and ammunition, and had fortified themselves with great skill; having thrown up a breastwork, consisting of eight tier of logs, with double port-holes across the isthmus, so that an assailing enemy might be opposed by a double and cross fire by the garrison, who could lie in perfect safety behind their works.



CONSIDERABLE reinforcements of volunteers from Tennessee, and friendly Indians, having reached General Jackson on the 16th of March, he left Fort Strother with his whole disposable force, amounting to about 3000 of every description, on an expedition against this assemblage of Indians. He proceeded down the Coosa about sixty miles, to the mouth of Cedar creek, where he established a post called Fort Williams, and proceeded, on the 24th, across the ridge of land dividing the waters of the Coosa from the Tallapoosa: and arrived at the Great Bend on the morning of the 27th, having the three preceding days opened a passage through the wilderness of fifty-two miles. On the 26th, he passed the battle-ground of the 22d of January, and left it three miles in his rear. General Coffee was detached with 700 cavalry and mounted gunmen, and 600 friendly Indians, to cross the river below the bend, secure the opposite banks, and prevent escape. Having crossed at the Little Island ford, three miles below the bend, his Indians were ordered silently to approach and line the bank of the river; while the mounted men occupied the adjoining heights, to guard against reinforcements, which might be expected from the Oakfusky towns, eight miles below. Lieutenant Bean, at the same time, was ordered to occupy Little Island, at the fording-place, to secure any that might attempt to escape in that direction. In the meantime, General Jackson, with the artillery and infantry, moved on in slow and regular order to the isthmus, and planted his guns on an eminence one hundred and fifty yards in front of the breastwork. On perceiving that General Coffee had completed his arrangements below, he opened a fire upon the fortification, but found he could make no other impression with his artillery than boring shot-holes through the logs. General Coffee's Indians on the bank, hearing the



Treaty of the Hickory Ground.

roaring of the cannon in front, and observing considerable confusion on the peninsula, supposing the battle to be nearly won, crossed over and set fire to the village, and attacked the Creeks in the rear. At this moment, General Jackson ordered an assault upon the works in front. The regular troops, led by Colonel Williams, accompanied by a part of the militia of General Dougherty's brigade, led on by Colonel Russell, presently got possession of a part of the works amid a tremendous fire from behind them. The advance guard was led by Colonel Sisler, and the left extremity of the line by Captain Gordon, of the spies, and Captain M'Marry, of General Johnson's brigade of West Tennessee militia. The battle, for a short time, was obstinate, and fought musket to musket through the port-holes; when the assailants succeeded in getting possession of the opposite side of the works, and the contest ended. The Creeks were entirely routed, and the whole margin of the river strewed with the slain. The troops under General Jackson, and General Coffee's Indians, continued the work of destruction as long as there was a Creek to be found. General Coffee, on seeing his Indians crossing over, had ordered their places to be supplied on the bank by his riflemen; and every Indian that attempted to escape by swimming the river, or crossing the Little Island below, was met and slain by General Coffee's troops. The battle, as long as any appearance of resistance remained, lasted five hours; the slaughter continued until dark, and was renewed the next morning, when



Destruction of the Creeks at Tohopisca.

sixteen more of the unfortunate savages were hunted out of their hiding-places and slain. Five hundred and fifty-seven warriors were found dead on the peninsula; among whom was their famous prophet Manahell, and two others, the principal instigators of the war; 250 more were estimated to have been killed in crossing the river, and at other places, which were not found. General Jackson's loss was 26 white men, and 23 Indians, killed; and 107 white men, and 47 Indians wounded.

This was a decisive stroke. The power of the Creeks was crushed forever, and the miserable remnant of the hostile party, under their bold, eloquent, and indomitable chief, Weatherford, wandered about the country, hunted like wild beasts. Soon after the victory, General Jackson retired to the Hickory Ground, at which place terms of peace were settled, Weatherford, by his dignified conduct, securing an unexpected degree of favor for his people.





CHAPTER XLVIII.

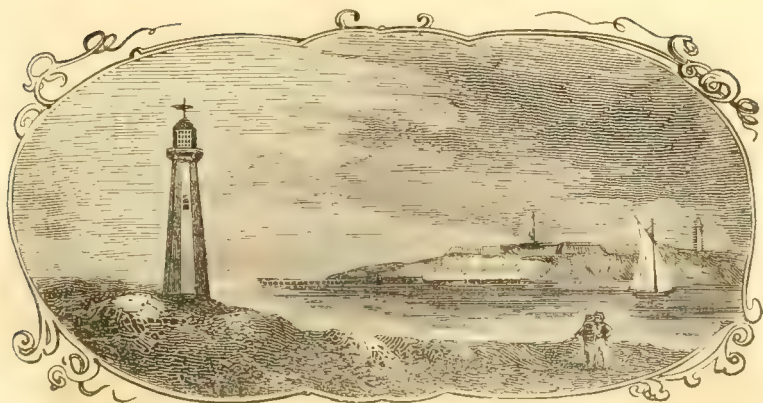
THE MILITARY AND NAVAL OPERATIONS OF 1814.



IN the winter of 1813-14, the British, having gained possession of Fort Niagara, and being in great force on the opposite shore, the government determined to remove the seat of war to that frontier. General Brown, an officer of known enterprise, courage and military skill, was appointed to the chief command, and Scott, Gaines, Miller, and other officers of tried worth, were given subordinate commands. General Brown and his officers were fully sensible of the burden

which was imposed upon, and of what was expected from them; and it is understood that they resolved to win a glorious fame, or a glorious grave.

The first success achieved by General Brown, was the reduction of Fort Erie, the garrison of which surrendered, after a short resistance. On entering Upper Canada, Brown issued a proclamation, remarkable for the contrast it presented to those of the former commanders. He substituted



Fort Oswego.

the sentiments and principles of an upright and determined man for those empty threats and boastings which had excited the ridicule of the enemy.

General Brown, receiving information that the enemy were preparing an expedition against Oswego, where an immense quantity of military stores was deposited, detached Colonel Mitchell, with his battalion of artillery, armed with muskets, to the defence of that place. The Colonel marched 150 miles in four and a half days, reached Oswego and found the fort unoccupied and much dilapidated. By great exertions, the guns were re-proved, and the batteries got ready for action.

Sir James Yeo and Lieutenant-General Drummond resolved to sail with the whole fleet, and a competent number of troops to land and storm the fort, and capture the valuable booty. Accordingly, on the 5th of May, Sir James appeared before the fort, with four large ships, three brigs, and a number of gun-boats, barges, and transports. The transports principally contained the troops of Lieutenant-General Drummond. The successful issue of this expedition would have given to the British forces, for a time at least, a decided superiority on the lake, and without knowing that the stores had been previously removed from Oswego, they commenced an attack, which was kept up for nearly two days, the brilliant and unusual resistance to which did not, however, avail the American garrison. The fort mounted but five old guns, three of which were almost useless, and had a shore battery of five more of smaller weight. The schooner Growler, having on board Captain Woolsey and Lieutenant Pearce of the navy, was at that time in Oswego creek, receiving the cannon which had not yet been removed. The enemy were no sooner discovered than the Growler was sunk to prevent the capture of the



Attack on Oswego.

cannon, and all the tents in store were immediately pitched on the village side of the creek, to persuade the enemy that the Americans were numerous. Under Lieutenant Pearce the few sailors of the *Growler* were added to the garrison; the shore battery was commanded by Captain Boyle, who was seconded by Lieutenant Legate.

At about one o'clock fifteen large boats, crowded with troops, moved at a given signal to the shore, preceded by several gun-boats which were sent forward to cover the landing; whilst all the larger vessels opened a heavy fire upon the little fort. The contest was kept up with great vigor and equal vivacity; the fort itself returned a very animated fire; and Captain Boyle succeeded twice in repulsing the debarking boats, near the shore battery, and at length compelled them to retire to the shipping. The whole squadron then stood off, and anchored at a distance from the shore; one of their boats, being 60 feet in length, and carrying 36 oars and three sails, was so much shattered that her crew abandoned her, and she fell into the hands of the American artillery.

Though the British were thus compelled to retire from the assault of the fort, it was by no means to be supposed that they had relinquished their intention of storming and possessing it. The immense superiority of their force and means would not justify such a supposition, and Colonel Mitchell was therefore particularly vigilant. He stationed picket guards at the different points of debarkation, kept his men upon their arms during the night, and neglected no measure of precaution. Mortified at so

successful a resistance, by a force known to be so much inferior, and protected by weak batteries, the enemy determined to effect a landing under cover, as well of their large vessels, as of their gun-boats, and at daybreak of the 6th they approached the shore again. They were early discovered coming up under easy sail, and soon after the principal ship, the *Wolfe*, and the other frigates resumed their position before the fort and battery, whilst the brigs, schooners, and gun-boats, proceeded higher up to cover by their fire the landing of the troops. The *Wolfe*, and the frigates, kept up the cannonade for three hours, whilst the land forces, to the number of 1700, composed of one column of the De Watteville regiment, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, on the left; a second column of a battalion of marines, under Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, supported by a detachment of 200 seamen under Captain Mulcaster, the second officer of the fleet, on the right, succeeded under a tremendous fire from the brigs and schooners, in gaining the shore, where their advance was resisted by Lieutenant Pearce of the navy, and a small party of seamen. The landing being effected, Colonel Mitchell withdrew to the rear of the fort, united with the sailors, two companies of artillerymen, under Captains Romaine and Melvin, and assailed the invading columns, whilst the companies of Captains McIntire and Pierce of the heavy artillery engaged the enemy's flanks. Thus formed, he sustained a vigorous and desperate conflict upwards of 30 minutes, in which great slaughter was made among the enemy, and a severe loss experienced by the troops of the garrison. Against a force, however, which amounted to ten times their own number, it was found useless for the Americans longer to contend, and Colonel Mitchell accordingly fell back 400 yards from the enemy, where he formed his troops, and took up his march for the falls, thirteen miles in the rear of the fort, upon Oswego River, to which place the stores had been previously removed. He retired in such good order as to be able to destroy the bridges in his rear, notwithstanding he was pressed by a numerous foe.

The enemy then took possession of the fort and barracks, but for the little booty which he obtained, consisting of a few barrels of provisions and whiskey, he paid much more than an equivalent. His loss, in killed, amounted to seventy, in wounded, drowned, and missing, 165, in all 235. Among these were Captain Haltaway killed, and Captains Mulcaster, Popham, and Ledercrew, and two lieutenants and one master wounded. In the noble and obstinate resistance which they made, the Americans lost Lieutenant Blaney, an officer of high promise, and five men killed, 38 wounded, and 25 missing, in all 69 men.

On the morning of the 7th, the enemy finding that the object of the expedition, though prosecuted with a force, including the ships' crews, of



GENERAL SCOTT.

3000 men, had not been achieved, evacuated the place after firing the barracks, spiking some, and carrying off others of the guns.



THE British now blockaded and threatened Sackett's Harbor, with a view to making a diversion in favor of the British army on the Niagara frontier. Colonel Mitchell was ordered to reinforce that post. He left Major Appling in command at Oswego Falls. Captain Woolsey, with the American flotilla, was ordered to endeavor to run by the blockading squadron in the night, into Sackett's Harbor. Woolsey escaped discovery until he reached the mouth of Sandy Creek, when he

was observed by the seamen of the powerful British flotilla. He then ran his boats, protected by riflemen, as far up the creek as practicable. The next morning (30th of May) Captain Popham, with his gun-boats, ascended the creek, confident of success against the slight force of the Americans. As soon as the marines landed, Major Appling, with his unerring riflemen, advanced from the woods, and opened a fatal fire upon them. It was returned, and the contest was warm. At length the enemy were compelled to surrender, having lost 56 men killed and wounded, while the Americans had but one man killed and two wounded. Two captains, four lieutenants and 156 sailors and marines were made prisoners. Four gun-boats and a large quantity of stores were taken. In daring and completeness of execution, this achievement equalled the affair at Oswego, and Major Appling received applause and promotion.

General Brown now resolved to move forward and attack the enemy at Chippewa. General Scott, with his brigade and a corps of artillery, was ordered to advance, and take care to secure a good military position during the night. After some skirmishing, Scott selected a strong position on the plain near Chippewa. In the night, General Brown joined him with the remainder of the army.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th of July, General Porter, with the volunteers and Indians, moved forward through the woods, keeping out of view of the enemy. He soon met their light parties, and drove them in. As the whole British column was in order of battle, Brown ordered Scott's brigade to advance, and meet them upon the open plain. This was gallantly performed, and Scott soon engaged in close combat. Porter's command giving way, Scott's left flank was exposed. But his brigade



General Ripley.

and Towson's artillery maintained the conflict, advanced boldly upon the enemy, and compelled their whole line to give way, before Ripley's brigade could gain their rear. The Americans then retired to their camp, having clearly driven the foe from the field. The loss of the two armies was nearly equal. Three hundred and twenty-eight of the Americans were killed, wounded or missing, and the loss of the enemy was about 400 men.

On the 20th of July, the American army encamped in the rear of Fort George. General Scott, with the van, had some skirmishes with the enemy, but they could not be brought to a general engagement. As the British general received considerable reinforcements, and it was probable would make a demonstration upon the Niagara frontier, Brown determined to recall him from his object by moving towards Queenstown. General Scott, accordingly marched with his brigade, Towson's artillery and some dragoons in the van. On arriving at the falls, Scott found the enemy in force directly in front, and after giving information of the fact to the commanding general, advanced upon them. While the conflict was raging, Brown ordered up reinforcements, and the action soon became general. The enemy's artillery upon the heights gave them great advantages.



General Towson.

Colonel Miller was asked if he could carry the height and seize the cannon. He calmly surveyed the position, and replied "I will try!" This afterwards became the motto of his regiment. The height was carried in most gallant style. The fighting continued upon the right, the enemy being every where else driven back. General Riall, the second officer in command of the British army, was captured. At length, the enemy having received reinforcements, attempted to regain their position, but were thrice repulsed. Generals Brown and Scott, being both severely wounded, the command of the Americans devolved on General Ripley, under whose direction they returned to camp. General Brown ordered General Ripley to prepare the army to march out at dawn on the next day to give battle, feeling secure of victory. But the order was not executed. The battle of Niagara, as this day's contest was termed, was one of the most obstinate engagements ever fought. It raged for several hours, the troops having no other light to direct their movements but the vivid flashes of their artillery and musketry. Many instances of individual heroism were displayed, but here, as at Chippewa, General Winfield



Battle of Lundy's Lane, or Niagara.

Scott was most conspicuous. The enemy, superior in numbers and commanded by Drummond and Riall, officers possessing skill and experience, were driven from their positions. Their loss in killed, wounded and prisoners was upwards of 1000 men. The loss on the American side was somewhat less, but included many valuable officers. Generals Brown and Scott were compelled to retire from the service for a time, in consequence of severe wounds.



Defence of Fort Erie.



General Gaines.

The next scene of action was at Fort Erie, whither General Ripley, with the main army, retired. Before the position had been well secured, General Drummond, with 4500 regular British troops, appeared before it; and although the American general had not half that number of men, cautiously commenced the regular formalities of a siege. The Americans threw up breastworks, and strengthened their position. On the 2d of August, the British commenced their cannonade; but as it continued irregular, the Americans did not return it until the 7th. From this date till the 15th, the firing was incessant and tremendous. General Gaines now arrived, and took command of the American forces. On the morning of the 15th, the British advanced to the assault in three columns. The Americans received them with a tremendous fire, and checked their progress. The conflict at the three points was obstinate and bloody. The assailants gained possession of a bastion of old Fort Erie, but the explosion of some ammunition forced them to retire, and soon after, the whole British force was driven off, leaving on the field 222 killed, 174 wounded,



General Miller.

and 186 prisoners. The slightly wounded were carried off, while a large number of killed were allowed to float down Niagara. The loss of the Americans did not exceed 100 men.

The British general was now compelled to wait for reinforcements, before attempting any further offensive operations. In the meantime, the Americans, confident from success, strengthened their position. Four days after the battle, the enemy re-appeared, and opened a brisk cannonade. The siege continued, with little variation, for thirty days. General Gaines, being wounded by a shell, gave up the command to General Brown, who, though suffering from a wound, hastened to the place where his services were wanted. A considerable reinforcement of volunteers arrived in the American camp, and then General Brown determined to make an effort to release the army from its confinement. On the 17th of September, two columns, commanded by Generals Porter and Miller, filed out and advanced upon the enemy. By skilful dispositions, their whole line was carried, their guns spiked, and about 1000 men



Plattsburg.

killed, wounded, or taken. The loss of the Americans was about 200 men killed or wounded. General Drummond broke up his camp on the night of the 21st, and retired toward Chippewa. The operations had been entirely in favor of the Americans, and reflected great honor upon the energy and skill of General Brown and his associate officers, and upon the courage and steady discipline of his troops.

In the meantime, events occurred in other quarters of the Union, no less honorable to the American arms. Sir George Prevost, governor-general of Canada, having collected all his disposable force for an invasion of the Union as far as Crown Point, entered the country on the 1st of the month, and occupied the village of Champlain. There he issued proclamations tending to dissuade the people from their allegiance, and inviting them to furnish the army with provisions for their further progress. General Macomb was then at Plattsburg, with about 2000 American troops, many of whom were militia. He made able dispositions of his small force, and prepared for a determined resistance to the progress of Prevost. Simultaneously with their operations on land, the enemy prepared their fleet for action on Lake Champlain.

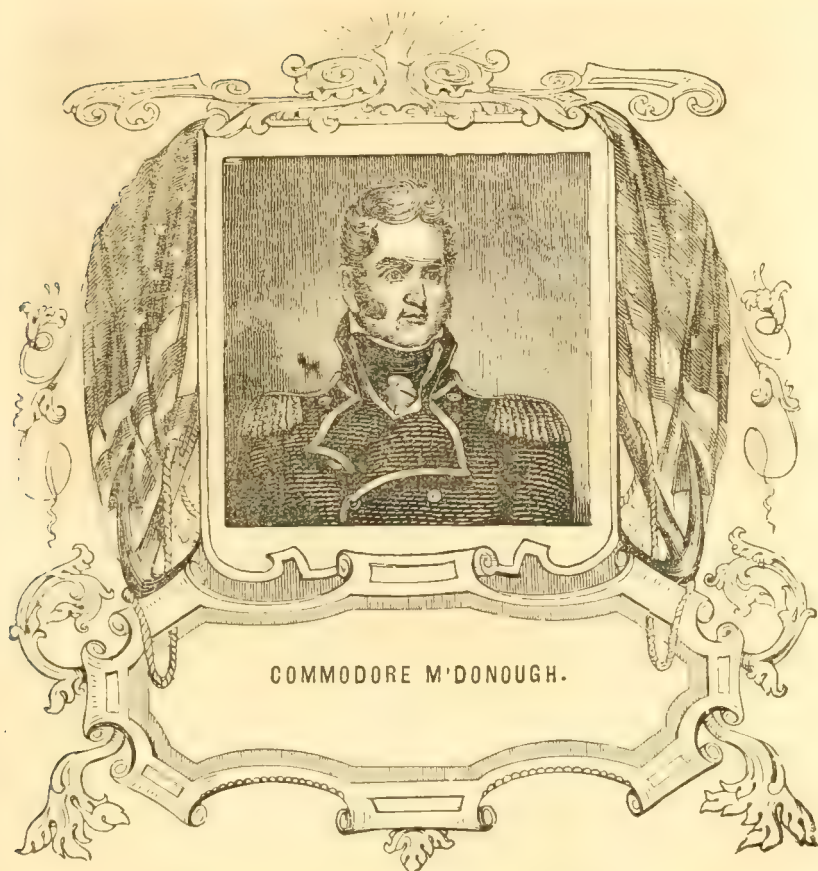
The American fleet, under Commodore M'Donough, lay at anchor in Burlington Bay, on the right flank of the American lines, and two miles distant. Great exertions had been made by both parties to produce a superior naval force on this lake; the Americans at Otter Creek, and the British at the Isle aux Noix. On comparing their relative strength on the 11th of September, the American fleet consisted of the *Saratoga*, flag-ship, mounting 26 guns; *Eagle*, 20 guns; *Ticonderoga*, 17 guns; *Preble*, 7 guns; six galleys, of two guns each, 12 guns; four of one, 4 guns; making in the whole, 86 guns: and 820 men. The British fleet consisted of the frigate *Confiance*, flag-ship, mounting 39 guns;



Burlington Bay.

Linnet, 16 guns; Cherub, 11 guns; Finch, 11 guns; five galleys, of two guns each, 10 guns; eight of one, 8 guns, making in the whole, 95 guns: and 1020 men.

The British land forces employed themselves from the 7th to the 11th, in bringing up their heavy artillery; and strengthening their works on the north bank of the Saranac. Their fortified encampment was on a ridge a little to the west of the town, their right near the river, and their left resting on the lake, one mile in the rear of the village. Having determined on a simultaneous attack by land and water, they lay in this position on the morning of the 11th, waiting the approach of their fleet. At eight o'clock, the wished for ships appeared under easy sail, moving round Cumberland head; and were hailed with joyous acclamations. At nine o'clock, they anchored within 300 yards of the American squadron in line of battle; the *Confiance* opposed to the *Saratoga*, the *Linnet* to the *Eagle*; thirteen British galleys to the *Ticonderoga*, *Preble*, and a division of the American galleys. The *Cherub* assisting the *Confiance* and *Linnet*, and the *Finch* aiding the galleys. In this position, the weather being perfectly clear and calm, and the bay smooth, the whole force on both sides became at once engaged. About an hour and a half after the commencement of the action, the starboard guns of the *Saratoga* were nearly all dismantled. The commandant ordered a stern anchor to be dropped, and the lower cable cut, by means of which, the ship rounded to, and presented a fresh broadside to her enemy. The



Confiance attempted the same operation and failed. This was attended with such powerful effects, that she was obliged to surrender in a few minutes. The whole broadside of the *Saratoga* was then brought to bear on the *Linnet*, and in fifteen minutes she followed the example of her flag-ship. One of the British sloops struck to the *Eagle*; three galleys were sunk, and the rest made off; no ship in the fleet being able to follow them, they escaped down the lake. There was no mast standing in either squadron, at the close of the action, to which a sail could be attached. The *Saratoga* received 55 round shot in her hull, and the *Confiance* 105. The action lasted without any cessation, on a smooth sea, at close quarters, two hours and twenty minutes. In the American squadron 52 were killed, and 58 wounded. In the British, 84 were killed, and 110 wounded. Among the slain was the British commandant, Commodore Downie. This



Battle of Lake Champlain.

engagement was in full view of both armies, and of numerous spectators collected on the heights, bordering on the bay, to witness the scene. It was viewed by the inhabitants with trembling anxiety, as success on the part of the British, would have opened to them an easy passage into the heart of the country, and exposed a numerous population on the borders of the lake, to British ravages. When the flag of the *Confiance* was struck, the shores resounded with the acclamations of the American troops and citizens. The British, when they saw their fleet completely conquered, were dispirited and confounded.

At the moment of the commencement of the naval action, the British, from their works on shore, opened a heavy fire of shot, shells, and rockets, upon the American lines. This was continued with little interruption until sun-set, and returned with spirit and effect. At six o'clock, the firing on the part of the British ceased, every battery having been silenced by the American artillery. At the commencement of the bombardment, and while the ships were engaged, three desperate efforts were made by the British to pass the Saranac, for the purpose of carrying the American lines by assault. With this view, scaling ladders, fascines, and every implement necessary for the purpose, were prepared. One attempt was made to cross, at the village-bridge, one at the upper bridge, and one at the ford-way, three miles above the works. At each point, they were met at the bank by the American troops and repulsed. At the bridges, the American regulars immediately drove them back. The ford was



General Macomb.

guarded by the volunteers and militia. Here a considerable body of British effected a passage, and the militia retired into the neighboring woods, where their operations would be more effectual. A whole company of the 76th regiment was here destroyed, three lieutenants, and 27 men taken, and the captain and the rest of the company killed. The residue of the British were obliged to recross the river with precipitation and considerable loss.

At dusk the British withdrew their cannon from the batteries; at nine, sent off all the artillery and baggage for which they could procure transports; and at two the following morning, the whole army precipitately retreated, leaving their sick and wounded behind. Great quantities of provisions, tents, entrenching tools, and ammunition, were also left. Much was found concealed in the ponds and creeks, and buried in the ground. Their retreat was so sudden, rapid, and unexpected, that they arrived at Chazy, a distance of eight miles, before their departure was known to the American general. The light troops and militia were immediately ordered out in pursuit, but were unable to make many prisoners.



General Winder.

Upwards of 300 deserters came in within two or three days after the action, who confirmed the account of Prevost's precipitate flight, and assisted in discovering the property they had concealed and left behind. The American loss on land, during the day, was 37 killed, and 82 wounded and missing. General Macomb's official report estimates the British loss in land and naval forces, since their leaving Montreal, in killed, wounded, prisoners, deserters, and missing, at 2500.

The British army engaged in this expedition, consisted of 14,000 men. The precipitate retreat of so numerous and well-appointed an army from before a force of 1500 regulars and 3000 militia, suddenly called together, was unaccountable and wholly unexpected. General Prevost endeavored to justify himself to his government, by imputing it to the loss of the fleet. But no active co-operation was or could be expected from their respective fleets by either army. The real ground was, that the valor of the American troops in defence of their soil had convinced the British general

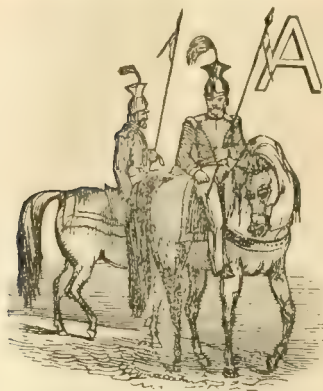
*Commodore Barney.*

that an attempt to penetrate the country, and carry his original plans into effect, would be attended with defeat and disgrace.

In the Chesapeake, great devastation was committed, in revenge, as was stated, for outrages upon the Canadians. Early in the year the general government had received information that a powerful armament was preparing to make a descent upon the country in the vicinity of the Chesapeake—and measures for defence were taken. General Winder was placed in command of the land forces, called into the field for the defence of Washington, and Commodore Barney in command of a flotilla of gun-boats in the bay.

In August, the British fleet, under Admiral Cochrane, conveying a large army, under Major-General Ross, arrived at the mouth of the Potomac. By great exertions, General Winder was enabled to collect at

Bladensburg about 5000 men, 350 of whom were regulars, and several hundred marines and seamen, from Commodore Barney's flotilla. The British troops were landed, and about noon on the 29th of August, reached Bladensburg. An obstinate contest ensued, in which the British suffered a severe loss, but compelled the Americans to give way.

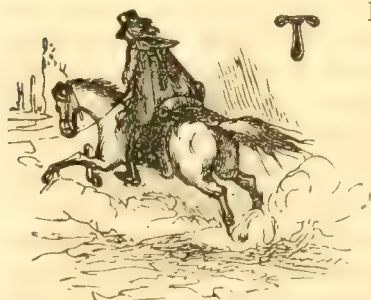


As the militia retired, the British regulars advanced upon the main road, and coming immediately in front of Commodore Barney's flotilla, he opened an eighteen-pounder upon them, which cleared the road, and for a time disordered their column, and retarded their approach. Two other attempts made by the enemy to pass the battery were also repulsed, and General Ross marched a division of his troops into an open field, with a determination to flank the commodore's right. This attempt also was frustrated by Captain Miller, of the marines, with three twelve-pounders, and the men of the flotilla acting as infantry. After being thus kept in check about half an hour, General Ross began to outflank the right of the battery, in large numbers; and pushed about 300 men upon General Smith's brigade, which, after exchanging a shot or two, fled as precipitately as the brigade of General Stansbury. In the panic produced by this disorderly retreat, the drivers of the ammunition wagons fled also, and Commodore Barney's small command was left to contend against the whole force of the enemy, with less than one complete round of cartridge. To add to the general misfortune, and to increase the difficulties even of retiring with credit, he had received a severe wound in his thigh, and his horse had been killed under him—two of his principal officers were killed, and Captain Miller and sailing-master Martin wounded. The places of these could be promptly supplied from the men acting as infantry, but the means of repulsing the enemy were expended, and the British infantry and marines by this time completely in the rear of the battery. Thus situated the commodore gave orders for a retreat, and after being carried a short distance from the scene of his gallantry, he fell exhausted by the loss of blood, and was soon after made prisoner by General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, who put him on his parole, and having first removed him to their hospital in Bladensburg, ordered the immediate attendance of their surgeons to dress his wound.

Having thus obtained possession of the pass of the bridge, over the eastern branch of the Potomac, the enemy marched directly upon the

capital, and immediately proceeded to the destruction of all the spacious and splendid edifices by which it was adorned. The senate house, the representative hall, the supreme court-room, the president's house, with all its exterior and interior decorations, and the buildings containing the public departments, were very soon demolished, and several private houses burned to the ground. The plunder of individual property was prohibited, however, and soldiers transgressing the order were severely punished. The principal vengeance of Admiral Cockburn, on whom, if the safety of the citizens' dwellings had alone depended, if he is to be judged by his former conduct, they would have rested on a slender guarantee, was directed against the printing-office of the editor of a newspaper, from whose press had been issued frequent accounts of the admiral's depredations along the coast.

The navy-yard, as well as a new first-rate frigate, and a sloop of war, were destroyed by order of government, upon the approach of the enemy, to prevent the immense public stores, munitions, and armaments deposited there, from falling into his hands. The patent-office alone, in which were collected the rarest specimens of the arts of the country, escaped the insatiate vengeance of a foe, whose destroying arm was directed against the most superb monuments of architectural skill and public munificence. The public documents and official records, the flags and various other trophies of the repeated triumphs of the American arms, and the specie from all the banks in the district, had previously been placed beyond the reach of the cupidity of the invaders, and they returned from an irruption which excited the indignation of all parties in the Union, and drew forth the deprecations of the principal nations in Europe.



THE president and the heads of departments, all of whom had visited the rendezvous of the troops at Bladensburg the day before the battle, finding that the force which had been hastily assembled, did not amount to the number called for by the requisitions upon the adjacent states, returned to the metropolis to make arrangements for the augmentation of General Winder's

army. This duty, which, in times of less danger, required the exercise of great energy, could not be performed before the enemy had encountered and defeated the corps already collected. The capture of these officers would have caused at least a temporary derangement of the government, and in order that its functions might be resumed immediately



Bladensburg.

after the departure of the enemy, they retired from the metropolis upon his approach. General Winder had also withdrawn with the remnant of his force to Montgomery court-house; the citizens were incapable of opposing the hostile operations of the British commanders; and the capital was therefore entirely at their mercy.

That division of the enemy's fleet which ascended the Potomac, consisting of eight sail, upon which were mounted 173 guns, and commanded by Captain Gordon, was directed to attack the city of Alexandria. As they approached up the river, the commander of Fort Warburton, Captain Dyson, destroyed that post, and retired with his artillerists, and the British squadron passed up to the city without annoyance or impediment. The people of Alexandria surrendered their town, and obtained a stipulation on the 29th of August, from the British commander, that their dwellings should not be entered or destroyed. The condition upon which this stipulation was made, required the immediate delivery to the enemy of all public and private naval and ordnance stores; of all the shipping, and the furniture necessary to their equipment, then in port; of all the merchandise of every description, whether in the town, or removed from it since the 19th of the month; that such merchandise should be put on board the shipping at the expense of the owners; and that all vessels which might have been sunk upon the approach of the enemy, should be raised by the merchants and delivered up, with all their apparatus.



General Smith.

These hard and ungenerous conditions were complied with, and on the 6th of September, Captain Gordon moved off with a fleet of prize vessels, which, as well as his frigates and other vessels of war, contained cargoes of booty. In descending the river he was warmly opposed, and received considerable damage from two batteries, at the White House, and at Indian Head, under the respective commands of Captains Porter and Perry, of the navy—the former assisted by General Hungerford's brigade of Virginia militia infantry, and Captain Humphrey's company of riflemen, from Jefferson county; and the latter by the brigade of General Stewart, and the volunteer companies of Major Peter and Captain Birch. The batteries, however, not being completed, and mounting but a few light pieces, could not prevent the departure of the enemy with his immense booty, though they kept up an incessant fire, from the 3d until the 6th of the month, upon the vessels passing down on each of those days. Commodore Rodgers, too, aided by Lieutenant Newcombe and sailing-master Ramage, made frequent attempts to destroy the enemy's



Fort M'Henry

shipping, by approaching him within range of musket-shot, with several small fire-vessels. After the communication of the fire, a change of wind prevented these vessels from getting in between the British frigates, though they excited much alarm among the fleet, whose men were actively employed in extinguishing the flames. These respective forces were afterwards concentrated, and Commodore Rodgers took possession of Alexandria, with a determination to defend it, notwithstanding its surrender, against another attempt of the enemy, whose fleet was not yet out of sight of the nearest battery.

After the embarkation of the troops under General Ross, whose loss at Bladensburg amounted to nearly 1000 men, in killed, wounded, prisoners, deserters, and those who died of fatigue, Admiral Cochrane concentrated the various detachments of his fleet, and made preparations for an attack upon the city of Baltimore.

As the powerful armament approached, the alarm spread quickly through the adjacent country, and a large volunteer force collected under Major-General Smith. The troops intended for the land attack were debarked upon North Point, fourteen miles below the city, and on the morning of the 12th of September, nearly 8000 soldiers, sailors and marines had effected a landing, while 16 bomb-vessels and frigates proceeded up the river and anchored within two miles and a half of Fort M'Henry.

General Smith detached General Stricker, with part of his brigade, on



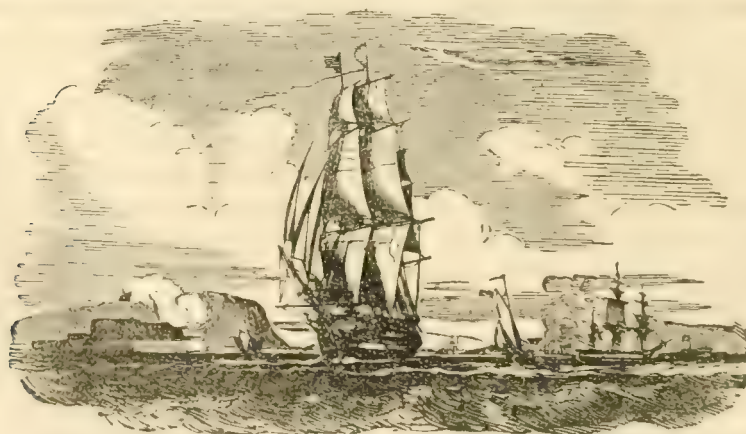
Bombardment of Fort M'Henry.

the North Point road, and Major Randal, with riflemen and musketry, to the mouth of Bear Creek, to check the progress of the enemy. The light parties of the Americans were driven in, and the force under General Stricker was soon engaged with greatly superior numbers. After an hour and twenty minutes' fighting, the Americans were compelled to retire to the high grounds in their rear. The enemy did not pursue. General Stricker was reinforced, and the Americans prepared their whole line of intrenchments and batteries for their reception. On the 13th, the British army came in sight of the main body of the Americans, and manœuvred in their front, driving in the videttes. But seeing the strength of the defences, and the skilful dispositions of General Smith, they did not attack. In the meantime, the British vessels bombarded Fort M'Henry, which was bravely defended by its garrison, commanded by Major Armistead. The vessels suffered considerably from the fire from the American batteries. About midnight on the 13th, the British army retreated to the point at which it landed, and re-embarked. The next day the fleet dropped down the river. The British loss in the attack on Baltimore, was between 600 and 700 men, including killed, wounded and missing. Among the slain was Major-General Ross, who was shot by some daring young Americans, while leading on his men. The loss of the Americans was about 175 men killed and wounded. The volunteer soldiery displayed great gallantry in the defence of their city.



Captain Porter.

The operations of the Americans upon the ocean were attended with a display of enterprise and heroism which added much to the reputation which their navy had already won. The cruise of the frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, was one of the most remarkable in naval annals. She sailed from the Delaware in October, 1812, took several valuable prizes;



Porter's Cruise in the Pacific.



Captain Warrington.

and, learning that several large vessels were in pursuit of her, Porter steered southward, rounded Cape Horn, and cruised in the Pacific. There he made great havoc among the British traders, and was particularly destructive to their whale fishery. One of the captured vessels he made a store-ship, equipped her with twenty guns, and called her the *Essex Junior*. From the extent of his depredations, he spread alarm throughout all the Pacific ports, in which the British commerce was carried on. Porter baffled pursuit by his skilful and rapid movements. In December, 1813, while the *Essex* was in the port of Valparaiso, the British frigate *Phœbe*, Captain Hillyar, and the sloop-of-war *Cherub*, mounting together 86 guns and manned by 500 men, arrived. These vessels had long been in search of the *Essex*, and were in perfect order. They blockaded Porter, who was unwilling to risk an action against such a superior force, for about six weeks, when the American commander resolved to put to sea. In the attempt, a squall struck his frigate, and compelled him to put into a small bay, to repair damages. There he was attacked by the British ships on the 28th of March, 1814, and in such a manner that he was compelled to engage under great disadvantages. Never was a more

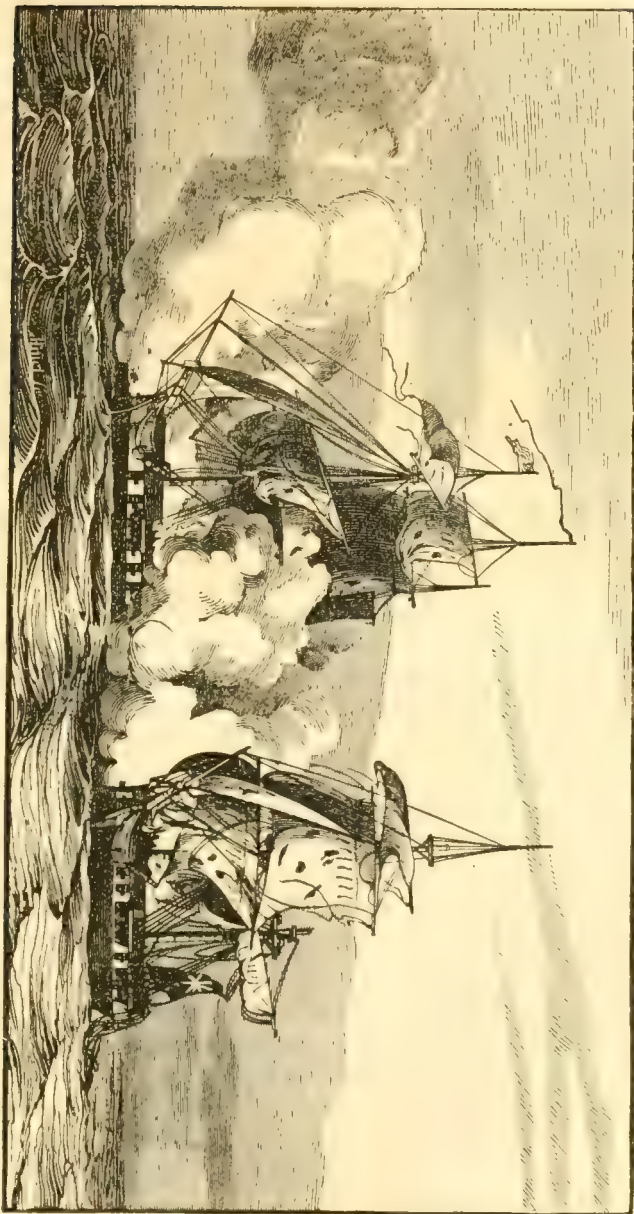


Captain Blakely.

obstinate and—for the forces engaged—destructive battle fought. Twice were the British vessels compelled to haul off to repair damages, while the *Essex* was dreadfully cut up. Porter exhausted every expedient that his fertile mind and his great experience could suggest, and surrendered only when his vessel was on fire, a mere wreck, and the greater part of his crew killed or wounded. One hundred and fifty-five men of the *Essex*, were killed, wounded, or missing. The loss of the enemy was very severe. Porter was sent to New York, and after refusing a parole, escaped to his countrymen, by whom his deeds were admired and applauded.

On the 20th of April, the *Peacock*, Captain Warrington, fell in with the British brig *Epervier*, Captain Wales. The vessels were of nearly equal force, each mounting 18 large guns. After an action of 42 minutes, the *Epervier* was captured, being reduced to a wreck, and having eight men killed and 15 wounded. The *Peacock* suffered little, and had but two men wounded.

The new sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Blakely, mounting 20 guns, having been completely equipped for a long cruise, sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of May 1814, between which time and the 6th of the following



Action between the Peacock and the Epervier.

July, she captured seven merchantmen, and a brig-of-war, the *Reindeer*, Captain Manners, of 18 guns, and one shifting gun, and 118 men. This capture was made after an action of 19 minutes, in latitude $48^{\circ} 36' N$. and longitude $11^{\circ} 45' W$. On that day, at fifteen minutes after four A. M., the *Wasp* being in pursuit of two sail before the lee beam, discovered the *Reindeer* on the weather beam, and immediately altered her course, and hauled by in chase of her. The pursuit continued until half-past meridian, when the *Reindeer*, having previously hoisted an English ensign and pendant, showed a blue and white flag at the fore, and fired a gun.



PRECISELY at fifteen minutes past one, Captain Blakely called all hands to quarters, and prepared for action. At twenty-two minutes past one, he tacked ship, and stood for the *Reindeer*, with an expectation of being able to weather her. At fifty minutes past one, the *Reindeer* tacked and stood from the *Wasp*. Fifty-six minutes past one, the *Wasp* hoisted her colors, and fired a gun to windward, which was answered. The chase was kept up until thirty-two minutes past two, when the *Reindeer* tacked for the *Wasp*, and the latter took in her stay-sails, and furled the royals. Captain Blakely having now discovered that the *Reindeer* would weather him, immediately tacked ship, and at fifteen minutes past three, the *Reindeer* being on his weather-quarter, at sixty yards distance, fired her shifting-gun, a twelve-pound carronade, loaded with round and grape-shot.

At seventeen minutes past three, the same gun was fired again; at nineteen minutes past three it was fired a third time; at twenty-one minutes past three a fourth time; and at twenty-four minutes past three a fifth time. The *Reindeer* not getting sufficiently on the beam of the *Wasp*, the latter was compelled to receive these repeated discharges without being able to bring a gun to bear. Her helm was therefore put a-lee, and at twenty-six minutes after three Captain Blakely commenced the action with his after carronade, on the starboard side, and fired in succession. The mainsail was then hauled up, and at forty minutes after three, the *Reindeer's* larboard bow being in contact with the larboard quarter of the *Wasp*, Captain Manners directed his crew to board her. The attempt was gallantly repulsed by the crew of the *Wasp*, who several times beat off the enemy; and at forty-four minutes past three were ordered to board in turn. Throwing themselves with great promptitude upon the deck of the *Reindeer*, they succeeded in the execution of their orders, and her flag came down at forty-five minutes after three. In a line with her ports she was cut almost to pieces; her upper works, boats,



Burning of the Reindeer.

and spare spars entirely destroyed, and on the following day her foremast went by the board. Twenty-five of her crew were killed, and 42 wounded, making a loss of 67 men.

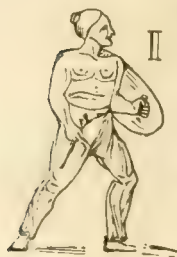
On board the *Wasp* the injury sustained was not so material. Her rigging was destroyed however in several places, her foremast was pierced through by a twenty-four pound ball, and her hull struck by six round shot and many grape, though not with sufficient force to penetrate far. Her loss amounted to five killed, and twenty-one wounded, principally in boarding. Among the latter, Midshipmen Langdon and Toscan, both of whom expired some days after. Having received the prisoners and their baggage on board the *Wasp*, Captain Blakely blew up the *Reindeer* on the evening of the 29th, and sailed for L'Orient to provide for the disabled part of each crew, whose wounds had become offensive in consequence of the intense heat of the weather. He arrived at that port on the 8th of July, and found that the damage could be repaired by the carpenters of the ship in a few days.

In this action Lieutenants Bury and Reily, who had been in the engagements with the *Guerriere* and *Java*, and of Lieutenant Tillinghast, (2d) who was instrumental to the capture of the *Boxer*, maintained the high credit which they acquired on those previous occasions. And Captain Blakely, whose reputation as a skilful seaman and an expert navigator is not surpassed by that of any naval officer, had his crew so well drilled upon the principles of marine discipline, that they never despaired of vanquishing an equal force of their enemy.

In the port of L'Orient, the *Wasp* was detained by head winds until the 27th of August, having been anchored there 52 days. During this time every attention was given to her officers and crew by the inhabitants,

and their situation in a foreign port rendered particularly agreeable by the assiduities of the American minister.

After leaving that place and capturing two valuable British merchantmen, Captain Blakely fell in with a convoy of ten sail, on the 1st of September, under the protection of the Armada, seventy-four, and a bomb ship. He stood for them, and succeeded in cutting out of the squadron a brig laden with brass and iron cannon, and military stores from Gibraltar; and after taking out the prisoners and setting her on fire, he endeavored to cut out another vessel, but was driven off by the seventy-four.

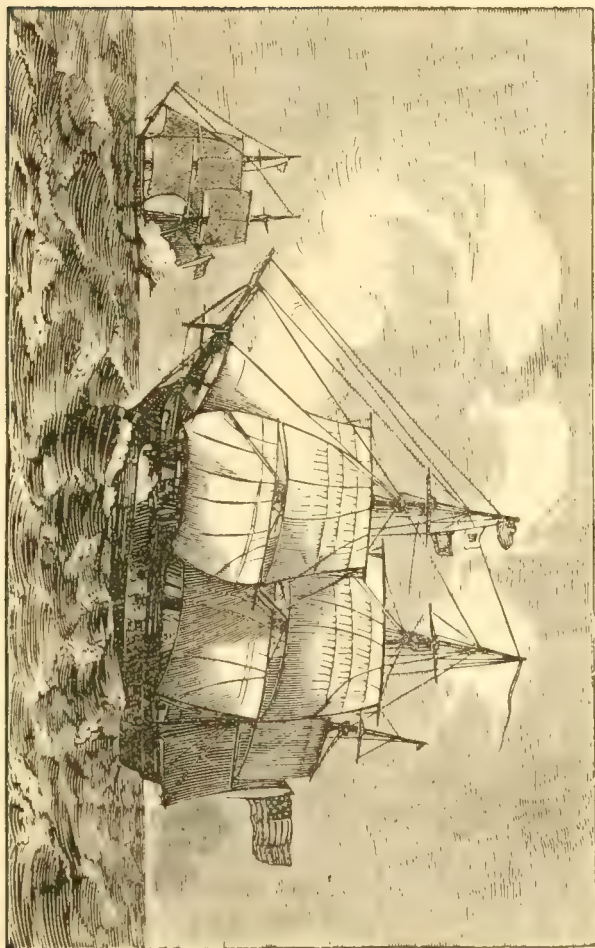


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N the evening at half past six, he discovered two vessels on his starboard, and two on the larboard bow, and hauled for that which was farthest to windward. At seven she was made out to be a brig of war, making signals with flags which could not be distinguished, owing to the darkness of the night; and at twenty-nine minutes past nine, she was under the lee-bow of the Wasp. Captain Blakely ordered the twelve-pound carronade to be fired into her, and received a return

from the stranger. The Wasp then ran under the lee-bow of the enemy to prevent her escape, and immediately commenced an action, which continued until ten o'clock, when Captain Blakely, supposing his antagonist to be silenced, ceased firing, and hailed to know if she had surrendered. No answer being given to this demand, he recommenced firing, and the enemy returned him broadside for broadside.

At twelve minutes past ten, the enemy having made no return to the two last broadsides, was again hailed to know if he had surrendered. Captain Blakely was informed that the vessel being in a sinking condition, her commander had struck his colors. The Wasp's boats were immediately lowered, when a second brig-of-war was discovered a little distance astern, standing for her. The crew were instantly sent to their quarters, and preparations made for another engagement. The Wasp was lying to for the approach of the second stranger, when at thirty-six minutes past ten, two other brigs were discovered standing also for her.

Under these circumstances, Captain Blakely was prevented from taking possession of his prize, and keeping off the wind, with an expectation of drawing the brig first discovered, after him, he ordered new braces to be rove to replace those which had been shot away. His expectations were not, however, answered, the brig-of-war continuing in pursuit only until she was near enough under his stern to give him a broadside, and return to her companions. This she did, and cut the rigging and sails, and shot away a lower main cross-tree of the Wasp.



Capture of the Avon.

The name and force of the prize has since been ascertained. She was the brig-of-war Avon, Captain Arbuthnot, of the same number of guns as the Reindeer, and sunk immediately after the Castilian (the vessel which chased the Wasp) had taken out her last man. According to the enemy's account, her captain was wounded in both legs, the first lieutenant and eight men killed, and the second lieutenant, one midshipman, and 31 men wounded.



THE Wasp received in her hull four thirty-two-pound shot, and in her main-mast a number of grape-shot. Her sails and rigging were much damaged, but her loss in men amounted to two killed, and only one wounded. She repaired her damages on the succeeding day, and continued to cruise, in conformity with her instructions from the navy department. On the 21st of September, she captured off the Madeiras, her thirteenth prize, the British brig Atalanta, of eight guns, and

the only one which she sent into port. This vessel arrived at Savannah in the beginning of November, under the command of Mr. Geisinger, one of the officers of the Wasp, with despatches from Captain Blakely.

The Atalanta left the Wasp, at sea, on the 23d of September, without knowing the destination to which her further cruise would convey her; and, since that time, no official accounts have been received from her. Her cruise was theretofore most brilliant and unparalleled, her sailors all young, athletic, brave, and enthusiastic, and her officers among the most skilful in the service. She was never heard from after being hailed by the Atalanta, and her loss was deeply deplored by the whole republic.

An affair highly honorable to the skill and courage of the American seamen occurred on the 26th of September, 1814, when the American privateer brig, General Armstrong, Captain Reid, came to anchor in the port of Fayal, one of the Azores, a Portuguese island in the Atlantic. The same day the Plantagenet seventy-four, and the Rota and Carnation, British ships-of-war, suddenly appeared in the roads. At dark, Captain Reid warped his ship in under the guns of the fort for protection; at eight o'clock he observed four boats from the ships filled with armed men approaching him; after warning them to keep off, he fired into the boats, killed seven men, and compelled them to return. At midnight, twelve large boats armed with swivels, carronades, and muskets, attacked the brig, and after a severe action of forty minutes, the contest ended in a



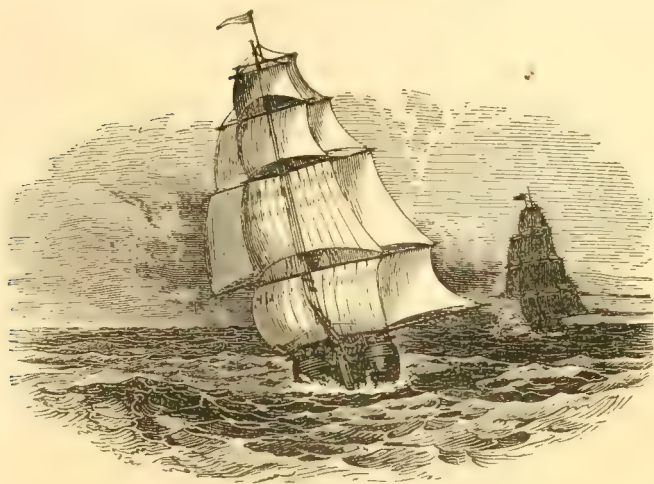
Gallant Defence of the General Armstrong.

total defeat of the assailants, a partial destruction of the boats, and a severe loss of men. Among the killed were the first lieutenant of the *Plantagenet*, the commandant of the party, and two lieutenants and one midshipmen of the *Rota*. It was estimated by the spectators on shore, that the boats contained 400 men, and that more than half of them were killed or wounded. Several boats were destroyed, two remained alongside of the *Armstrong*, loaded with their dead and dying: only seventeen from these two boats reached the shore. The British acknowledged a loss of 120 killed. The sloops *Thais* and *Calypso*, were loaded with the wounded and sent to England. Immediately after the first attack, Mr. Dobney, the American consul, applied to the governor of Fayal, to enforce the privileges of a neutral port in favor of the American ship. The governor expressed his indignation at what had passed, but was unable with his means to resist such a force. His remonstrances to the British commander were answered by an insulting refusal. On the morning of the 27th, one of the ships took a station near the shore, and commenced a heavy cannonade on the brig. Captain Reid, finding further resistance unavailing, partially destroyed the brig, and went on shore with his crew; the British then set her on fire. In this attack not only the privileges of neutrality, but the safety of the town were wholly disregarded. Several of the inhabitants were dangerously wounded, and a number of houses destroyed.

In December, 1814, the *Constitution*, having been refitted, proceeded



Capture of the Penguin.



Escape of the Hornet.

on a new cruise, under the command of Captain Stewart. After taking several prizes, Stewart, on the 20th of February, 1815, fell in with the British ships *Cyane*, of 34 guns, and *Levant*, of 21 guns. In spite of his inferior force, he engaged both vessels; and by skilful manœuvres, secured a raking position, by which the enemy were soon compelled to strike their colors. The action lasted forty minutes. The *Constitution* had three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The British ships had 35 killed, and 42 wounded. The *Levant* was afterwards retaken by the British squadron off Barbadoes, but the *Constitution*, with the *Cyane*, succeeded in reaching Boston. Captain Stewart received high commendation and various flattering testimonials of esteem from the people of the United States for his brilliant exploits.

On the 23d of March, 1815, the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, encountered the British brig *Penguin*, Captain Dickenson. The vessels were of about equal force. After a well-fought action of about twenty-two minutes, the *Penguin* surrendered, having 14 men killed, and 22 wounded. The loss of the American vessel was one man killed and 11 wounded. This was the last contest of the war. The *Hornet* made a narrow escape from a British 74, and was forced to return to port.

The British had long contemplated an expedition against Louisiana, it being expected that its capital, New Orleans, would be taken unprepared. The secret, however, transpired, and General Andrew Jackson, commander of the American forces in that district, exerted himself to prepare for the attack.

General Jackson had already displayed great energy and ability in the reduction of the Creeks, and in breaking up a British establishment in West Florida, by which the Indians were instigated to hostility. In the early part of November he had entered Florida, on his own responsibility, and captured Pensacola. Having completely attained his object, he withdrew from the Spanish territory.

General Jackson arrived at New Orleans on the 1st of December. The legislature of Louisiana had been for some weeks in session; and, through the governor's communication, had been informed of the situation and strength of the country, and of the necessity of calling all its resources into action; but, balancing in their decisions, and uncertain of the best course to be pursued, to assure protection, they as yet had resolved upon nothing promising certainty and safety, or calculated to infuse tranquillity and confidence in the public mind. The arrival of Jackson, however, produced a new aspect in affairs. His activity and zeal in preparation, and his reputation as a brave man and skilful commander, turned all eyes towards him, and inspired even the desponding with a confidence they had not before felt.



THE volunteer corps of the city were reviewed, and a visit, in person, made to the different forts, to ascertain their situations, and the reliance that might be had on them, to repel the enemy's advance. Through the lakes, their large vessels could not pass: should an approach be attempted, through this route, in their barges, it might be met and opposed by the gun-boats, which already guarded this passage; but if, unequal to the contest, they should be captured, it would, at any rate, give timely information of a descent, which might be resisted on the landing, before an opportunity could be

had of executing fully their designs. Up the Mississippi, however, was looked upon as the most probable pass, through which might be made an attempt to reach the city; and here were in progress suitable preparations for defence.

Fort St. Philips was now resorted to, as the lowest point on the river, where the erection of works could be at all serviceable. The general had returned to New Orleans, on the 9th, from a visit to this place, which he had ordered to be repaired and strengthened. The commanding officer



Fortifying New Orleans.

was directed to remove every combustible material without the fort; to have two additional platforms immediately raised; and the embrasures so enlarged, that the ordnance might have the greatest possible sweep upon their circles, and be brought to bear on any object within their range, that might approach either up or down the river. At a small distance below, the Mississippi, changing its course, left a neck of land in the bend, covered with timber, and which obstructed the view. From this point, down to where old Fort Bourbon stood, on the west side, the growth along the bank was ordered to be cut away, that the shot from St. Philips, ranging across this point of land, might reach an approaching vessel, before she should be unmasked from behind it. On the site of Bourbon, was to be thrown up a strong work, defended by five twenty-four-pounders, which, with the fort above, would expose an enemy to to a cross fire, for half a mile. A mile above St. Philips was to be established a work, which, in conjunction with the others, would command the river for two miles. At Terre au Bœuf, and at the English Turn, twelve miles below the city, were also to be taken measures for defence; where it was expected by Jackson, with his flying artillery and fire-ships, that he would be able, certainly, to arrest the enemy's advance. This system of defence, properly established, he believed would give security from any attack in this direction. Fort St. Philips, with the assistant batteries, above and below, would so concentrate their fires, that an enemy could never pass, without suffering greatly, and perhaps being so shattered, that they would

fall an easy prey to those still higher up the river. The essential difficulty was to have them commenced, and speedily finished.

Upon lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, an equally strong confidence was had, that all would be safe from invasion. Commodore Patterson, who commanded the naval forces, had executed every order with promptness and activity. Agreeably to instructions received from the commanding general, to extend to all the passes on the lakes every protection in his power, he had already sent out the gun-boats, under Lieutenant Jones. From their vigilance and capability to defend, great advantages were calculated to arise; added to which, the Rigolets, the communication between the two lakes, was defended by Petit Coquille fort, a strong work, under the command of Captain Newman, which, when acting in conjunction with the gun-boats, it was supposed would be competent to repel any assault that might here be waged. The prospects of defence had been improved, by detachments sent out to fell timber across every small bayou and creek, leading out of the lakes, and through which a passage for boats and barges could be afforded; and to increase the obstruction, by sinking large frames in their beds, and filling them with earth. Guards and videttes were out, to watch every thing that passed, and give the earliest information.

Certain information was at hand, of an English fleet being now off Cat and Ship Islands, within a short distance of the American lines, where their strength and numbers were daily increasing. Lieutenant Jones, in command of the gun-boats on Lake Borgne, was directed to reconnoitre, and ascertain their disposition and force; and, in case they should attempt, through this route, to effect a disembarkation, to retire to the Rigolets, and there, with his flotilla, make an obstinate resistance, and contend to the last. He remained off Ship Island, until the 12th of December; when, understanding the enemy's forces were much increased, he thought it most advisable to change his anchorage, and retire to a position near Malheureux Island. On the 13th, Jones discovered the enemy moving off in his barges, and directing his way towards Pass Christian.

A strong wind having blown for some days to the east, from the lake to the gulf, had so reduced the depth of water, that the best and deepest channels were insufficient to float his little squadron. The oars were resorted to, but without rendering the least assistance: it was immovable. Recourse was now had to throwing every thing overboard that could be spared, to lighten and bring them off; all, however, was ineffectual,—nothing could afford relief. At this moment of extreme peril and danger, the tide coming suddenly in, relieved from present embarrassment, and

lifting them from the shoal, they bore away from the attack meditated; directed their course for the Rigolets; and came to anchor at one o'clock the next morning, on the west passage of Malheureux Isle; where, at daybreak, they discovered that the pursuit had been abandoned.

At the bay of St. Louis was a small *dépôt* of public stores, which had, that morning, been directed, by Lieutenant Jones, to be brought off. Mr. Johnston, on board the *Sea Horse*, had proceeded in the execution of this order. The enemy on the retreat of Jones, despatched three of their barges to capture him; but, unable to effect it, they were driven back. An additional force now proceeded against him; when a smart action commenced, and the assailants were again compelled to retire, with some loss. Johnston, satisfied that it was out of his power successfully to defend himself, and considering it hopeless to attempt uniting, in face of so large a force, with the gun-boats off Malheureux, determined to blow up his vessel, burn the stores, and effect his retreat by land. A prodigious explosion, and flames bursting on his view, assured Jones of the probable step that had been taken. Early on the morning of the 14th, the enemy's barges, lying about nine miles to the east, suddenly weighed their anchors; and, getting under way, proceeded westwardly to the pass, where our gun-boats still lay. The same difficulty they had experienced yesterday was now encountered. Perceiving the approach of the enemy's flotilla, an attempt was made to retreat; but in vain. The wind was entirely lulled, and a perfect calm prevailed; while a strong current, setting to the Gulf, rendered every effort to retire unavailing. No alternative was at hand; but a single course was left;—to meet and fight them.



FORTY-THREE boats, mounting as many cannon, with 1200 chosen men, well armed, constituted the strength of the assailants. Advancing in extended line, they were presently in reach: and, at half after eleven o'clock, commencing a fire, the action soon became general. Owing to a strong current setting out to the east, two of the boats, numbers 156 and 163, were unable to keep their anchorage, and floated about 100 yards in advance of the line. The enemy, coming up with the two gun-boats, and relying on their numbers and supposed superior skill, determined to board. For this purpose, several of their barges bore down on number 156, commanded by Lieutenant Jones, but failed in the attempt; they were repulsed, with an immense destruction, both in their officers and

crew, and two of their boats sunk; one of them, with 180 men, went down, immediately under the stern of number 156. Again rallying, with a stronger force than before, another desperate assault was made, to board, and carry at the point of the sword, which was again repelled, with considerable loss. The contest was now bravely waged, and spiritedly resisted. Lieutenant Jones, unable to keep on deck, from a severe wound he had received, retired, leaving the command with George Parker, who no less valiantly defended his flag, until, severely wounded, he was forced to leave his post. No longer able to maintain the conflict, and overpowered by superior numbers, they yielded the victory, after a contest of 40 minutes, in which every thing was done that gallantry could do, and nothing unperformed that duty required.



HE great disparity of force between the combatants, added to the advantages the enemy derived from the peculiar construction of their boats, which gave them an opportunity to take any position that circumstances and safety directed, while the others lay wholly unmanageable, presents a curious and strange result; that, while the American loss was but six killed, and 35 wounded, that of their assailants was not less than 300.

Resistance on the lakes being at an end, no doubt was entertained, but that the moment for action would be, as early as the enemy could make his preparations to proceed. At what point, at what time, and with a force how greatly superior to our own, were matters wholly resting in uncertainty, and could not be known, until they actually transpired. All the means for opposition were to be seized on, without delay.

Early on the 15th, expresses were sent off, up the coast, in quest of General Coffee; to endeavor to procure information of the Kentucky and Tennessee divisions of riflemen, which it was hoped were not far distant, and to urge their speedy approach. In his communication to Coffee, the general observes, "You must not sleep, until you arrive within striking distance. Your accustomed activity is looked for. Innumerable defiles present themselves, where your riflemen will be all-important. An opportunity is at hand, to reap for yourself and brigade the approbation of your country."

Coffee, having marched 80 miles the last day, encamped, on the night

of the 19th, within fifteen miles of New Orleans, making, in two days, a distance of 150 miles. Continuing his advance, early next morning, he halted within four miles of the city, to examine the state and condition of his arms; and to learn, in case the enemy had landed, the relative position of the two armies.



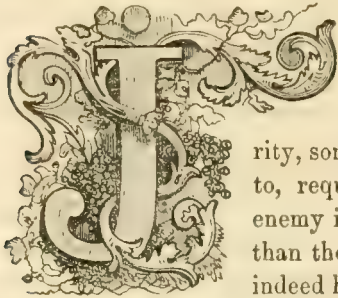
THE advance of Colonel Hinds, from Woodville, with the Mississippi dragoons, was no less prompt and expeditious; an active and brave officer, he was, on this, as on all other occasions, at his post, ready to act as was required. Having received his orders, he hastened forward, and effected, in four days, a march of 230 miles.

On the 16th, Colonel Hynes, aid-de-camp to General Carroll, reached head-quarters, with information from the general, that he would be down, as early as possible; but that the situation of the weather, and high winds, greatly retarded his progress. The steam-boat was immediately put in requisition, and ordered up the river, to aid him in reaching his destination, without loss of time. He was advised of the necessity of hastening rapidly forward; that the lakes were in possession of the enemy, and their arrival daily looked for: "But," continued Jackson, "I am resolved, feeble as my force is, to assail him, on his first landing, and perish, sooner than he shall reach the city."

Independent of a large force, descending with General Carroll, his coming was looked to with additional pleasure, from the circumstance of his having with him a boat, laden with arms, which, destined for the defence of the country, he had overtaken on the passage. His falling in with them was fortunate; for, had their arrival depended on those to whom they had been incautiously given, they might have come too late, and after all danger had subsided; as was indeed the case with others, forwarded from Pittsburg, which, through the unpardonable conduct of those who had been entrusted with their management and transportation, did not reach New Orleans, until after all difficulties had ended. Great inconvenience was sustained, during the siege, for want of arms, to place in the hands of the militia. Great as it was, it would have been increased, even to an alarming extent, but for the accidental circumstance of this boat falling into the hands of the Tennessee division, which impelled it on, and thereby produced incalculable advantage.

While these preparations were in progress to concentrate the forces within his reach, the general was turning his attention to ward off any blow that might be aimed, before his expected reinforcements should

arrive. Every point, capable of being successfully assailed, was receiving such additional strength and security as could be given. Patrols and videttes were ranged through the country, that the earliest intelligence might be had of any intended movement. The militia of the state was called out *en masse*; and, through the interference of the legislature, an embargo declared, to afford an opportunity of procuring additional recruits for the navy. General Villery, because an inhabitant of the country, and best understanding the several points on the lakes, susceptible of, and requiring defence, was ordered, with the Louisiana militia, to search out, and give protection to the different passes, where a landing might be effected.



THOMAS J. JACKSON'S arrangements were well conceived, and rapidly advancing; but they were still insufficient; and his own forebodings assured him, that, to obtain security, something stronger than had yet been resorted to, required to be adopted. That there was an enemy in the midst of his camp, more to be feared than those who were menacing it from abroad, was indeed highly probable; while a well-founded belief that there were many resident foreigners, who, feeling no attachment for the country, and having nothing to defend, would not scruple to avail themselves of every opportunity to give intelligence of the strength, situation, and arrangement of his camp, excited his fears, and induced a wish to apply the earliest possible corrective.

Believing that the emergency of the case required it, he brought to the view of the legislature the propriety and necessity of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*. They proceeded slowly to the investigation, and were deliberating, with great caution, upon their right and power to adopt such a measure; when the general, sensible that procrastination was dangerous, and might defeat the objects intended to be answered, suspended their councils, by declaring the city and environs of New Orleans under martial law.

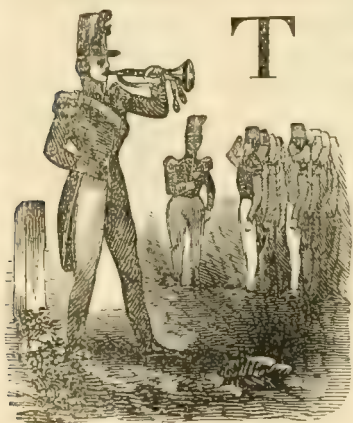
With the exception of the Kentucky troops, which were yet absent, all the forces expected had arrived. General Carroll had reached Coffee's encampment four miles above the city, on the 21st, and had immediately reported to the commanding general. The officers were busily engaged in drilling, manœuvring, and organizing the troops, and in having every thing ready for action, the moment it should become necessary. No doubt was entertained, that the British would be able to effect a landing at some point; the principal thing to be guarded against was not to pre-

vent it; for, since the loss of the gun-boats, any attempt of this kind could only be regarded as hopeless: but, by preserving a constant vigilance, and thereby having the earliest intelligence of their approach, they might be met at the very threshold, and opposed. Small guard-boats were constantly plying on the lakes, to watch, and give information of every movement. Some of these had come in, late on the evening of the 22d, and reported that all was quiet, and that no unfavorable appearance portended in that direction. With such vigilance constantly exercised, it is truly astonishing that the enemy should have effected an invasion, and succeeded in disembarking so large a force, without the slightest intimation being had, until they were accidentally discovered emerging from the swamp and woods, about seven miles below the town: why it so happened, traitors may conjecture, although the truth is yet unknown. The general impression is, that it was through information given by a small party of Spanish fishermen, that so secret a disembarkation was effected. Several of them had settled at the mouth of this bayou, and supported themselves by fish they caught, and vended in the market at New Orleans. Obstructions had been ordered to be made on every inlet, and the Louisiana militia been detached for that purpose. This place had not received the attention its importance merited: nor was it until the 22d, that general Villery, charged with the execution of this order, had placed here a small handful of men. Towards day, the enemy, silently proceeding up the bayou, landed, and succeeded in capturing the whole of this party, but two, who, fleeing to the swamp, endeavored to reach the city; but, owing to the thick undergrowth, and briars, which rendered it almost impervious, they did not arrive, until after the enemy had reached the banks of the Mississippi, and been discovered.

The approach of the enemy, flushed with the hope of easy victory, was announced to Jackson, a little after one o'clock in the afternoon. There were too many reasons, assuring him of the necessity of acting speedily, to hesitate a moment, on the course proper to be pursued. Could he assail them, and obtain even a partial advantage, it might be beneficial—it might arrest disaffection—buoy up the despondent—determine the wavering, and bring within his reach resources for to-morrow, which might wholly fail, should fear once take possession of the public mind. He resolved, at all events, to march, and that night give them battle. Generals Coffee and Carroll were ordered to proceed immediately from their encampment, and join him, with all haste. Although four miles above, they arrived in the city, in less than two hours after the order had been issued. These forces, with the seventh and forty-fourth regiments, the Louisiana troops, and Colonel Hinds' dragoons, constituted the

strength of his army, which could be carried into action against an enemy, whose numbers at this time could only be conjectured. It was thought advisable to leave Carroll and his division behind; for notwithstanding there was no correct information of the force landed through Villery's canal, yet Jackson feared that this might be only a feint, intended to divert his attention, while, in all probability, a much stronger and more numerous division, having already gained some point, higher on the lake, might, by advancing in his absence, gain his rear, and succeed in their views. Uncertain of their movements, it was essential he should be prepared for the worst, and by different dispositions of his troops, be ready to resist, in whatever quarter he might be assailed. Carroll, therefore, at the head of his division, and Governor Claiborne, with the state militia, were directed to take post on the Gentilly road, leading from Chef Menteur to New Orleans, and to defend it to the last extremity.

Colonel Hayne, with two companies of riflemen, and the Mississippi dragoons, was sent forward, to reconnoitre their camp, learn their position and their numbers; and, in the event they should be found advancing, to harass and oppose them at every step, until the main body should arrive.



THE general arrived in view of the enemy, a little before dark. Having previously ascertained, from Colonel Hayne, their position, and that their strength was about 2000 men, he immediately concerted the mode of attack, and hastened to execute it. Commodore Patterson, commanding the naval forces, with Captain Henly, on board the *Caroline*, had been directed to drop down, anchor in front of their line, and open upon them from the guns of the schooner; which being the signal, the attack was to be waged simultaneously on all sides. The

fires from their camp disclosed their position, and showed their encampment, formed with their left resting on the river, and extending at right angles into the open field. General Coffee, with his brigade, Colonel Hinds' dragoons, and Captain Beal's company of riflemen, was ordered to oblique to the left, and, by a circuitous route, avoid their pickets, and endeavor to turn their right wing; having succeeded in this, to form his line, and press the enemy towards the river, where they would be exposed more completely to the fire of the *Caroline*. The rest of the troops, consisting of the regulars, Plauche's city volunteers, Daquin's colored

troops, the artillery under Lieutenant Spoots, supported by a company of marines, commanded by Colonel M'Kee, advanced along the bank of the Mississippi, and were commanded by Jackson in person.



THE enemy's pickets were next the swamp. General Coffee advanced beyond these, and had nearly reached the point to which he had been ordered, when a broadside from the *Caroline* announced the battle begun. Patterson had proceeded slowly, giving time, as he believed, for the execution of those arrangements contemplated on the shore. So sanguine had the British been in the belief that they would be kindly received, and little opposition attempted, that the *Caroline* floated by the sentinels, and anchored before their camp, without any kind of molestation.

On passing the front picket, she was hailed, in a low tone of voice, but returning no answer, no further question was made. This, added to some other attendant circumstances, confirmed the opinion that they believed her a vessel laden with provisions, which had been sent out from New Orleans, and was intended for them. Having reached what, from their fires, appeared to be the centre of their encampment, her anchors were cast, and her character and business disclosed from her guns. So unexpected an attack produced a momentary confusion; but, recovering, they answered her by a discharge of musketry, and flight of congreve rockets, which passed without injury, while her grape and canister were pouring destructively on them. To take away the certainty of aim afforded by the light of their fires, these were immediately extinguished, and they retired 200 or 300 yards into the open field, if not out of reach of the cannon, at least to a distance, where by the darkness of the night they would be protected.

Coffee had dismounted his men, and turned his horses loose, at a large ditch, next the swamp, in the rear of Lorond's plantation, and gained, as he believed, the centre of the enemy's line, when the signal from the *Caroline* reached him. He directly wheeled his columns in, and, extending his line parallel with the river, moved towards their camp. He had scarcely advanced more than 100 yards, when he received a heavy fire, from a line formed in his front: this, to him, was an unexpected circumstance, as he supposed the enemy lying principally at a distance, and that the only opposition he should meet, until he approached

towards the levee, would be from the advanced guards. The circumstance of his coming up with them so soon, was owing to the severe attack of the schooner, which had compelled them to abandon their camp, and form without her reach. The moon shone, but reflected her light too feebly to discover objects at a distance. The only chance, therefore, of producing certain injury, with this kind of force, which consisted chiefly of riflemen, was not to venture at random, but only to discharge their pieces when there was a certainty of felling the object. This order being given, the line pressed on, and having gained a position near enough to distinguish, a general fire was given; it was too severe and destructive to be withstood; the enemy gave way, and retreated,—rallied,—formed,—were charged, and again retreated. These gallant men, led by their brave commander, urged fearlessly on, and drove the foe from every position they attempted to maintain. Their general was under no necessity to encourage and allure them to deeds of valour: his own example was sufficient to excite them. Always in the midst, he displayed a coolness and disregard of danger; calling to his troops that they had often said they could fight—now was the time to prove it.



HE enemy, driven back by the resolute firmness and ardor of their assailants, had now reached a grove of orange trees, with a ditch running past it, protected by a fence on the margin. It was a favorable position, promising security, and was occupied with a confidence that they could not be forced to yield it. Coffee's dauntless yeomanry, strengthened

in their hopes of success, moved on, nor discovered the advantages of the enemy, until a fire from the whole British line showed their defence. A momentary check was given; but, gathering fresh ardor, Coffee charged across the ditch, gave a deadly and destructive fire, and forced them to recede. Their retreat continued, until gaining a similar position, they made another stand, and were again driven from it, with considerable loss.

Thus the battle raged, on the left wing, until the British reached the bank of the river; here a determined stand was made, and further encroachments resisted: for half an hour, the conflict was extremely violent on both sides. The American troops could not be driven from their purpose, nor the British made to yield their ground; but at length, having suffered greatly, the latter were under the necessity of taking

refuge behind the levee, which afforded a breast-work, and protected them from the fatal fire of our riflemen. Coffee, unacquainted with their position, for the darkness had greatly increased, already contemplated again to charge them; but Major Moulton, who had discovered their situation, assured him it was too hazardous; that they could be driven no farther, and would from the point they occupied, resist with the bayonet, and repel, with considerable loss, any attempt to dislodge them. A further apprehension, lest, by moving still nearer to the river, he might expose himself to the fire of the *Caroline*, which was yet spiritedly maintaining the conflict, induced Coffee to retire until he could hear from the commanding general, and receive his further orders.

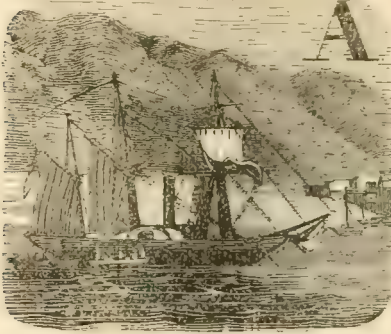


THE right wing, under Jackson, during this time, were no less prompt and active. A detachment of artillery, under Lieutenant Spotts, supported by 60 marines, formed the advance, and had moved down the road, next the levee. On their left was the seventh regiment of infantry, led by Major Piere. The forty-fourth, commanded by Major Baker, was formed on the extreme left; while Plauche's and Daquin's battalions of city guards were directed to be posted in the centre, between the seventh and forty-fourth.

Instead of marching in column from the first position, the troops were wheeled into an extended line, and moved off in this order, except the seventh regiment, next the person of the general, which advanced agreeably to instructions that had been given. Having sufficient ground to form on at first, no inconvenience was at the moment sustained: but this advantage presently failing, the centre was compressed, and forced in the rear. The river, from where

they were, gradually inclined to the left, and diminished the space originally possessed: farther in, stood Lorond's house, surrounded by a grove of clustered orange trees: this pressing the left, and the river the right wing to the centre, formed a curve, which threw the principal part of Plauche's and Daquin's battalions without the line. This might have been remedied, but for the briskness of the advance, and the darkness of the night. A heavy fire from behind a fence, immediately before them, had brought the enemy to view. Acting in obedience to their orders, not to waste their ammunition at random, our troops had pressed forward

against the opposition in their front, and thereby threw those battalions in the rear.



FOG rising from the river, which, added to the smoke from the guns, was covering the plain,—gradually diminishing the little light shed by the moon, and greatly increasing the darkness of the night, no clue was left, to tell how or where the enemy were situated. There was no alternative but to move on, in the direction of their fire, which subjected the assailants to material disadvantages.

The British, driven from their first position, had retired back, and occupied another, behind a deep ditch, that ran out of the Mississippi towards the swamp, on the top of which was a high fence. Here, strengthened by increased numbers, they again opposed the approach of our troops. Having waited, until they had come sufficiently near to be discovered, they discharged, from their fastnesses, a fire upon the advancing army. Instantly our battery was formed, and poured destructively upon them; while the infantry, coming up, aided in the conflict, which was for some time spiritedly maintained. At this moment, a brisk sally was made upon our advance, when the marines, unequal to the assault, were already giving way. The adjutant-general, and Colonels Piatt and Chotard, with a part of the seventh, hastening to their support, drove the enemy, and saved the artillery from capture. General Jackson, perceiving the advantages they derived from their position, ordered their line to be charged. It was obeyed with cheerfulness, and executed with promptness. Pressing on, our troops gained the ditch, and pouring across it a well-aimed fire, compelled them to retreat, and abandon their entrenchment. The plain on which they were contending, was cut to pieces, by races from the river, to convey the water. They were, therefore, very soon enabled to take another situation, equally favorable with the one whence they had been just driven, where they formed for battle, and, for some time, gallantly maintained themselves; but were at length forced to yield it, and retreat.

The enemy, discovering the firm and obstinate resistance made by the right wing of the American army, and perhaps presuming its principal strength was posted on the road, formed the intention of attacking violently the left. Obliquing for this purpose, an attempt was made to turn it. At this moment, Daquin's and the battalion of city guards were

marched up, and, being formed on the left of the forty-fourth, met and repulsed the British assailants.



HE enemy had been thrice assailed and beaten, and made to yield their ground for nearly a mile. They had now retired, and, if found, were to be again sought for through the dark. The general determined to halt, and ascertain Coffee's position and success, previously to waging the battle further, for as yet no communication had passed between them. He entertained no doubt, from the brisk firing in that direction, that Coffee had been warmly engaged; but this had now nearly subsided; the Caroline, too, had almost ceased her operations; it being only occasionally, that the noise of her guns disclosed the little

opportunity she possessed of acting efficiently.

The express despatched to General Jackson, from the left wing, having reached him, he determined to prosecute the successes he had gained, no further. The darkness of the night, the confusion into which his own division had been thrown, and a similar one on the part of Coffee, all pointed to the necessity of retiring from the field, and abandoning the contest. General Coffee was accordingly directed to withdraw, and take a position at Lorond's plantation, where the line had been first formed: and thither the troops on the right were also ordered to be marched.

From the experiment just made, Jackson believed it would be in his power, on renewing the attack, to capture the enemy: he concluded, therefore, to call down General Carroll with his division, and assail him again at the dawn of day. Directing Governor Claiborne to remain at his post, with the Louisiana militia, for the defence of the Gentilly road, he despatched an order to Carroll, in the event there had been no appearance of a force during the night, in the direction of Chef Menteur, to hasten and join him with his command; which order was executed by one o'clock in the morning. Previously, however, to his arrival, a different conclusion was taken.

Although very decided advantages had been obtained, yet they had been procured under circumstances that might not recur, in a contest

waged in open day, between forces so disproportioned, and by undisciplined troops against veteran soldiers. Jackson well knew it was incumbent upon him to act a part entirely defensive: should the attempt to gain and destroy the city succeed, numerous difficulties would arise, which might be avoided, so long as he could hold the enemy in check, and halt him in his designs. Prompted by these considerations,—that it was important to pursue a course calculated to assure safety; and believing it attainable in no way so effectually, as in occupying some point, and by the strength he might give it, make up for the inferiority of his numbers; he determined to forbear all further efforts, until he should more certainly discover the views of the enemy, and until the Kentucky troops should reach him, which had not yet arrived. Pursuing this idea, at four o'clock, having ordered Colonel Hinds to occupy the ground he was then leaving, and to observe the enemy closely, he fell back, and formed his line behind a deep ditch, that ran at right angles from the river.



To present a check, and keep up a show of resistance, detachments of light troops were occasionally kept in front of the line, assailing and harassing the enemy's advanced posts, whenever an opportunity was offered of acting to advantage. Every moment that could be gained, and every delay that could be extended to the enemy's attempts to reach the city, was of the utmost importance. The works were rapidly progressing, and

hourly increasing in strength. The militia of the interior were every day arriving, and every day the prospect of successful opposition was brightening.

The enemy still remained at his first encampment. To be in readiness to repel an assault when attempted, the most active exertions were made on the 24th and 25th. The canal, covering the front of our line, was deepened and widened, and a strong mud wall formed of the earth, that had been originally thrown out. To prevent any approach until his system of defence should be in a state of greater forwardness, Jackson ordered the levee to be cut, about 100 yards below. The river being very high, a broad stream of water passed rapidly through the plain, of the depth of 30 or 40 inches, which prevented any approach of troops on foot. Embrasures were formed, and two pieces of artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Spotts, early on the morning of the 24th, were placed in a position to rake the road leading up the levee.

General Morgan, who, at the English Turn, commanded the fort on the east bank of the river, was instructed to proceed as near the enemy's camp as prudence and safety would permit, and, by destroying the levee, to let in the waters of the Mississippi between them. The execution of this order, and a similar one previously made, below the line of defence, had entirely insulated the enemy, and prevented his march against either place. On the 26th, however, the commanding general, fearing for the situation of Morgan, who, from the British occupying the intermediate ground, was entirely detached from his camp, directed him to abandon his encampment, carry off what cannon might be wanted, and throw the remainder in the river, where they could be again recovered, when the waters receded; to retire to the other side of the river, and, after leaving an adequate force, for the protection of Fort Leon, to take a position on the right bank, nearly opposite to his line, and have it fortified.



So yet the enemy knew nothing of the position of Jackson. What was his situation—what was intended—whether offensive or defensive operations would be pursued, were circumstances on which they possessed no correct knowledge; still, their exertions, to have all things prepared, to urge their designs, whenever the moment for action should arrive, were unremitting. They had been constantly engaged, since their landing, in procuring

from their shipping, every thing necessary for ulterior operations. A complete command on the lakes, and possession of a point on the margin, presented an uninterrupted ingress and egress, and afforded the opportunity of conveying what was wanted, in perfect safety, to their camp. The height of the Mississippi, and the discharge of water through the openings made in the levee, had given an increased depth to the canal, from which they had first debarked—enabled them to advance their boats much further, in the direction of their encampment, and to bring up, with greater convenience, their artillery, bombs and munitions. Thus engaged, during the first three days after their arrival; early on the morning of the 27th, a battery was discovered on the bank of the river, which had been thrown up during the preceding night, and on which were mounted several pieces of heavy ordnance; from it a destructive fire was opened on the Caroline schooner, lying under the opposite shore. Hot shot and bombs were fired at her with such effect that she was speedily set on fire, and her commander, being apprehensive that her magazine might explode, gave orders to abandon her. All her people reached the



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shore in safety, and the gallant little vessel soon after blew up, and was entirely destroyed.

At the moment that the British, in different columns, were moving up, in all the pomp and parade of battle, the batteries opened, and halted their advance. In addition to the two mounted on the works, on the 24th, three other heavy pieces of cannon, obtained from the navy department, had been formed along the line; these opening on the enemy, checked their progress, and disclosed to them the hazard of the project they were on.

From the river the greatest injury was done. Lieutenant Thompson, who commanded the Louisiana sloop, which lay nearly opposite the line of defence, no sooner discovered the columns approaching, than warping her around, he brought her starboard guns to bear, and forced them to retreat: but from their heavy artillery, the enemy maintained the conflict with great spirit, constantly discharging their bombs and rockets, for seven hours, when, unable to make a breach, or silence the sloop, they abandoned a contest, after sustaining a severe loss.

While this advance was made, a column of the enemy was threatening an attack on our extreme left; to frustrate the attempt, Coffee was ordered, with his riflemen, to hasten through the woods, and check their approach. The enemy, although greatly superior to him in numbers, no sooner discovered his movement, than they retired, and abandoned the attack they had previously meditated.

Frequent light skirmishes, by advanced parties, without much effect on either side, were all that took place for several days. Colonel Hinds, at the head of the Mississippi dragoons, on the 30th, was ordered to dislodge a party of the enemy, who, under cover of a ditch that ran across the plain, were annoying our fatigue parties. In his advance, he was unexpectedly thrown between them, and became exposed to the fire of a line, which had hitherto lain concealed and unobserved. His collected conduct, and gallant deportment, gained him and his corps the approbation of the commanding general, and extricated him from the danger he was in. The enemy retired, and he returned to the line, with the loss of five of his men.



THE British were encamped two miles below the American army, on a perfect plain, and in full view. Although foiled in their attempt to carry our works by the force of their batteries, on the 28th, they yet resolved upon another attack, and one which they believed would be more successful. Presuming their failure to have arisen from not having sufficiently strong batteries, and heavy ordnance, a more enlarged arrangement was resorted to, with a confidence of silencing opposition, and effecting such breaches in our entrenchment, as would enable their columns to pass, without being exposed to any considerable hazard. The interim between

the 28th of December and 1st of January, was accordingly spent in preparing to execute their designs. Their boats had been despatched to the shipping, and an additional supply of heavy cannon landed through Bayou Bienvenu, whence they had first debarked.

During the night of the 31st, they were busily engaged. An impenetrable fog, next morning, which was not dispelled until nine o'clock, by concealing their purpose, aided them in the plans they were projecting, and gave time for the completion of their works. This having disappeared, several heavy batteries, at the distance of 600 yards, mounting eighteen and twenty-four pound carronades, were presented to view. No sooner was it sufficiently clear to distinguish objects at a distance, than these were opened, and a tremendous burst of artillery commenced, accompanied with congreve rockets, that filled the air in all directions. Our troops, protected by a defence, which, from their constant labors and

exertions, they believed to be impregnable, unmoved and undisturbed, maintained their ground, and, by their skilful management, in the end, succeeded in dismounting and silencing the guns of the enemy.



THE British again retired to their encampment. It was well understood by Jackson, that they were in daily expectation of considerable reinforcements; though he rested with confidence in the belief, that a few more days would also bring to his assistance the troops from Kentucky. Each of the opposing parties, therefore, was busily and constantly engaged in the task of preparation, the one to wage a vigorous and final attack, the other

bravely to defend, and resolutely to oppose it.

On the 4th of January, the the long-expected reinforcement from Kentucky, amounting to 2250 men, under the command of Major-General Thomas, arrived at head-quarters; but so ill provided with arms, as to be incapable of rendering any considerable service. The alacrity with which the citizens of this state had proceeded to the frontiers, and aided in the northwestern campaigns, added to the disasters which ill-timed policy or misfortune had produced, had created such a drain, that arms were not to be procured. No alternative was presented, but to place them at his entrenchment in the rear; and by the show they might make, add to his appearance and numbers, without at all increasing his strength. Information was now received that Major-General Lambert had joined the British commander-in-chief, with a considerable reinforcement. It had been heretofore announced in the American camp, that additional forces were expected, and something decisive might be looked for, so soon as they should arrive. This circumstance, in connection with others, no less favoring the idea, led to the conclusion that a few days more would, in all probability, bring on the struggle, which would decide the fate of the city.

During the 7th, a constant bustle was perceived in the British camp. Along the borders of the canal, their soldiers were continually in motion, marching and manœuvring, for no other purpose than to conceal those who were busily engaged at work in the rear. To ascertain the cause of this uncommon stir, and learn their designs, as far as was practicable, Commodore Patterson had proceeded down the river, on the opposite side,

and, having gained a favorable position, in front of their encampment, discovered them to be actively engaged in deepening the passage to the river. It was not difficult to divine their purpose. No other conjecture could be entertained than that an assault was intended to be made on the line of defence commanded by General Morgan; which, if gained, would expose our troops on the left bank to the fire of the redoubt erected on the right; and in this way compel them to an abandonment of their position. An increased strength was given to this line. The second regiment of Louisiana militia, and 400 Kentucky troops, were directed to be crossed over, to reinforce and protect it. Owing to some delay and difficulty in arming them, the latter, amounting, instead of 400, to but 180, did not arrive until the morning of the 8th. A little before day, they were despatched to aid an advanced party, who, under the command of Major Arnaut, had been sent to watch the movements of the enemy, and oppose their landing. The hopes indulged from their opposition were not realized; and the enemy, unmolested, reached the shore.



FOR eight days had the two armies lain upon the same field, and in view of each other, without any thing decisive being on either side effected. Twice, since their landing, had the British columns essayed to effect by storm the execution of their plans, and twice had failed—been compelled to relinquish the attempt, and retire from the contest. It was not to be expected that things could long remain in this dubious state. Soldiers, the pride of England,—the boasted conquerors of Europe, were there; distin-

guished generals were their leaders, who earnestly desired to announce to their country, and the world, their signal achievements. The high expectations which had been indulged of the success of this expedition, were to be realized, at every peril, or disgrace would result.

The 8th of January at length arrived. The day dawned; and the signals, intended to produce concert in the enemy's movements, were descried. On the left, near the swamp, a sky-rocket was perceived rising in the air; and presently another ascended from the right, next the river. They announced to each other, that all was prepared and ready, to proceed and carry by storm, a defence which had twice foiled their utmost efforts. Instantly the charge was made, and with such rapidity, that our soldiers, at the outposts, with difficulty fled in.

The British batteries, which had been demolished on the 1st of the

month, had been re-established during the preceding night: and heavy pieces of cannon mounted, to aid in their intended operations. These now opened, and showers of bombs and balls were poured upon our line; while the air was lighted with their congreve rockets. The two divisions, commanded by Sir Edward Packenham in person, and supported by Generals Keane and Gibbs, pressed forward; the right against the centre of General Carroll's command,—the left against our redoubt on the levee. A thick fog, that obscured the morning, enabled them to approach within a short distance of our entrenchment, before they were discovered. They were now perceived advancing, with firm, quick, and steady pace, in column, with a front of sixty or seventy deep. Our troops, who had for some time been in readiness, and waiting their appearance, gave three cheers, and instantly the whole line was lighted with their fire. A burst of artillery and small arms, pouring with destructive aim upon them, mowed down their front, and arrested their advance. In the musketry, there was not a moment's intermission; as one party discharged their pieces, another succeeded; alternately loading and appearing, no pause could be perceived,—it was one continued volley. The columns already perceived their dangerous and exposed situation. Notwithstanding the severity of our fire, which few troops could for a moment have withstood, some of those brave men pressed on, and succeeded in gaining the ditch, in front of our works, where they remained during the action, and were afterwards made prisoners. The horror before them was too great to be withstood; and already were the British troops seen wavering in their determination, and receding from the conflict. At this moment, Sir Edward Packenham, hastening to the front, endeavored to encourage and inspire them with new zeal. His example was of short continuance: he soon fell, mortally wounded, in the arms of his aid-de-camp, not far from our line. Generals Gibbs and Keane also fell, and were borne from the field, dangerously wounded. At this moment, General Lambert, who was advancing at a small distance in the rear, with the reserve, met the columns precipitately retreating, and in great confusion. His efforts to stop them were unavailing; they continued retreating until they reached a ditch, at the distance of 400 yards, where a momentary safety being found, they were rallied, and halted.

The field before them, over which they had advanced, was strewed with the dead and dying. Danger hovered still around; yet, urged and encouraged by their officers, who feared their own disgrace involved in the failure, they again moved to the charge. They were already near enough to deploy, and were endeavoring to do so; but the same constant and unremitted resistance, that caused their first retreat, continued yet

unabated. The batteries had never ceased their fire; their constant discharges of grape and canister, and the fatal aim of the musketry, mowed down the front of the columns, as fast as they could be formed. Satisfied nothing could be done, and that certain destruction awaited all further attempts, they forsook the contest and the field in disorder, leaving it almost entirely covered with the dead and wounded. It was in vain their officers endeavored to animate them to further resistance, and equally vain to attempt coercion. The panic produced from the dreadful repulse they had experienced; the plain, on which they had acted, being covered with innumerable bodies of their countrymen; while, with their most zealous exertions, they had been unable to obtain the slightest advantage, were circumstances well calculated to make even the most submissive soldier oppose the authority that would have controlled him.



THE light companies of fusileers; the forty-third and ninety-third regiments, and 100 men from the West India regiment, led on by Colonel Rennie, were ordered to proceed, under cover of some chimneys, standing in the field, until having cleared them, to oblique to the river, and advance, protected by the levee, against our redoubt on the right. This work, having been but lately commenced, was in an unfinished state. It was not until the 4th, that General Jackson, much against his own opinion, had yielded to the suggestions of others, and permitted its projection; and, considering the plan on which it had been sketched, it had not yet received that strength necessary to its safe defence. The detachment ordered against this place, formed the left of General Keane's command. Rennie executed his orders with great bravery; and, moving forward, arrived at the ditch. His advance was greatly annoyed by Commodore Patterson's battery on the left bank, and the cannon mounted on the redoubt; but, reaching our works, and passing the ditch, Rennie, sword in hand, leaped on the wall, and, calling to his troops, bade them follow; he had scarcely spoken, when he fell, by the fatal aim of our riflemen. Pressed by the impetuosity of superior numbers, who were mounting the wall, and entering at the embrasures, our troops had retired to the line, in rear of the redoubt. A momentary pause ensued, but only to be interrupted with increased horrors. Captain Beal, with the city riflemen, cool and self-possessed, perceiving the enemy in his front, opened upon them, and at every discharge brought the object to the ground. To advance, or maintain the

point gained, was equally impracticable for the enemy: to retreat or surrender was the only alternative; for they already perceived the division on the right thrown into confusion, and hastily leaving the field.



GENERAL JACKSON, being informed of the enemy's success on the right, and their being in possession of the redoubt, pressed forward a reinforcement, to regain it. Previously to its arrival, they had abandoned the attempt, and were retiring. They were severely galled by such of our guns as could be brought to bear. The levee afforded them considerable protection; yet, by Commodore Patterson's redoubt, on the right bank, they suffered greatly. Enfiladed by this, on their advance, they had been greatly annoyed, and now, in their retreat, were no less severely assailed. Numbers found a grave in the ditch, before our line; and of those who gained the redoubt, not one, it is believed, escaped; — they were shot down, as fast as they entered. The route, along which they had advanced and retired, was strewed with bodies. Affrighted at the carnage, they moved from the scene, hastily and in confusion. Our batteries were still continuing the slaughter, and cutting them down at every step: safety seemed only to be attainable, when they should have retired without the range of our shot; which, to troops galled as severely as they were, was too remote a relief. Pressed by this consideration, they fled to the ditch, whither the right division had retreated; and there remained, until night permitted them to retire.

The efforts of the enemy to carry the line of defence on the left, were seconded by an attack on the right bank, with 800 chosen troops, under the command of Colonel Thornton. Owing to the difficulty of passing the boats from the canal to the river, and the strong current of the Mississippi, all the troops destined for this service were not crossed, nor the opposite shore reached for some hours after the expected moment of attack. By the time he had effected a landing, the day had dawned, and the flashes of the guns announced the battle begun. Supported by three gun-boats, he hastened forward, with his command, in the direction of Morgan's entrenchment.

Colonel Thornton having reached an orange grove, about 700 yards distant, halted; and, examining Morgan's line, found it to "consist of a formidable redoubt on the river," with its weakest and most vulnerable point towards the swamp. He directly advanced to the attack, in two divisions, against the extreme right and centre of the line; and having deployed, charged the entrenchment, defended by about 1500 men. A severe discharge, from the field pieces mounted along our works, caused

the right division to oblique, which, uniting with the left, pressed forward to the point occupied by the Kentucky troops. Perceiving themselves thus exposed, and having not yet recovered from the emotions produced by their first retreat, they began to give way, and very soon entirely abandoned their position. The Louisiana militia gave a few fires, and followed the example. Through the exertions of the officers, a momentary halt was effected; but a burst of congreve rockets, falling thickly, and firing the sugar-cane, and other combustibles around, again excited their fears, and they moved hastily away; nor could they be rallied, until, at the distance of two miles, having reached a saw-mill-race, they were formed, and placed in an attitude of defence.



COMMODORE PATTERSON, perceiving the right flank about to be turned, had ceased his destructive fire against the retreating columns on the other shore, and turned his guns to enfilade the enemy next the swamp; but, at the moment when he expected to witness a firm resistance, and was in a situation to co-operate, he beheld those, without whose aid all his efforts were unavailing, suddenly thrown into confusion, and forsaking their posts. Discovering that he could no longer maintain his ground, he spiked his guns, destroyed his ammunition, and retired from a post, where he had rendered the most important services.

The events of this day afford abundant evidence of the liberality of the American soldiers, and show a striking difference in the troops of the two nations. The gallantry of the British soldiers, and no people could have displayed greater, had brought many of them even to the ramparts, where, shot down by our troops, they were lying badly wounded. When the firing had ceased, and the columns had retired, the troops, with generous benevolence, advanced over their lines, to assist and bring in the wounded, which lay under and near the walls; when, strange to tell, the enemy, from the ditch they occupied, opened a fire upon them, and, though at a considerable distance, succeeded in wounding several. The humanity of General Jackson was here displayed in the treatment of the wounded.

A communication, shortly after, from Major-General Lambert, on whom, in consequence of the fall of Generals Packenham, Gibbs, and Keane, the command had devolved, acknowledges having witnessed the kindness of our troops to his wounded. He solicited of General Jackson permission to send an unarmed party, to bury the dead, lying before his lines, and to bring off such as were dangerously wounded. Jackson consented that all lying at a greater distance than 300 yards, should be relieved and the dead buried: those nearer were, by his own men, to be



Jackson relieving the Wounded at New Orleans.

delivered over, to be interred by their countrymen. This precaution was taken that the enemy might not have an opportunity to inspect, or know any thing of his situation.

General Lambert, desirous of administering to the relief of the wounded, and to be relieved from the apprehensions of attack, proposed, about noon, that hostilities should cease, until the same hour the next day. General Jackson, greatly in hopes of being able to secure an important advantage, by his apparent willingness to accede to the proposal, drew up an armistice, and forwarded it to General Lambert, with directions to be immediately returned, if approved. It contained a stipulation, that hostilities, on the left bank of the river, should be discontinued from its ratification, but not on the right; and, in the interim, no reinforcements were to be sent across, by either party. This was a bold stroke at stratagem; and, although it succeeded, even to the extent desired, was yet attended with considerable hazard. But although the armistice contained a request that it should be immediately signed and returned, it was neglected to be acted upon, until the next day; and Thornton and his command, in the interim, under cover of the night, re-crossed, and the ground they occupied was left to be peaceably possessed by the original holders. The opportunity thus afforded, of regaining a position, on which, in a great degree, depended the safety of those on the opposite shore, was accepted with an avidity its importance merited.

General Lambert hastened his preparations for departure from the scene of his disasters, and slowly drew his forces toward the fleet. To cover his retreat, an attack upon Fort St. Philip was made. But that post sustained the severe bombardment and cannonade, and the armament of the enemy sailed away.

The loss of the British army in the attack on New Orleans, including killed, wounded and prisoners, amounted to more than 3000 men; that of the Americans was 55 men killed, 176 wounded and 93 missing. The skill and bravery displayed by General Jackson and his associates, merited the applause of the world. From New Orleans, the whole British fleet proceeded to Mobile Bay, where they took possession of Fort Bowyer, which was garrisoned by 375 men—a number so small as to make resistance hopeless. The further prosecution of their schemes of conquest was arrested, about this time, by the news of peace, which being soon after officially confirmed, the territory of the United States was evacuated by the British.

A treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was definitively agreed upon in December, 1814, arrived in the United States on the 11th of February, and was ratified by the President and Senate on the 17th. The commissioners who conducted the negotiations to the desired issue were, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin on the part of the United States, and Lord Gambier, Henry Goulbourn, and William Adams, on the part of Great Britain. They met at Ghent.



THE parties began with mutual professions of a pacific disposition, after which the commissioners from Britain opened their views. They did not aim at any extension of territory, but merely such an arrangement of boundaries as might conduce to future security. Hence they desired the entire command of the lakes, and beyond them a neutral

Indian territory to serve as a barrier. A more precise and a favorable settlement of the boundary with Maine and Massachusetts was also desired. The present fishing privileges must be abridged, and the right of impressment acknowledged. The Americans replied that they had no authority to yield any portion of territory, and no idea that their government would surrender their position on the lakes, or their claims on the Indian country. To it they looked as the means of national growth; they had purchased a large portion, and hoped soon to acquire the whole. Nor could they agree to any abridgment of the fishery; and instead of acknowledging the right of impressment, were instructed to demand its renunciation, as well as that of extended blockade; likewise compensation

for the injuries sustained by America from these measures. The parties seemed thus very wide of each other; and the Americans transmitted to Washington unfavorable anticipations. It soon appeared, however, that the terms were not meant to be peremptory on either side. In relation to the Indians, the British limited their claim to the including of them in the treaty; and when this was declared incompatible with the States' sovereignty, offered to be satisfied with an agreement that this people should in no shape be molested for the part they had taken in the war. The question of the fishery might be passed over; and in proof of a strong conciliatory spirit, all mention of impressment would be omitted. After these concessions, they proposed the *uti possidetis*, or state of actual possession. The other party having repelled a basis by which they would have lost considerable portions of Maine, were then asked to give in a counter project. They delivered one, proposing the state before the war, the protection of the Indians as desired by Britain, and the reference of the disputed boundary to a friendly power; adding their original demands as to impressment, blockades, and compensation. The project was returned to them with the last three articles expunged, as wholly inadmissible. They had in fact been instructed that these could not now be insisted upon as a *sine qua non*; and therefore, as the other terms were admitted, the treaty was finally agreed to, and signed on the 24th December, 1814. Considering that the failure at New Orleans was not then known, the Americans may be considered as having gained conditions fully as advantageous as they had reason to expect.



TREATY, regulating the commerce between the United States and Great Britain, was signed at London, in July, 1815, and ratified by the President on the 22d of December, and thus peaceful relations were completely established between the two nations. During the late war, the Dey of Algiers, probably incited by the British government, began to commit depredations upon the American commerce in the Mediterranean, plundering vessels and carrying their crews into captivity. The government of the United States was unable to compel reparation, until it had concluded a peace with Great Britain, when war was declared against Algiers. Commodore Decatur was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean, with a squadron consisting of the *Guerriere*, *Constellation* and *Macedonian* frigates, the *Ontario* and *Epervier* sloop-of-war, and the schooners *Spark*, *Spitfire*, *Torch* and

Flambeau. Commodore Bainbridge was to follow, as soon as possible, with another squadron.

On the 17th of June, 1815, Decatur's squadron fell in with, and captured after an obstinate struggle, the Algerine frigate *Mazouda*, killing 30 men, including Admiral Hammida, and taking 406 prisoners. Proceeding to cruise in the Mediterranean, Decatur, on the 19th, captured an Algerine brig of 22 guns. On the 28th, he arrived in the harbor of Algiers, and so surprised and overawed the Dey by his force and the fame of his deeds, that he was induced, on the 30th, to sign a treaty of peace and amity with the United States. By this treaty, the Dey agreed to waive the tribute he had demanded from American vessels; to give up all American prisoners without ransom, and to make compensation for property taken or destroyed. Decatur returned the vessel he had captured, to the Dey. He then proceeded to Tunis, where he demanded and readily obtained compensation for two American prizes which had been taken by a British vessel of war, while under the protection of the Bey. From Tunis, Decatur sailed to Tripoli, at which place he arrived on the 5th of August. He made the same demands of the Bashaw—which he had made at Algiers and Tunis, and with the same success. He soon after relinquished his command to Commodore Bainbridge. That officer succeeded in making every arrangement for the security of American commerce in the Mediterranean, and satisfying the demands of the honor and interest of his country.

The rapid growth and prosperity of the republic was indicated among other things by the formation of the territory of Indiana into a State, and its admission into the Union, in 1816; the progress of canals in various states; the institution of a national bank, with a charter of twenty years; and the arrival of many thousands of emigrants, chiefly from Great Britain. The war with that great empire had demonstrated the power, the capability, and the stability of the Union. In 1816, Mr. Madison's second term of office being about to expire, James Monroe was elected to succeed him, and entered upon the duties of his office, March 4th 1817. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, was chosen to the office of Vice-President.





JAMES MONROE.



CHAPTER XLIX.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.



RESIDENT MONROE, in his inaugural address, spoke of the evidences of the increasing prosperity of the country, and the means of maintaining the Union safe from the designs of ambitious men. The policy of the administration differed, in no respect, from that of Madison's. Mr. Monroe had been a strenuous supporter of the political doctrines of Jefferson, and, with but few exceptions, he now excluded federalists from office.

In 1817, Mississippi was admitted into the Union. In the summer of the same year, the President made a tour through the Northern States, being everywhere welcomed with the warmest demonstrations of a sovereign people. The depredations of a party of smugglers in the Gulf of Mexico, was the first matter of importance that awakened the attention of the government. The smugglers under the command of one Aury, seized upon Amelia Island, which was made their rendezvous. Their conduct becoming outrageous, the executive resolved to employ force to suppress them. The ship-of-war John Adams, with a battalion of artillery, was ordered to expel the intruders from the island. On the 23d of December, the forces came into quiet possession of it; Aury and his party left in February.

Before the end of the year, General Jackson was ordered to march against the Seminole Indians, who had, for some time, been committing

depredations in the southern part of Georgia. The border region was under the immediate command of General Gaines, who had built Fort Scott, Fort Gaines, and Fort Crawford, at different favorable positions. Jackson proceeded to organize his army, which consisted of 4300 men. Marching was the only active service performed by the Americans, and Jackson denominated the expedition a "war of movements." Hitherto the general had been prohibited from crossing the boundary of the Spanish possessions. But an attack upon a party of wounded soldiers, and women, proceeding under the conduct of Lieutenant Scott, and the massacre of most of them, induced the executive to give Jackson ample and general powers of action. He marched to the Spanish fort at St. Marks, of which he took possession, sending the Spanish garrison to Pensacola. Here he captured a Scotch trader, named Arbuthnot, accused of instigating the Indians to hostilities, and hung two Indian chiefs. Soon afterwards, Jackson captured Robert C. Ambrister, a British officer. This man and Arbuthnot were tried for charges never clearly ascertained, found guilty, and executed on the same day. This summary proceeding, in the territory of a friendly power, caused a great sensation throughout the United States. But as General Jackson was ably defended by John Quincy Adams and others in Congress, he was acquitted of all blame. After this transaction, Jackson marched to Pensacola, to arrest some fugitive Seminoles. The Spanish governor remonstrated against this movement; but the general entered the town, and the governor and garrison took refuge in the fortress of Barancas. After a three days' bombardment, the place surrendered. General Gaines captured St. Augustine, and then the territory was in the military possession of the United States.

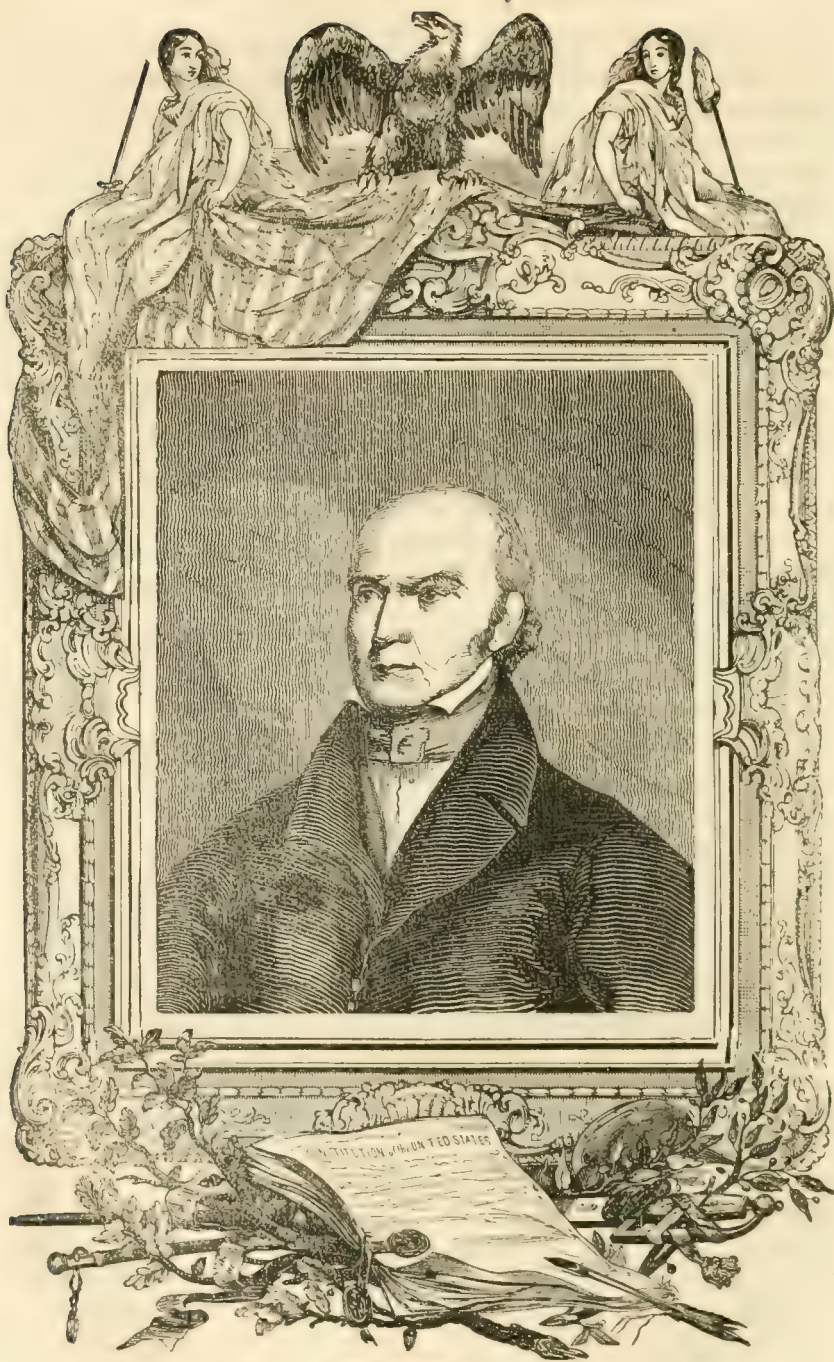
Congress re-assembled on the 15th of November, 1818. During this session, much important business was transacted. Illinois was admitted into the Union as a State. On the 22d of February, 1819, a treaty was concluded between Spain and the United States, by which Florida was ceded to the latter country. In October of the same year, a treaty was concluded with Great Britain, by which the securities of peace were much strengthened.

The sixteenth Congress assembled on the 6th of December. The great subjects of the tariff, bank, and improvements, were fully and ably discussed. After these, the question respecting the admission of Missouri as a slave State arose, and for a while threatened the dissolution of the Union itself. It was settled by a compromise in 1821. On the 5th of March, 1821, Mr. Monroe was again inaugurated President of the United States, having been elected by a large majority. Daniel

D. Tompkins was chosen Vice-President. A convention of navigation and commerce was concluded between our country and France, in 1822. In the next year, Congress passed resolutions, providing for the protection of home industry and for internal improvements. From this time until the end of the administration, no measures of general interest were adopted by that body.

The choice of a successor to Mr. Monroe now became the absorbing national event. The principal candidates were General Andrew Jackson, John Q. Adams, William H. Crawford and Henry Clay. Although Jackson had the highest number of votes in the electoral college, there was no choice, and the election was referred to the House of Representatives. In that body, Mr. Adams received the votes of thirteen states, on the first ballot, and was declared elected. John C. Calhoun became Vice-President. The last year of Mr. Monroe's administration was signalized by the visit to the United States of the Marquis de Lafayette, their enthusiastic friend in the Revolutionary War. He was everywhere received in a manner worthy of a grateful people and his great services.





JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.



CHAPTER L.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.



MR. ADAMS was inaugurated, March 4th, 1825. His inaugural address was greatly eulogised in Europe as well as in America, for its enlarged views and eloquent expression. In his first message, Mr. Adams expressed his entire approbation of the general features of the policy of his predecessor, and avowed his determination to adhere to it in as great a degree as was consistent with the varying phases of future events. Henry Clay was appointed Secretary of State.

One of the prominent topics of public interest during the year 1825, was the controversy between the national government and the executive of Georgia, concerning the removal of the Creek Indians. During the last year of Mr. Monroe's administration, a portion of the Creeks had signed a treaty, agreeing to sell their lands to the United States. The majority of the tribe were opposed to the sale, and the prominent signers of the instrument were put to death by them. Governor Troup now demanded that the government of the United States should enforce the execution of the treaty. This Mr. Adams refused to do, satisfied that it had not been properly and justly concluded. His firm tone overawed

the clamorous executive of Georgia, and the matter was soon after settled by compromise.



THE Marquis de Lafayette had now spent a year in America. During that time, he had visited all the principal cities. He was present at the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill monument, where he listened to an eloquent address from the mouth of Daniel Webster. On his departure from Washington, 7th of September, the President expressed to him the happiness the nation had experienced in receiving such a guest; its attachment to him; the grateful remembrance of his valuable services; and in behalf of the nation, he bade him an affectionate adieu. A new frigate, named the Brandywine, in memory of the battle in which Lafayette was wounded, was deputed by government to convey him to his native land, where he was followed by the benedictions of thousands, who would gladly have detained him in America.

The Congress which assembled this year, was composed of elements inconsistent with harmony and entirely opposed to the administration from personal motives. Mr. Adams was sustained by the Senate. In the course of the year, a treaty of commerce was concluded between the United States and Colombia. In the following year, important commercial treaties were concluded with Denmark and the republics of South America.

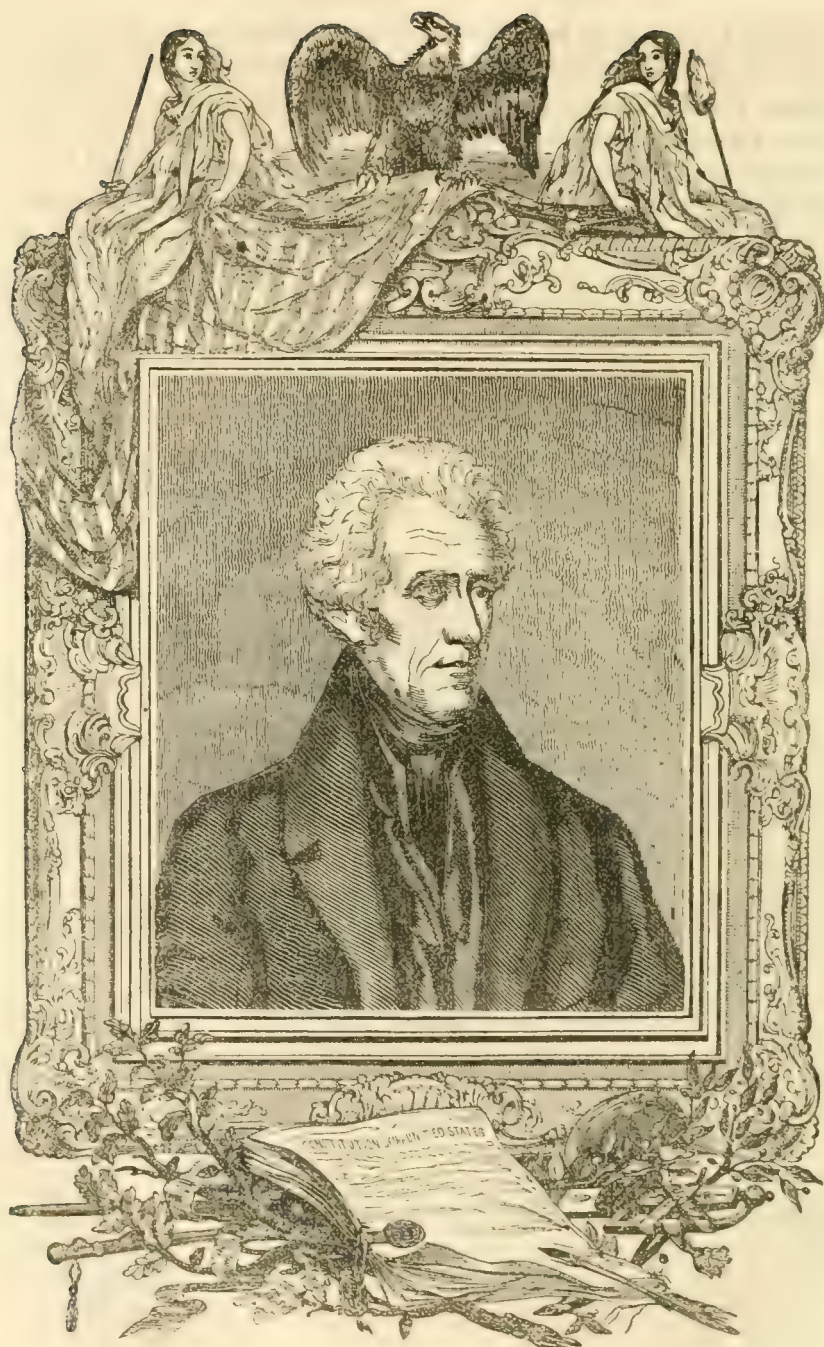
On the 4th of July, 1826, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson closed their eventful careers, the one 91 years of age, and the other 83. The death of these two men—main pillars of their country's independence in the "trying time"—on the same day, and just a half century after signing the Declaration of Independence, is one of the most striking coincidences in our national history.

In 1828, Congress passed a bill imposing duties on imports, the rates being graduated with a view to the encouragement of domestic manufactures. The measure excited much and bitter discussion, and threats of disunion were uttered by the politicians of the South. The law, however, continued in force.

The presidential contest occurred in the fall of 1828, and excited a party feeling unprecedented in American affairs. The most strenuous

exertions were made by both parties. General Jackson received a large majority of the electoral votes cast for President, and Mr. Calhoun became Vice-President. The final message of Mr. Adams was an able paper, reviewing the affairs of the country. His political principles were clearly defined. Upon the subject of the tariff he said he hoped "that the exercise of a constitutional power intended to protect the great interests of the country from hostile foreign legislation would never be abandoned."



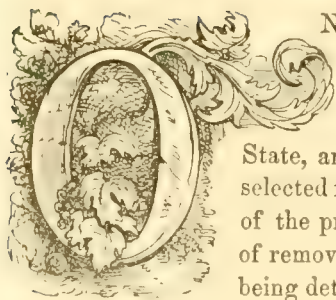


ANDREW JACKSON.



CHAPTER LI.

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.



ON the 4th of March, 1829, General Andrew Jackson entered on his duties as President of the United States. Martin Van Buren, of New York, was appointed Secretary of State, and the other members of the cabinet were selected from among the most distinguished opponents of the preceding administration. A general system of removal from office was commenced, the President being determined on a general removal of his political opponents. The administration was denounced, as pursuing a course contrary to the spirit of the institutions of the country — proscribing all who did not agree with him in his political opinions. The policy of the administration in regard to the tariff and internal improvements, was understood to be similar to that of the preceding ones, but on the question of the currency—the existence of the national bank, it was known to be essentially different. In his first message, the President recommended several amendments to the Constitution, which Congress neglected to consider, and it was soon apparent that there was a want of harmony between the President, his cabinet, and many of those who aided him in reaching his high office.

In the congressional debates of 1829, the advocates of nullification, who had been gradually gaining strength in consequence of the neglect

of their opponents, sustained a complete defeat. The principal advocate on the side of the Union was Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. His adversary was Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina. The legislature of South Carolina protested against the passage of a new protective tariff. But no resort was had to more violent measures. By an act of Congress, in May, 1830, a provision was made for reviving the trade with the British ports in the West India Islands, which had long been prevented by the measures of the British government.



WHEN President Jackson came into power, a majority in Congress were his friends and fully intended to support his administration. But the extraordinary character of his measures, and the difficulties which occurred between himself and prominent statesmen, alienated the larger portion of them, and he now could command but a small and inefficient minority. In consequence of some misunderstanding of the designs of the President, the members of the cabinet tendered their resignations. In the summer of 1831, the cabinet was re-organized. Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, was appointed Secretary of State. This cabinet was much superior to the former one in talent and energy.

In December, 1831, the directors of the United States Bank applied to Congress for a new charter, the term of their former one being about to expire. The bill for that purpose passed both houses of Congress; but the President returned it with his veto, and the Senate refusing to reconsider it, the bill was lost. The President's course of action excited much violent discussion in every part of the United States. He was applauded by the majority of those who had no interest in the existence of the bank.

In the latter part of 1832, the legislature of South Carolina took measures for resisting the execution of the new tariff law within the limits of that State. This brought matters to a crisis. The President issued a proclamation, plainly and forcibly stating the nature of the American confederacy and the supremacy of the federal authorities, and expressing his determination to execute the laws at all hazards.

The foreign relations of the country were conducted with ability and energy by President Jackson. Treaties were concluded and ratified with the government of Mexico, and a treaty between the United States and France, respecting claims for depredations on American commerce, was signed at Paris, in July, 1831. Treaties were also concluded with Austria, Naples, and Turkey. The manner in which the government conducted

affairs abroad and at home, was calculated to make it popular, in spite of the clamorous opposition of the moneyed interest.

President Jackson had formerly expressed himself in favor of one presidential term, but his friends now persuaded him to accept the nomination for a second. Martin Van Buren was nominated as the candidate of the same party for the vice-presidency. Henry Clay and John Sergeant were the principal opposition candidates. General Jackson received a large majority of votes in the electoral college, as did Martin Van Buren.



THE second session of the twenty-second Congress commenced in December, 1832. On the 28th of December, John C. Calhoun resigned the office of Vice-President and was elected a Senator from South Carolina in place of Mr. Hayne. The exciting discussions in regard to the tariff and nullification were renewed in Congress.

The legislatures of several Southern States adopted resolutions disapproving of nullification, but condemning the protective tariff as unconstitutional. South Carolina was almost unsupported in her clamorous opposition to the power of the general government. In that State, munitions of war were provided and a single spark only was necessary to kindle the blaze of civil war. Fortunately, a compromise bill was passed by Congress, and a collision between the general and State governments prevented.

The second presidential term of General Jackson commenced on the 4th of March, 1833. At first it seemed as if this second term was to be as tranquil as the former one had been turbulent. But the removal of the government deposits from the bank of the United States by order of the President was a new cause of excitement. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Duane, had refused to perform this service without the sanction of Congress. He was removed, and Roger B. Taney being appointed in his place, the demand of the President was satisfied. The hostility of the government to the bank induced the directors to adopt a general system of retrenchment from which much commercial distress ensued.

The administration was supported by a majority in the House of Representatives, but could command only a minority vote in the Senate. The removal of the deposits was censured in the lower house, and a somewhat angry correspondence ensued between the President and that body. In June, 1834, several changes were made in the cabinet. John Forsyth, of Georgia, became Secretary of State, Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey,



General Clinch.

Secretary of the Navy, and Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, Secretary of the Treasury.

At the first session of the 23d Congress, various acts for internal improvements were passed, together with one regulating the coinage of gold. The State elections evinced that the administration had lost much of its strength, but its friends, known by the party name of "Democrats," were still numerous and active. On the 19th of July, a party of Seminole Indians crossed their bounds, near the Hogstown settlement, for the purpose of hunting. They separated, and agreed to meet on a certain day. On that day five of them were met together, when a party of white men came by, and commenced flogging them with their whips. Two other Indians came up and fired upon the whites, who returned the fire. Three whites were wounded, and one Indian killed and one wounded. On the 6th of August, Dalton, a mail-carrier, was murdered, and the Indians refused to deliver up the murderers. In September, a party of Mickasuckees, headed by Osceola, waylaid and shot Charley Omatha, a powerful friendly chief. General Clinch, who commanded a small force in this section of country, now commenced operations against the Indians.



Pursuit of the Florida Indians.

On the 24th of December, 1835, a force of 100 men, and eight officers, with a field-piece under the command of Major Dade, commenced their march. On the morning of the 18th, when it had proceeded four miles from the encampment of the previous night, this force was attacked by the Indians, whose first volley was very destructive, Major Dade with almost every man of the advanced guard falling dead. The Indians were repelled by the troops under Captain Gardner, upon whom the command then devolved, and the Americans proceeded to throw up breastworks; but before they could raise them high enough for efficient protection, the Indians attacked them again. The Americans brought their field-piece into play, but the breastworks not being high enough, the Indians shot down every man that attempted to work the gun. All the officers, and more than two-thirds of the American troops had fallen, when the survivors found that all their ammunition was expended. The Indians, perceiving this, rushed in, and, with the exception of two men, who, although severely wounded, contrived to conceal themselves, and ultimately to make their escape; not one of the whole detachment was spared. The force of the Indians is supposed to have amounted to from 350 to 400. The contest lasted six hours; and it must be admitted that nothing could be more gallant than the defence which was made by the troops against such a superior force. On the afternoon of the same day, the Americans had to lament the loss of General Thompson, the Indian agent at Fort King. Imprudently strolling out about 300 yards from the fort, he was attacked by the Indians, who laid in ambush for him, and with Lieutenant Smith and three other people belonging to the fort, was shot dead. This party of Indians was headed by Osceola, who warned General



Destruction of Major Dade's Detachment.

Thompson that the white men should suffer for their treatment of him. His peculiar and shrill war-yell was given as the Indian party retreated, to let the whites know to whom they were indebted for the massacre.

General Clinch having been reinforced at Fort Brooke, where he had 200 regular troops, with 500 volunteers under the command of General Call, now moved with the whole force of 700 men. On the 30th of December, as they were passing the Ouithlacoochee River, the Indians watched their opportunity, and when a portion of the troops had gained the opposite side, commenced an attack, which was vigorously and successfully resisted; the Indians, in little more than an hour, were beaten off. The battle was, however, severe, and the Americans sustained a loss of 63 killed and wounded. The Indian force is supposed to have amounted to 700 men.

But independent of these conflicts with the militia and regulars, the ravages of the Indians over the whole country are stated to have been most fearful. Women and children were murdered, and the hearth made desolate in every portion of the country. In the more settled parts near St. Augustine, the sugar-cane plantations, with the expensive works attached to them, were destroyed, and in many cases the slaves who were on the plantations were either carried off, or voluntarily joining the Indians, increased the strength of the enemy. More than 100 estates were thus laid waste, the average loss upon each estate, being computed, independent of the loss of the negroes, at \$50,000.

On the 13th February, 1836, General Gaines, having arrived at Fort



Micanope.

Brooke, reviewed the force, which amounted to between 1100 and 1200 men, and commenced his march to relieve Fort King, at which post he arrived on the 2d February, without falling in with any of the Indians. The general then made a detour in pursuit of the enemy. On the 27th, when the force was crossing the Ouithlacoochee River, it was assailed by the Indians, under Micanope, who retired after a skirmish of three-quarters of an hour, the Americans' loss being very trifling. On the 28th, when again fording the river, the Indians made another attack, which was continued for nearly four hours, and the Americans had to lament the loss of Major Izard, who was killed, and two other officers were also wounded. On the 20th, the Indians again attacked, with a force of at least 1000 men, with a view of forcing the American troops from the breastwork which they had thrown up; the Indians, after about two hours' fighting, set fire to the high grass; but unfortunately for them, the wind suddenly changed, and, instead of burning out the American troops, all their own concealed positions were burnt up and exposed, and they were compelled to retire. The loss on the Indian side was not known, but supposed to be heavy; that on the part of the Americans amounted to 32 killed and wounded.

On the evening of the 5th of March, the Indian interpreter came in

from the Seminoles, stating that they wished to hold a council, and did not want any more fighting. On the 6th a truce was held, when Osceola and other chiefs made their appearance, saying that if the Americans would not cross the river, they would remain on their own side of it, and not commit any more ravages. This was in fact nothing but the original proposal of the Indians, that they should remain upon the land which had been assigned to them at the treaty of Camp Moultrie. The reply of General Gaines was that he was not authorized to make a treaty with them; their arms must be given up, and they must remain on the other side of the river, until the American government sent them away west of the Mississippi.

General Gaines, who had heard that General Scott had been appointed to the command in Florida, now resigned that authority to General Clarke, and on the 11th the troops arrived at Fort Drane. It hardly need be observed that the treating with the Indians ended with nothing. General Scott, having assumed the command, arrived at Fort Drane on the 13th March, 1836. He had previously to contend with heavy rains and almost impracticable roads, and was encumbered with a heavy baggage train; his whole force amounted to nearly 5000 men. This he divided into a centre and two wings, so as to scour the whole country, and force the Indians from their retreat; but in vain. The Indians being on the flanks of each division, occasional skirmishes took place; but when the troops arrived at the place where the Indians were supposed to be, not a man was to be seen, nor could they discover the retreat of their families. Occasionally the Indians attacked the outposts with great vigor, and were bravely repulsed; but the whole army of 5000 men did not kill or capture more than 20 Indians.

During a portion of this administration, an Indian war raged on the northwestern frontier, in which the famous chief Black Hawk was the principal actor. The difficulty grew out of a treaty made with the Indians at Prairie-du-Chien, in 1823. An article in this treaty provided that any of the Five Nations concerned in it, visiting the United States, should be protected from all insults by the garrison. Notwithstanding this, in the summer of 1827, a party of 24 Chippeways on a visit to Fort Snelling, were fallen upon by a band of Sioux, who killed and wounded eight of them. The commandant of the fort captured four of the Sioux, and delivered them into the hands of the Chippeways, who immediately shot them. Red Bird, the Sioux chief, repaired to Prairie-du-Chien with three companions, desperate as himself, about the first of July, and there killed two persons, wounded a third, and without taking plunder, retired to Bad-axe river. Here, soon after, he waylaid two keel-boats that had



Black Hawk.

been conveying some Missionaries to Fort Snelling, in one of which, two persons were killed, the others escaped with little injury.

Not long after, General Atkinson marched into the Winnebago country, and captured some hostile Winnebagoes and Red Bird, who died soon after in prison. The Indians, who were imprisoned for the murder at Prairie-du-Chien, were discharged, and Black Hawk and two others, who had been imprisoned for the attack on the boats, before mentioned, were also discharged.

The foregoing account shows that Black Hawk was imprisoned on suspicion, perhaps justly, but this was not his sole cause of complaint. His friend Red Bird had died in prison. Indians were executed for murdering whites, but it did not appear that whites were treated in like manner for murdering Indians. These causes had long been producing a feeling of

disaffection among the northern and western tribes. Hence, it is not singular that the whites of the frontier of Illinois believed the Indians, from Canada to Mexico, more hostile than at any period since the war of 1812.

The Sacs, who had served Great Britain against the Americans, were the most conspicuous in their enmity. This band of Sacs rendezvoused at their chief village on the Mississippi, where they had collected such of their neighbors as wished to engage in the war.



GENERAL GAINES marched to, and possessed himself of this village, on the 26th of June. This he did without opposition, for when the Indians discovered the army, they fled across the river, and displayed a flag for parley. Meantime, their associates had abandoned them, and the Sacs were left to manage affairs in the best manner they could. They, therefore, made peace with due submission, and General Gaines was of opinion they were as completely humbled as if they had been

chastised in battle, and were less disposed to disturb the frontier than if that event had taken place. Previous to this, he had declared his belief that whatever might be their hostile feelings, they would abstain from the use of tomahawks and fire-arms, except in self-defence.

About the same time, a difficulty seems to have arisen between the Sacs and Menominies, in which 28 of the latter had been murdered. Agreeably to an article of the treaty before mentioned, the United States obliged themselves to interpose between these and other western tribes, in cases of trouble. But these murders were not all the Sacs had done. They had re-crossed the Mississippi, and occupied the country on its east bank, which they had the year before ceded to the United States.

Black Hawk was the alleged leader in both cases. Therefore, General Atkinson set out on an expedition, hoping to make prisoner of Black Hawk, who was said to be the fomentor of all these disturbances. It was also alleged that he had little respect for treaties, and that he had, in former negotiations, so far overreached our commissioners, as to make peace on his own terms. This is the first acknowledgment of that chief's talents in matters of diplomacy.

General Atkinson was at a place on Rock River called Dixon's Ferry,

May 15th, when he received news, that a force which had marched to Sycamore Creek, 30 miles in advance of him, had met with a total defeat. This detachment had been sent forward on account of the great number of murders which had been committed in that vicinity. Among the sufferers in that neighborhood, were the family of a Mr. Hall, whose fate had created much sympathy; his two daughters, one eighteen, and the other sixteen, having been carried into captivity, after having seen their mother tomahawked and scalped, and twenty others murdered in the same way at Indian Creek. These young women were humanely treated during their captivity, and afterwards restored to their friends.



THE force that marched to Sycamore Creek, was about 275 strong, under the command of Major Stillman. When the news of the massacre at Indian Creek arrived, they obtained leave of General Whitesides, to march to the scene of murder. On Monday, the 14th of May, they came upon a few Indians, whether enemies or not, it is not probable they inquired, for their

march was that of revenge; therefore two of them were shot, and two more captured. The same day, at evening, when the army had arrived at a convenient place to encamp, and were making some preparations for that purpose, a small band of Indians was discovered bearing a white flag. One company of men went out to meet them, but soon discovered they were only a decoy. How they ascertained this fact, we are not informed. This company of discoverers, therefore fell back upon the main body, which, by this time, had remounted, and as strange as it is true, this misguided band rushed forward, regardless of all order for several miles, till they crossed Sycamore Creek, and were completely in the power of the Indians. What follows, equals a similar affair at Pawtucket. The Americans had crossed the creek man by man, as they came to it, and all the Indians had to do, was to wait till a goodly number had come within their grasp. It was moonlight when the fight began, and after a few struggles, the whites fled in greater disorder, if possible, than they came. The Indians, after making the onset with their guns, fell on them with knives and tomahawks, and had not the night, and situation of the country, favored their flight, nearly all the army must have been cut off.

The Indians were supposed to be nearly 2000 strong, and it was said twelve of them were killed. Of the whites, only thirteen are reported

killed. Their flight equalled that of General St. Clair's army. Fourteen hundred men, immediately after, marched to the scene of action to bury the dead, and their account of the barbarities committed on the bodies of the slain, quite equals any thing before recounted.

The cholera, the following July, raged among the troops opposed to the Indians, so severely that several companies were entirely broken up, and many among them perished, in a manner too revolting to be described. Of one corps of 208 men, but nine were left alive. General Dodge surprised a party of twelve Indians at Galena, and cut them off to a man; the whites scalped the slain, that they might not be outdone in these, or any other barbarities, by their foes. Black Hawk assembled his forces, at a point between Rock and Ouisconsin Rivers, where he expected to meet the whites in a general battle. His warriors amounted to 1000 or more. General Atkinson had nearly double that number of men, and resolved to meet him as soon as possible. Great hopes were entertained, that in such an event, a finishing blow would be put to the war. But Black Hawk was too wary, thus to expose himself to utter and irretrievable ruin, and accordingly made good his retreat into an interminable wilderness.



GENERAL ATKINSON made his way to Cashkoning, through woods, swamps and defiles, almost impassable, and constantly exposed to the danger of an ambuscade. On his arrival at this place, he was, apparently, no nearer his enemy, than at the commencement of this perilous march. Indeed, fair open battle, seemed to be a most unlikely thing to invite Black Hawk, as his numbers were greatly inferior to the Americans. Therefore, no hope of bringing him to terms, seemed left, unless it could be effected by some stratagem.

While General Atkinson was making this fruitless march, General Dodge was about 40 miles from Fort Winnebago, following the trail of some Indians, who proved to be a flying, and nearly starved band, capable of offering little or no resistance. But, as they were attacked in the evening after, sixteen were butchered; the rest escaped. To form some idea of their sad condition, we have only to read the accounts of the American commander to the War Department, in which he states, that they found many dead, as they marched along, very much emaciated, and having died, evidently, of starvation.

It became a matter of question to the two commanders where they

should seek their enemy. From the supposition that they might have descended the Ouisconsin, and so escaped across the Mississippi, that way; General Dodge recommended a cannon should be placed on the river to cut them off; and General Atkinson marched for the Blue Mounds, with an army, consisting of regular troops and mounted men, to the number of 1600.

The steam-boat *Warrior* was soon after sent up the Mississippi, with a small force on board, in hopes they might somewhere discover the savages. Upon the arrival of the boat at *Prairie-du-Chien*, the last of July, she was despatched to *Wapashaw* village, 120 miles higher on the river, to inform the inhabitants of the approach of the Sacs, and to order all the friendly Indians down to *Prairie-du-Chien*. On the return of the steam-boat, they met one of the Sioux bands, who told them their enemies were encamped on *Bad-axe* River to the number of 400. The *Warrior* here stopped to take in some wood and prepare for action. They discovered the enemy about four o'clock on the afternoon of the 1st of August, who, as they approached, raised a white flag, which being looked upon as a decoy, no attention was paid to it. They declined sending a boat on board when ordered.



AFTER giving them a few minutes to remove their women and children, (a piece of courtesy somewhat rare in our border wars,) the boat fired a six-pounder, loaded with cannister, and followed by a severe fire of musketry. The battle continued for about an hour, when she weighed anchor and proceeded to *Prairie-du-Chieu*. Twenty-three

Indians were killed and many wounded. The Americans lost none. Before the steam-boat could return to the battle-field, next morning, General Atkinson and his army had engaged the Indians.

The *Warrior* joined the contest; the army this day lost eight or nine killed, and seventeen wounded, whom the *Warrior* took to *Prairie-du-Chien* at night, and also, captives to the number of 36, women and children. The spot where this battle took place was about 40 miles above *Prairie-du-Chien*, on the north side of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Iowa. It was very fortunate for the whites, that they were able to co-operate on land and water at the same time.

General Atkinson having formed a junction with General Dodge, the army crossed the Ouisconsin on the 28th of July, and soon after discovered the route of the Indians, who were flying from the scene of action. The country through which the army had to march, was a continual series of mountains, covered with a thick growth of heavy timber, and much underwood. The valleys were so deep as to make them almost

as difficult to cross; but nothing could damp the ardor of the troops as they pressed on to overtake Black Hawk, before he should be able to escape across the Mississippi.

The place where the Indians were overtaken, was very favorable for them, as may be judged by their being able to maintain a battle of more than three hours, in the wretched and nearly famished condition they were in, and when their whole force only amounted to 300 warriors. They were discovered in a deep ravine at the foot of a precipice, over which the army had to pass. Notwithstanding the misery of their condition, nothing but the bayonet's point routed them. Old logs, high grass, and large trees covered them until the charge was made, and as they were driven from one covert, they readily found another, and thus protracted the contest. At length, General Atkinson disposed his forces so as to come upon them from above, below, and in the centre. No chance now remained to the Indians, but to swim the Mississippi, or elude the vigilance of their enemy by land, who had nearly encompassed them. Many therefore adventured to cross the river; but as the slaughter was greatest there, few escaped. However, a considerable number succeeded in escaping by land. One hundred and fifty of them were supposed to have been killed in this battle.



BLACK HAWK was among those who escaped, but in such haste as to leave even his papers behind him, one of which was a certificate from British officers, that he had served faithfully, and fought valiantly for them, in the late war against the United States. The prisoners taken at this battle, stated that at the one which occurred at Ouisconsin, between their army and that under the command of General Dodge, they lost 68, besides many wounded.

It was now believed the Sacs would be glad to make peace on any terms. Accordingly, General Atkinson determined to order Keokuk to demand a surrender of the remaining principal men of the hostile party. From the battle-ground, the commanders went down the river to Prairie-du-Chien (Fort Crawford), in the Warrior, and the army followed by land. On their way they killed and captured a few Sacs.

The desperate fortunes of the hostile Indians, induced many of their countrymen to volunteer to hunt them down. One hundred Sioux obtained permission to seek them, and were followed by a small band of the same nation; they overtook the enemy, and killed about 120. About this

time, Keokuk, the friendly Sac chief, above mentioned, found a nephew of his had been accused of the murder of a man named Martin; he gave him up to be dealt with according to the proof of his crime, which took place in Warren County, Illinois.

Black Hawk, hunted like the wild deer of the forest, from place to place, after many wanderings and much suffering, was at last captured, and delivered up to General Street at Prairie-du-Chien. His companion in his flight and captivity was the Prophet. They showed a proper sense of self-respect by appearing before the commander in full dress, which consisted of tanned white deer-skin. One of the Winnebagoes who captured them, delivered a speech on the occasion to General Street, desiring the fulfilment of the promises made to those who should capture and bring alive these men into the hands of the whites.



II N reply to this speech, the general said, that he wished the captors and the prisoners to go to Rock Island, where the President had desired General Scott, and the governor of Illinois, to hold a council. Both the Indians, who had taken these prisoners, seemed desirous that rewards for the deed should be given to their tribe rather than to them personally. Eleven chiefs of the Sacs and Foxes, besides Black Hawk and the Prophet, were sent to Jefferson Barracks, and there put in

irons. In September, a treaty was made by the United States, with the Winnebagoes, and also with the Sacs and Foxes. The Winnebagoes ceded all their lands south of the Ouisconsin, and east of the Mississippi, amounting to 1,600,000 acres of valuable land. The treaty with the Sacs and Foxes gave to the government 600,000 acres more, of a quality not inferior to any between the same parallels of latitude, and abounding with lead ore.

By this same treaty, Black Hawk, his two sons, the Prophet, Neopope, and five other principal warriors of the hostile band, were to remain in the hands of the whites, as hostages, during the President's pleasure.

Black Hawk and his son were taken to Washington to visit the President. At different places on his route, he received many valuable presents, and was looked upon with great curiosity and interest. They returned by way of Detroit, and arrived at Fort Armstrong in August, 1833.

In May, 1835, the National Democratic convention met at Baltimore.



Colonel Richard M. Johnson.

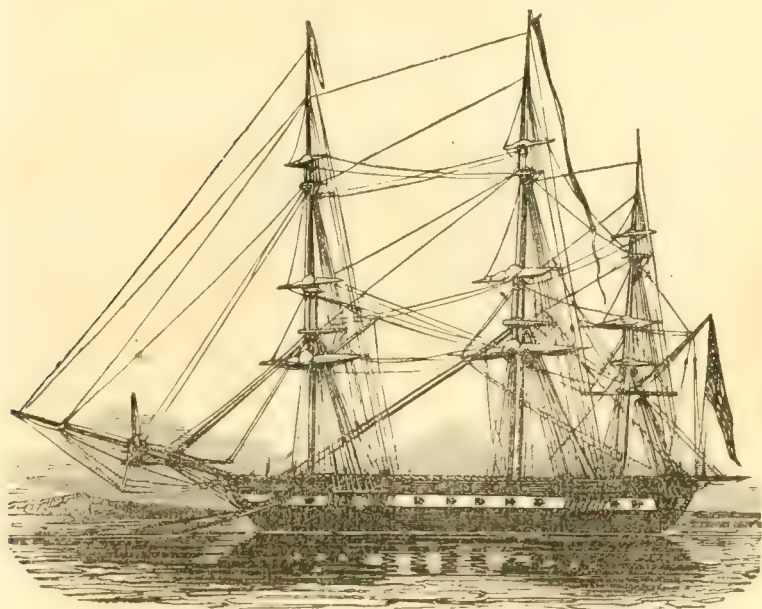
and unanimously nominated Martin Van Buren for the presidency. General Jackson was decidedly in favor of the nomination. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was the administration candidate for the Vice-



Nashville.

Presidency. The greater portion of the opposition supported General William H. Harrison, of Ohio, for the Presidency. But several other candidates were in the field. The result of the election was a majority of electoral votes for Van Buren. No candidate for Vice-President receiving a majority, the election was referred to the Senate, by which body Richard M. Johnson was chosen.

The last administrative measure of President Jackson was to veto a bill designating and limiting the funds receivable for the revenues of the United States. He then issued a farewell address to his countrymen, which is generally considered as embodying his political views, and having remained at Washington to witness the inauguration of his successor, retired to his residence in Nashville, Tennessee. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the wisdom of the policy of Jackson's administration, all will agree that that policy was definite, and firmly and energetically pursued.



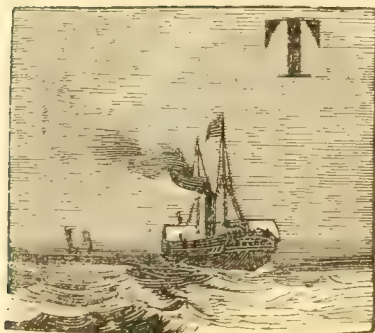


MARTIN VAN BUREN.



CHAPTER LII.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.



THE inauguration of Martin Van Buren, as the eighth President of the United States, took place at Washington, on the 4th of March, 1837. The language of the inaugural address, the assurances of the government official journal, and other declarations, satisfied the people that the administration would follow out the policy of the previous one. The cabinet was composed of the same members as were

comprised in that of General Jackson.

Early in 1837, indications were perceived of an unexampled money pressure. The smaller banks had been much embarrassed in their operations by the measures of President Jackson, and the evil consequences were now apparent. The banks in all the principal cities suspended specie payments. The mercantile classes were everywhere embarrassed. Hundreds of failures occurred. The President was petitioned to call an extra session of Congress to remedy the distressing state of affairs. Accordingly Congress was convened on the 4th of September, 1837. The session continued 43 days. The message of the President promised no relief to the business community. It advanced the doctrine that the government could not be expected to interfere in the monetary concerns

of the people. The most important recommendation of the message was the sub-treasury scheme, by which the funds and business of the government were entirely separated from those of the banks. The sub-treasury bill passed the Senate, but was rejected in the House.

When Congress again met in December, the sub-treasury bill was again pressed upon its attention, and again rejected. Various important acts for internal improvement were passed. During 1838, a serious rebellion against the colonial government occurred in Canada, and many of the citizens of the United States prepared to join the insurgents. The President issued a proclamation, warning all persons from engaging in any enterprise which would violate the neutral laws of the United States. General Scott was ordered to the frontier, with a portion of the New York troops. But in the meantime, an affair occurred, which caused much ill feeling for a time in the States. A party of the patriots had made a rendezvous on Navy Island, in the Niagara River, opposite to which, on the American side, was the small village of Fort Schlosser. On the night of the 28th of December, a small steam-boat called the *Caroline* was moored there; and Colonel M'Nabb, commander of the Canadian militia, suspecting her of carrying ammunition and supplies to the patriots, resolved to destroy her. This he effected, setting the boat on fire, and sending it down the Falls of Niagara. Several persons were killed in the preceding affray. This circumstance caused an angry correspondence between the Secretary of State and Mr. Fox, the British minister. After a long debate, a bill for the preservation of neutrality was passed by Congress, and the matter dropped.



UT few acts of general interest were passed during the third session of the 25th Congress. The most important were those relating to the Seminole difficulties in Florida. The desultory contest with these Indians was continued during several years, and large sums were expended in maintaining it. Able generals were baffled, and many lives sacrificed in the harassing and exhausting service which the army had to perform.

Generals Gaines, Scott, and Jessup were in turn intrusted with the conduct of the war, but none of them succeeded in bringing the enemy to a decisive engagement. The last named commander resorted to a stratagem to gain possession of the master spirit among the Seminoles.

Osceola was known to be a brave and sagacious warrior, and was at this time the principal chief. He was viewed as the great director of all the hostile bands of Seminole warriors. It was deemed, therefore, a great



Osceola.

achievement by the American general to get him into his power. General Jessup found means to communicate to the Indians that it was his wish to have the chiefs come in and hold a talk, in order to come to some agreement. White flags were displayed on the fort. On the 20th of October, 1837, Osceola, accompanied by other chiefs and a few warriors, came in agreeably to the invitation; he carrying a white flag in his hand, and relying on the honor of the commanding general, put himself in his power; but instead of being received as was expected, they were immediately surrounded by bayonets, made prisoners, and confined in the fort. Whether General Jessup was alone accountable for this act of treachery, or whether he acted under orders from the President, is not known; but the government having afterwards approved of the measure, it became a national act.

Osceola was kept there a prisoner for some time, when he was, by

order of the government, conveyed under a strong guard to Sullivan Island, in the harbor of Charleston, S. C., and confined in the fort. His proud and independent spirit could not bear the confinement, and he gradually pined away and died in prison. Thus fell another brave Indian chieftain, not in fair fight, but in a manner that will ever be a stigma upon our national honor.

Other chiefs were kidnapped in the same treacherous manner; but severe as the loss must have been to the Indians, it did not appear to discourage them. The war was still carried on by those who were left, in a desultory manner. The ranks of the Indians are said to have been filled up by runaway slaves, and some of the Creek Indians who had not yet quitted Georgia.

On the 24th of December, 1837, Colonel Taylor succeeded in bringing the Indians to a general engagement at Okeechobee. The action was a severe one, and continued from half past twelve until after three P. M., a part of the time very close and severe. The troops suffered much, having 26 killed and 112 wounded, among whom were some of the most valuable officers. The enemy probably suffered equally, they having left ten dead on the ground, besides, doubtless, carrying off many more, as is customary with them when practicable.

Taylor's column, in six weeks, penetrated 150 miles into the enemy's country, opened roads, and constructed bridges and causeways, when necessary, on the greater portion of the route, established two depôts, and the necessary defences for the same, and finally overtook and beat the enemy in his strongest position. The results of which movement and battle were the capture of 30 of the enemy, the coming in, and surrendering of more than 150 Indians and negroes, mostly the former, including the chiefs Ou-la-too-chee, Tus-ta-nug-gee, and other principal men, the capturing and driving out of the country 600 head of cattle, upwards of 100 head of horses, besides obtaining a thorough knowledge of the country through which the troops operated, a greater portion of which was entirely unknown, except to the enemy.

Colonel Taylor's conduct in the battle of Okeechobee was duly appreciated by the government. The Secretary of War, Mr. Poinsett, gave him the warmest commendation in his report to Congress; and he was immediately promoted to the brevet rank of Brigadier-General, with the chief command in Florida. His head-quarters were in the neighborhood of Tampa Bay. From this point, he directed the "war of movements," so difficult and discouraging to an ardent officer, until 1840, when he was relieved by General Armistead, who was ordered to take the command in Florida.



Battle of Palaklakhah.

The Seminoles had eluded pursuit for a long time previous to May, 1841, when the conduct of the war was entrusted to Colonel Worth. Sicknes among the men impeded his operations, but he was soon able to compel the surrender of several considerable detachments of hostile Indians; and on the 19th of April, 1842, he succeeded in compelling a large body of Indians to fight at a place called Palaklakhah. The result, as might have been anticipated, was a complete defeat of the enemy, which was soon after followed by the surrender of one of the leading chiefs of the Indians with his band.

When the twenty-sixth Congress met, the political parties were equally balanced in the House; and as there were a few contested seats, scenes of excitement occurred. After eleven ballotings, Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, a conservative opposition member, was elected Speaker. On the 4th of December, 1839, a national convention of the Whig, or opposition party, was held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. General William H. Harrison, of Ohio, was nominated for the presidency, and John H. Tyler, of Virginia, for the vice-presidency. The administration party re-nominated Mr. Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson.

In July, 1840, the bill establishing the sub-treasury, passed Congress, after much debate. The elections for State-officers indicated the triumph of the Whigs at the approaching presidential election. The contest was the most ardent and exciting ever witnessed in the United States. The result was the election of Harrison and Tyler by the largest majority of electoral votes received by any candidates since the time of Washington.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.



CHAPTER LIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF HARRISON AND TYLER.



THE inauguration of General Harrison, which took place on the 4th of March, 1841, was attended by many demonstrations of joy and satisfaction, and was witnessed by a larger concourse of people than had ever been assembled in Washington. The patriotism and military services of General Harrison had endeared him to the masses, and many who were opposed to his political principles believed in his honesty of purpose.

The new cabinet was composed of the following members — Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; George C. Badger, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; Francis Granger, of New York, Postmaster-General; John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, Attorney-General. These gentlemen had all been distinguished opponents of the measures of the Van Buren administration.

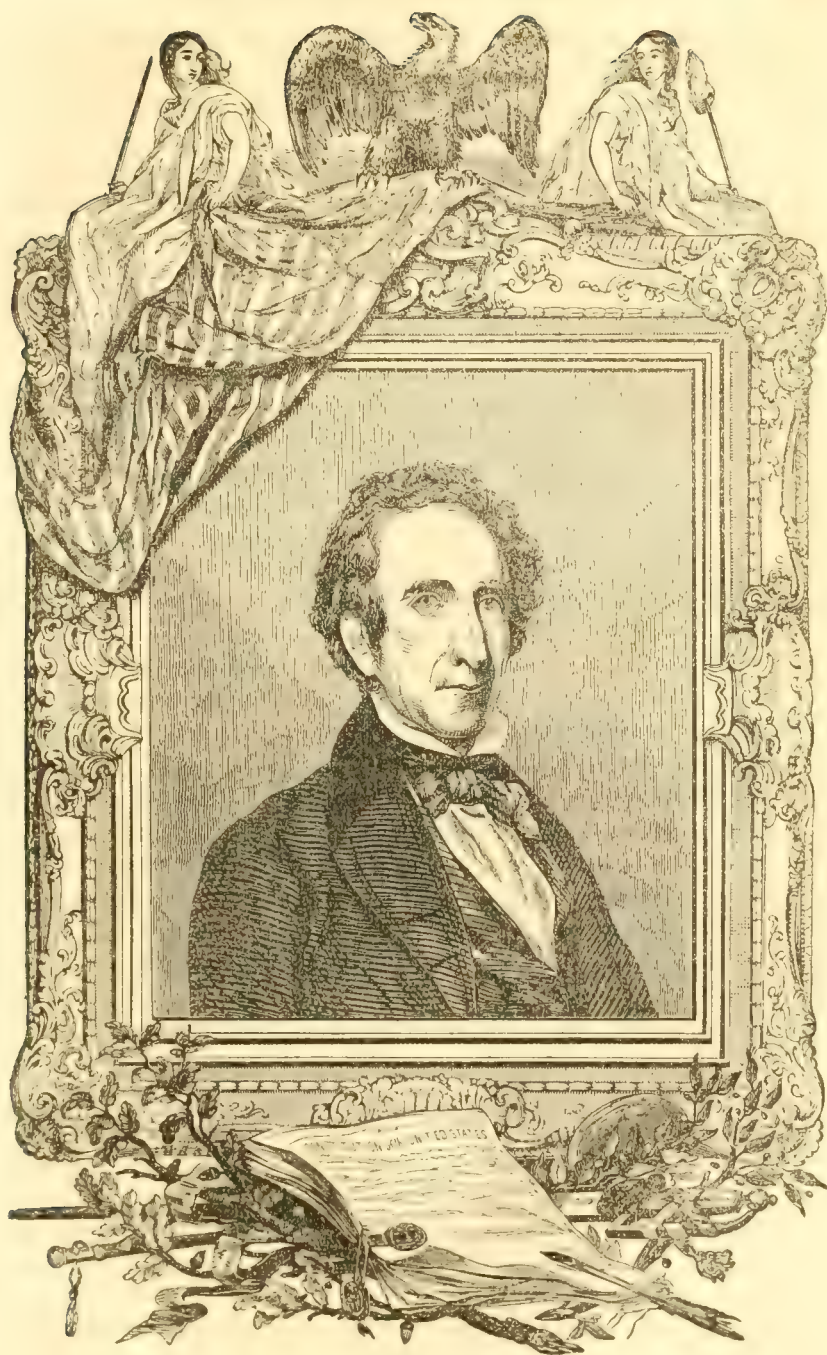
On the 17th of March, the President issued his proclamation, calling an extra session of Congress, principally to consider the financial concerns of the nation, to be held on the 31st of May following. But the

President was not destined to witness the enacting of remedial measures. He was seized with a fever, which baffled all medical skill, and terminated his virtuous and illustrious life on the 4th of April, just one month after his inauguration. He had reached the 68th year of his age. The whole nation put on mourning for its chief magistrate. He was the first President who had died while in office, and the event struck the people with surprise and dismay. All party feelings were forgotten, and throughout the Union, funeral honors and other testimonials of sorrow were paid to the memory of the illustrious dead.

By the provisions of the Constitution, the office of President devolved on the Vice-President, Mr. Tyler. The members of the cabinet, who had been appointed by General Harrison, were retained by Mr. Tyler. The retention of this cabinet, distinguished for ability and energy, and possessing the confidence of the Whig party, tended to confirm the feelings of hope and confidence inspired by the new President's inaugural address.

The majority in favor of the administration, in the 27th Congress, was seven in the Senate, and about 50 in the House. The message of the President, though cautiously worded on the subject of a National bank, was well received by the friends of the administration. The establishment of a national bank, upon a new plan, was considered necessary to restore the financial concerns of the country to a healthful state. The bill establishing such a bank passed both houses, but was vetoed by the President. This veto caused considerable excitement among the Whigs. But desirous of maintaining harmony in their ranks, they proposed and succeeded in carrying another bill, which, it was thought, would meet the views of the President. This also was vetoed. The course of the President thus disappointed his friends, and showed them that they had elected a man whose political views were different from their own. He was everywhere denounced by them, and applauded by the Democrats.

In the meantime, the sub-treasury law was repealed, and a uniform bankrupt law passed. The latter measure had been called for by an immense number of petitions from all parts of the Union. The first effects of the President's bank veto were felt at the seat of government. On the 11th of September, 1841, all the members of the cabinet, except Mr. Webster, feeling that confidence between the President and themselves was gone, resigned. It was now expected that the President would select the members of his cabinet from the ranks of the Democratic party; but he promptly made his appointments of the following distinguished Whigs and conservatives — Walter Forward, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; John M'Lean, of Ohio, Secretary of War; Abel P. Upshur,



JOHN TYLER.

of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General; Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina, Attorney-General. By this organization of the cabinet, the hopes of the Democrats were somewhat dampened.



CONSIDERABLE excitement prevailed in the United States during 1841, in consequence of the arrest and trial of Alexander M'Leod, at the circuit court, at Utica, in the State of New York. He was charged with having murdered an American named Amos Durfee, on the 29th of December, 1837, at which time an American steam-boat, called the *Caroline*, was destroyed by a party from Canada, on the American side of the Niagara River. Happily, M'Leod was acquitted and discharged, and thus a vexed question between the National and State governments, and between the United States and Great Britain, was amicably settled.

The second session of the 27th Congress commenced on the 6th of December, 1841, and continued till the 31st of August, 1842, a period of 269 days. More important business was transacted during this session than at any previous one, since the formation of the government. The leading measure was a new tariff law; by which ample provision was made for the public revenue, and protection afforded to various branches of American industry.

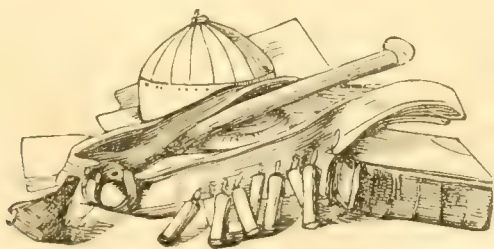
An important treaty was negotiated in 1842, at Washington, between the United States and Great Britain, by which the northeastern boundary question was definitely settled, in a manner satisfactory to both parties. Lord Ashburton acted as the special agent of Great Britain, and Mr. Webster, on the part of the United States. Mr. Webster resigned the office of Secretary of State in May, 1843. Hugh S. Legare was appointed to succeed him; but was soon after taken ill and died. In July, Mr. Tyler re-organized his cabinet, as follows—Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, Secretary of State; John C. Spencer, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; James M. Porter, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; David Henshaw, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General; John Nelson, of Maryland, Attorney-General.

In consequence of a melancholy accident on board of the United States steamer *Princeton*, on the 28th of February, 1844, the Secretary of State

and the Secretary of the Navy lost their lives. The President then appointed John C. Calhoun Secretary of State, and John Y. Mason Secretary of the Navy.

A treaty of annexation was concluded between the United States and the Republic of Texas, at Washington, April 12th, 1844. But the Senate refused to ratify it. It soon became evident that the annexation of Texas would be made a party question at the approaching presidential election. A large majority of the Democrats were in favor of immediate annexation, while the Whigs were generally opposed to it. The National party conventions met in the spring of this year. The Whigs nominated Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for the presidency, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, for the Vice-Presidency. The Democrats nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, for the same high stations. The result of the election was the success of Messrs. Polk and Dallas, by a majority of 65 votes in the electoral college.

Joint resolutions for annexing Texas to the United States passed Congress, and were sanctioned by the President, on the 1st of March, 1845. Among the important acts passed by Congress during the same session were the following—To establish a uniform time for holding elections for electors of President and Vice-President, in all the States in the Union; for the admission of Iowa and Florida into the Union, and various measures for internal improvement. Mr. Tyler retired from his high office, without the regret of either of the great political parties. His course of action had alienated one without gaining the confidence of the other. Yet his administration was distinguished for energy and ability, his cabinet being composed of some of the ablest men the country could furnish.





JAMES K. POLK.



CHAPTER LIV.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

JAMES K. POLK was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845. In his inaugural address, assurances were given that the political doctrines of the Democratic party would, as far as possible, be carried into operation. Upon the Oregon boundary question, the President expressed the opinion that the title of the United States to the whole territory was clear and unquestionable. He was known to be in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. The cabinet was immediately organized as follows—James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, Secretary of War; George Bancroft of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

When Congress met on the 1st of December, an active and exciting session was anticipated. The annexation of Texas and the prospect of a war with Great Britain upon the vexed Oregon question, it was expected, would give rise to much discussion. Early in 1846, the bill annexing Texas to the United States was passed by both houses of Congress, and received the signature of the President. Soon after, the Oregon dispute was settled by a treaty between the United States and Great Britain. The 49th parallel of north latitude was agreed upon as the boundary line. The amicable adjustment of this difficulty was a matter of congratulation on both sides of the Atlantic.



Corpus Christi.

Mexico continued unwilling to acknowledge the independence of Texas, and put forth repeated threats of a design to re-conquer it. Occasional attacks upon the frontier settlers of that State, were made by parties of Mexicans, and Indians, who acted under their control. A detachment of United States troops, under the command of General Taylor, was ordered to take a position at Corpus Christi, west of the Neuces, as early as August, 1845—some months before the annexation of Texas to the United States—and to repel any invasion of Texan territory by the Mexicans. This Army of Occupation, as it was called, remained at Corpus Christi until the 11th of March, 1846, when General Taylor was ordered to move westward and take position on the Rio Grande, which was claimed to be the western boundary of Texas. On the 20th of March, the army reached the river Colorado, where some disposition to resist its progress was shown by a Mexican force upon the opposite bank. General Taylor notified the Mexicans that if any attempt was made to check his progress he would cross the river and attack them. General Mejia, aid to the Mexican commander, brought a letter to General Taylor, apprising him that if the American army should cross the Colorado, it would be considered as a declaration of war, and would be the signal for actual hostilities.

Notwithstanding this declaration, the crossing did take place, and that,

too, at a point where the best chance was presented for a successful opposition. On the 22d, the army advanced in the direction of Matamoras, situated upon the west bank of the Rio Grande; but hearing that the Mexicans held Point Isabel, the only point at which stores could be landed from large vessels, General Taylor left the army under the command of General Worth, and, with his dragoons, advanced and took possession of that place. There he received a quantity of supplies for the army. On the 28th of March, the "army of occupation" arrived on the east bank of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras. General Worth and his staff were ordered to cross the river to Matamoras, bearing despatches from General Taylor to the Mexican commander. The reception of the despatches was declined by the Mexican general, and an interview with the American consul was demanded and refused. General Worth then returned.

General Taylor commenced throwing up entrenchments, while the Mexicans were showing signs of hostility. It being known that there were a number of naturalized foreigners in the "army of occupation," a proclamation was circulated among them by General Ampudia, inviting them to join the standard of Mexico. Some few who suffered themselves to be lured by the promises of this proclamation, were detected in the act of deserting, and were shot.

On the 5th of April, a small intrenchment was raised for the reception of the cannon expected from Point Isabel; while the main intrenchment, afterwards called Fort Brown, was in progress of erection. This main intrenchment was large enough to accommodate six regiments of infantry. On the 10th, Colonel Cross, the deputy quartermaster-general, was murdered by the Mexicans while taking a ride near the American camp. His body was not found till the 21st.

On the 11th of April, General Ampudia sent a despatch under a flag to General Taylor, requiring him, in the most pompous language, to break up his camp within twenty-four hours and retire to the east bank of the Neuces River, until the pending dispute between the two governments could be settled. General Taylor replied at once that the instructions under which he was acting would not permit him to retrograde from his position.

A party of ten men, under Lieutenant Porter, was despatched, on the 17th in pursuit of the murderers of Colonel Cross. On the 18th, they fell in with a party of 150 Mexicans, and firing upon them, put them to flight, and took possession of their camp and horses. On their return, this little band was attacked by a party of Mexicans in the night, and Lieutenant Porter was killed.



Colonel Cross.

On the 19th of April, General Taylor intercepted two vessels bound into Matamoras with supplies for the Mexican army, by sending the United States brig Lawrence and the revenue cutter Santa Anna in pursuit of them. General Ampudia immediately sent a communication to General Taylor, remonstrating against the seizure of the vessels, and declaring them to be the property of the vice-consuls of Spain and Great Britain. He also demanded their immediate return to the owners, on the alternative of active hostilities. General Taylor answered this communication in a despatch, which is generally considered a masterly piece of composition and as giving a clear view of the relative state of the parties up to that period. We quote:—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION, }
Camp near Matamoras, Texas, April 22, 1846. }

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your communication of this date, in which you complain of certain measures adopted by my orders to close the mouth of the Rio Bravo against vessels bound to Matamoras, and in

which you also advert to the case of two Mexicans supposed to be detained as prisoners in this camp.

After all that has passed since the American army first approached the Rio Bravo, I am certainly surprised that you should complain of a measure which is no other than a natural result of the state of war so much insisted upon by the Mexican authorities as actually existing at this time. You will excuse me for recalling a few circumstances to show that this state of war has not been sought by the American army, but has been forced upon it, and that the exercise of the rights incident to such a state cannot be made a subject of complaint.

On breaking up my camp at Corpus Christi, and moving forward with the army under my orders to occupy the left bank of the Rio Bravo, it was my earnest desire to execute my instructions in a pacific manner; to observe the utmost regard for the personal rights of all citizens residing on the left bank of the river, and to take care that the religion and customs of the people should suffer no violation. With this view, and to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, I issued orders to the army, enjoining a strict observance of the rights and interests of all Mexicans residing on the river, and caused said orders to be translated into Spanish, and circulated in the several towns on the Bravo. These orders announced the spirit in which we proposed to occupy the country, and I am proud to say that up to this moment the same spirit has controlled the operations of the army. On reaching the Arroyo Colorado I was informed by a Mexican officer that the order in question had been received in Matamoras; but was told at the same time that if I attempted to cross the river it would be regarded as a declaration of war. Again on my march to Frontone I was met by a deputation of the civil authorities of Matamoras, protesting against my occupation of a portion of the department of Tamaulipas, and declaring that if the army was not at once withdrawn, war would result. While this communication was in my hands, it was discovered that the village of Frontone had been set on fire and abandoned. I viewed this as a direct act of war, and informed the deputation that their communication would be answered by me when opposite Matamoras, which was done in respectful terms. On reaching the river I despatched an officer, high in rank, to convey to the commanding general in Matamoras the expression of my desire for amicable relations, and my willingness to leave open to the citizens of Matamoras the port of Brazos Santiago until the question of boundary should be definitively settled. This officer received for reply, from the officer selected to confer with him, that my advance to the Rio Bravo was considered as a veritable act of

war, and he was absolutely refused an interview with the American consul, in itself an act incompatible with a state of peace.

Notwithstanding these repeated assurances on the part of the Mexican authorities, and notwithstanding the most obviously hostile preparations on the right bank of the river, accompanied by a rigid non-intercourse, I carefully abstained from any act of hostility—determined that the onus of producing an actual state of hostilities should not rest with me. Our relations remained in this state until I had the honor to receive your note of the 12th instant, in which you denounce war as the alternative of my remaining in this position. As I could not, under my instructions, recede from my position, I accepted the alternative you offered me, and made all my dispositions to meet it suitably. But, still willing to adopt milder measures before proceeding to others, I contented myself in the first instance with ordering a blockade of the Rio Bravo by the naval forces under my orders—a proceeding perfectly consonant with the state of war so often declared to exist, and which you acknowledge in your note of the 16th instant, relative to the late Colonel Cross. If this measure seem oppressive, I wish it borne in mind that it has been forced upon me by the course you have seen fit to adopt. I have reported this blockade to my government, and shall not remove it until I receive instructions to that effect, unless indeed you desire an armistice pending the final settlement of the question between the governments, or until war shall be formally declared by either, in which case I shall cheerfully open the river. In regard to the consequences you mention as resulting from a refusal to remove the blockade, I beg you to understand that I am prepared for them, be they what they may.

In regard to the particular vessels referred to in your communication, I have the honor to advise you that, in pursuance of my orders, two American schooners, bound for Matamoras, were warned off on the 17th instant, when near the mouth of the river, and put to sea, returning probably to New Orleans. They were not seized, or their cargoes disturbed in any way, nor have they been in the harbor of Brazos Santiago to my knowledge. A Mexican schooner, understood to be the "Juniata," was in or off that harbor when my instructions to block the river were issued, but was driven to sea in a gale, since which time I have had no report concerning her. Since the receipt of your communication, I have learned that two persons sent to the mouth of the river to procure information respecting this vessel, proceeded thence to Brazos Santiago, when they were taken up and detained by the officer in command, until my orders could be received. I shall order their immediate release. A letter from

one of them to the Spanish vice-consul is respectfully transmitted herewith.

In relation to the Mexicans said to have drifted down the river in a boat, and to be prisoners at this time in my camp, I have the pleasure to inform you that no such persons have been taken prisoners or are now detained by my authority. The boat in question was carried down empty by the current of the river, and drifted ashore near one of our pickets and was secured by the guard. Some time afterwards an attempt was made to recover the boat under the cover of the darkness; the individuals concerned were hailed by the guard, and failing to answer, were fired upon as a matter of course. What became of them is not known, as no trace of them could be discovered on the following morning. The officer of the Mexican guard directly opposite was informed next day that the boat would be returned on proper application to me, and I have now only to repeat that assurance.

In conclusion, I take leave to state that I consider the tone of your communication highly exceptionable, where you stigmatise the movement of the army under my orders as "marked with the seal of universal reprobation." You must be aware that such language is not respectful in itself, either to me or my government; and while I observe in my own correspondence the courtesy due to your high position, and to the magnitude of the interests with which we are respectively charged, I shall expect the same in return.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brigadier-General U. S. A., Commanding.

Sr Gen. D. PEDRO DE AMPUDIA, Commanding in Matamoras.

Another attempt to seduce American soldiers from their allegiance was made by General Arista, the commander-in-chief of the army of Mexico; but with little success. Point Isabel having been made the depôt of military stores for the "army of occupation," the Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande and cut off the communication between that post and Fort Brown. Captain Walker, of the Texan Rangers, went out from Point Isabel on the 28th, to reconnoitre, but was driven back with the loss of some of his men. But notwithstanding the known number of Mexicans upon the route between the two posts, Captain Walker volunteered to carry a message to Major Munroe, at Fort Brown, and, starting on the 29th, succeeded in reaching his destination, after many "hair-breadth 'scapes."

On the 1st of May, 1846, General Taylor, with the main body of the



Captain Walker.

army, marched for Point Isabel, leaving a regiment of infantry and two companies of artillery at Fort Brown, under command of Major Brown. The Mexicans opened their fire upon the fort, on the 3d of May. The fire was returned and a battery silenced in twenty minutes after the Americans commenced firing. Another attack was made soon afterwards, and a serjeant of the Americans was killed. On the 5th of May, Fort Brown was attacked in the rear by a strong battery which the Mexicans had planted during the night, and at the same time the fire was renewed from Matamoras. Thus surrounded, the gallant band in the fort maintained themselves till the 8th of May, when the news of the victory at Palo Alto silenced the bombardment. On the 6th, Major Brown, who commanded the fort in so gallant a manner, was mortally wounded by a shell from the Mexican batteries, and the command devolved on Captain Hawkins.

The situation of the small force of General Taylor was extremely critical. Divided into two portions, there was every probability that both would be cut off. But the commander was equal to the emergency. He



Fort Brown.

determined to march from Point Isabel to Fort Brown, and to fight any force of the enemy that might oppose his progress. He put his command in motion on the evening of the 7th of May, and on the 8th, at two o'clock, found the Mexicans in position in front of a chapparal lying opposite to the timber of a stream called Palo Alto. According to General Taylor's official despatch, his whole strength was about 2300

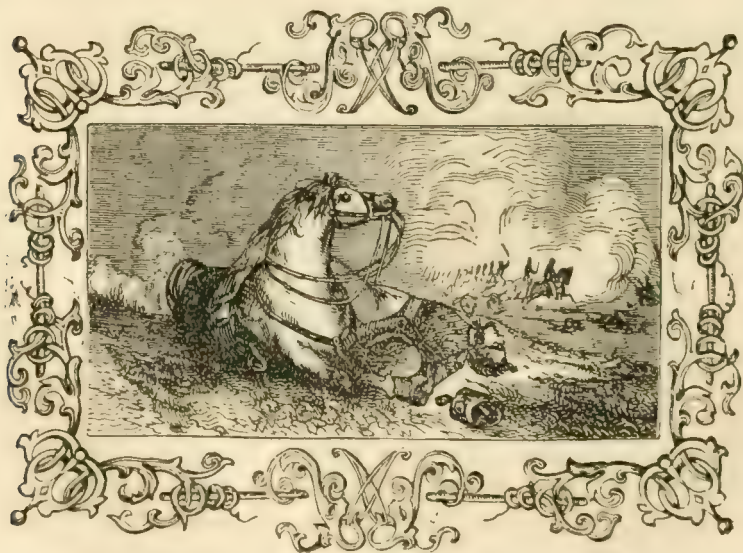


Destruction of Fort Brown



Point Isabel.

men, with artillery consisting of two eighteen-pounders and two batteries of light artillery. The force of the Mexicans was about 6000 men, with seven pieces of artillery and 800 cavalry. The action lasted during five hours. The Mexicans were dislodged from their position, and General



Death of Major Ringgold.



Captain Page.

Taylor encamped upon the field. This brilliant victory of the Americans over an enemy three times as strong in numbers and placed in a favorable position, was principally owing to the splendid manner in which the artillery was managed. The light artillery, especially, did great execution. The loss of the Mexicans in this battle is not accurately known; but General Taylor thought it must have been at least 100 killed, and, it is surmised, about 200 wounded and missing. The loss of the American army was trifling in number, but included some valuable officers. It consisted of four killed, three officers and 37 men wounded—several of the latter, mortally. Major Ringgold and Captain Page were wounded, and died soon after the battle. The first mentioned was considered one of the best artillery officers in the army. The light artillery corps had been organized and trained under his orders.

The Mexican force having fallen back, it was thought that they had crossed the Rio Grande. The next day, the 9th of May, General Taylor determined to push on; and throwing a body of light infantry in advance, he started at two o'clock. About three miles from Fort Brown, the advance discovered that a ravine crossing the road had been occupied by the Mexicans, with artillery. General Taylor immediately ordered a battery of field-artillery to sweep the position, bringing up the infantry



Captain May.

regiments to sustain it. A heavy fire of artillery and musketry was kept up for some time, until finally the enemy's batteries were carried in succession by a squadron of dragoons, under Captain May, and the regiments of infantry that were upon the ground. The Mexicans were driven from their position, and pursued to the river by the dragoons and light infantry. The victory was complete. Eight pieces of artillery, with a great quantity of ammunition, three standards and about 100 prisoners were taken. General La Vega, and several other officers were among the captured. The loss of the Americans in this battle was three officers and 36 men killed, and nine officers and 60 men wounded. The loss of the Mexicans was not ascertained, but it is conjectured that there were at least 150 killed. More than 100 of these were buried by the Americans, on the field of battle. The scene of the conflict was called *Resaca de la Palma*.

On the morning after the battle, General Taylor, with characteristic humanity, sent to Matamoros for Mexican surgeons to attend their



Captain May's Charge at Resaca de la Palma.

wounded, and for men to bury their dead. On the 11th of May, an exchange of prisoners was effected; and General Taylor went to Point Isabel to have an interview with Commodore Conner, commander of the American squadron in the Gulf of Mexico. The main body of his army took up its former position opposite Matamoras.

The 13th and 14th of May were spent by General Taylor in organizing and despatching a force to capture Barita, a town near the mouth of the Rio Grande, on the Mexican side, where the enemy were said to be concentrating their force. That place was quietly taken on the 15th, the inhabitants fleeing on the approach of the Americans.

The next thing to be done was to capture Matamoras. On the 17th, General Ampudia requested General Taylor to grant an armistice. General Taylor replied that the time for granting an armistice was past, and he directed attention to the position of his cannon. General Ampudia then wished to know if, in giving up the town, he would be allowed to except the government property. General Taylor replied that he would not, and that the town would be taken the next day, at 8, A. M. Ampudia then retired, and General Taylor commenced crossing the river at daylight on the 18th of May. No resistance was made by the Mexicans, on the bank of the river. A number of Mexican officers met General Taylor after he had crossed, and wanted to know if they could retain the government property. The general replied that he wanted "all the town." The American army then marched into the place, and



General Paredes.

took possession of the fort without firing a gun. Arista was found to have departed with all his forces, leaving only a mounted battery. A sufficient force was placed in the fort, and then the main body withdrew from the city and encamped in the vicinity. A portion of the retreating Mexicans were overtaken by a party of Americans sent out to reconnoitre, and 22 of them made prisoners. Arista retreated to Reynosa, where he determined to encamp until he received a reinforcement from Paredes.

Though in possession of Matamoras, General Taylor had not the means of transportation, nor a sufficient number of troops to enable him to advance into the enemy's country. In the early part of June, his whole force did not exceed 9000 men, including 750 stationed at Barita and 500 at Point Isabel. Reinforcements came in slowly from the different States, and though he anticipated the arrival of a force sufficient to warrant his advance against the strongly-fortified city of Monterey, where the enemy began to concentrate their forces, his want of means caused a delay which he much regretted.

Before the end of June, General Taylor was strongly reinforced by the arrival of numerous bodies of volunteers. The Texan Rangers, under Captain M'Culloch, seized successively the Mexican posts of Reynosa, Camargo and Mier, without opposition. It was not till the 5th



General Twiggs.

of August, three months after the battle of Resaca de la Palma, that General Taylor was enabled to take up his line of march from Matamoras to Camargo. General Twiggs was left in command of Matamoras, and, on the arrival of the main body at Camargo, General Worth was sent to San Juan and a small force occupied Reynosa. Towards the end of August, General Worth was ordered to advance to Seralvo, and there await further orders. From this place he sent information to General Taylor that Monterey had been reinforced by a detachment under Ampudia. This determined General Taylor to advance immediately and attack that important post, ere the garrison became too strong.

Accordingly, on the 7th of September, the army left Camargo, and marched to Seralvo. On the 11th of September, the American camp at Seralvo was busy with preparations for the ensuing march to Monterey. In the evening the order of march was read to the companies. The pioneers were united into one party, under command of Captain Craig, and covered by M'Culloch's rangers, and a squadron of dragoons. A day intervened between the march of each division, the 13th being appointed for the movement of the first one. Eight days' rations and 40 rounds



Major M Culloch.

of ammunition were given to each soldier, and ample arrangements made to provide for casualties and other events incident to a military movement. The sick and wounded were left behind, together with a garrison of two companies from the Mississippi regiment.

Early on the 12th of September, the advance party marched for Marin. It was composed of M'Culloch's rangers, Captain Graham's squadron of dragoons, and eighty pioneers—the whole commanded by Captain Craig. After proceeding about thirteen miles, they encamped for the night, at a small stream, whose cool, clear water formed a delicious relief after marching under a burning sun. At one o'clock of the following day, the party reached Papagayo. Here the enemy appeared in considerable force, and Captain Craig, feeling his party inadequate to resist an attack, sent a despatch to hurry on the first division.

On the following day, Captain M'Culloch, with 40 rangers, was sent on a scouting expedition towards the town of Ramas. On the road, he had occasional skirmishes with parties of the enemy, and finally overtook

a party of 200, at about a quarter of a mile from the town. A spirited firing commenced on both sides, when M'Culloch, observing some wavering among the enemy, charged them at full speed. Both parties passed directly through the town, and the chase continued for six miles. One of the enemy was killed, one wounded, and one captured. The rangers then cautiously retraced their steps, and rejoined the advance, where they found General Taylor with the first division, he having effected a forced march during the previous twenty-four hours.

The march of the second division from Seralvo to Monterey, is graphically described by Reid. With some few alterations, his account is inserted.

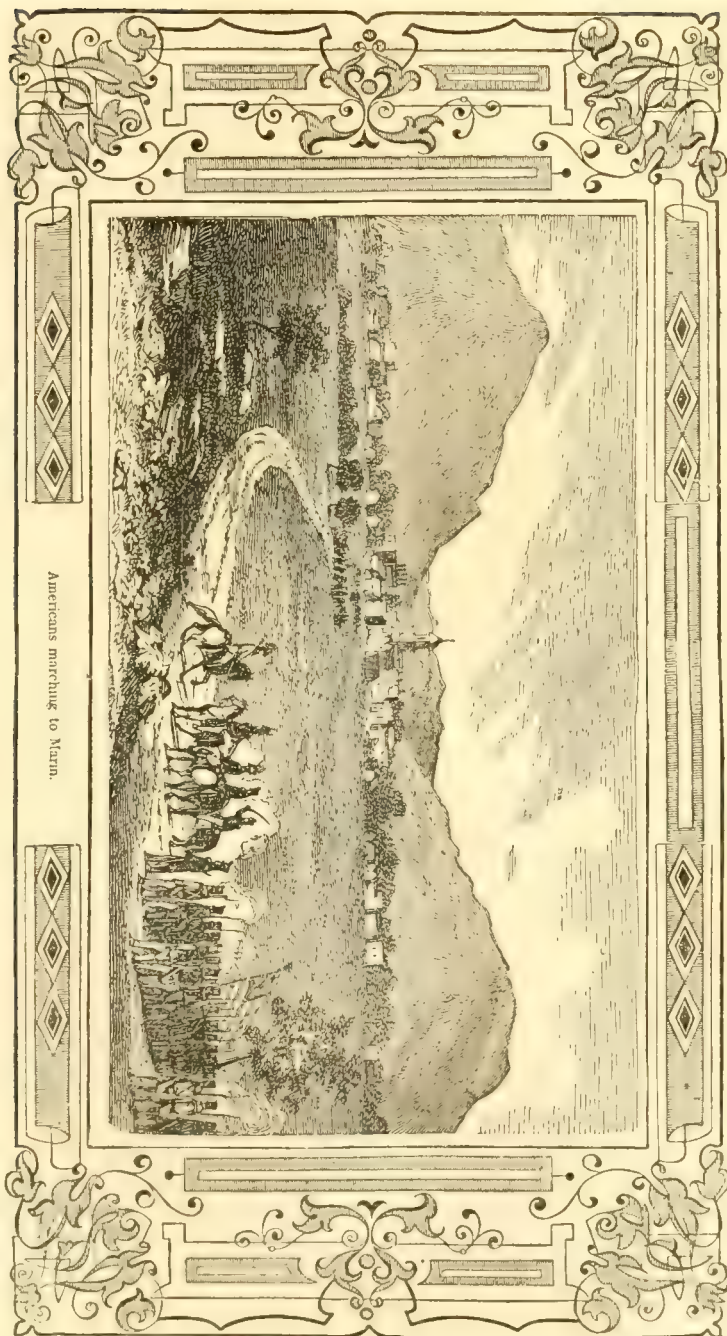
“Worth's division had just placed their personal clothing and accoutrements in convenient condition for packing, yesterday evening, when they were called out for inspection — orderlies, servants, and all, leaving their tents unattended. Just as General Worth appeared on the field, a heavy rain, accompanied with wind, commenced, and prostrating many of the tents, soaked everything in camp. At two o'clock this morning, [September 14] the reveillé beat, and the poor fellows, with their clothes still wet, prepared to march. The tents were struck and packed, wagons were brought up to receive the tent-poles, camp-kettles, &c., private mules and pack-horses were harnessed, camp-women, with children at the breast, and of all sizes, packed themselves and little ones on Mexican mules and ponies, and by daylight the column was in motion. The rear-guard did not get off until eleven o'clock. The day has been exceedingly warm. We have marched twelve miles over a country different in every respect from any I have ever before seen. The shrubbery and plants are entirely new to me, with the exception of the cactus, which grows throughout Mexico in a hundred varieties. The wild olive, and a white, round-leaved shrub, with pink blossoms, cover the mountains and table-lands. We have crossed five or six clear cool streams to-day, and are now encamped upon the brow of a ravine, down which runs a spring brook.

“We are now (morning of the 15th) about fourteen miles from Marin. We passed a few moments since a rancho which had just been deserted in great haste — the cows, goats, and chickens having been left behind. We left camp this morning at four o'clock. Our way was led along the foot of a mountain, which rises on our right to a height of 2500 to 3000 feet. We likewise have a mountain on our left, of nearly the same height. These two mountains converge before us, and descend at the same time to about the level of the table-lands upon which we now are. But far in the distance before us rises the Sierra Madre, higher and more majestic than any we have before seen. Our march to-day has been

over a very bad road—up hill and down—over rocks and pebbles, ravines and mines. The whole country over which we have to-day travelled is covered with aged ‘Spanish bayonet’ trees—a species of palm, each leaf of which is pointed with a sharp thorn. Some of these trees are from two and a half to three feet in diameter, and must be from 150 to 200 years old. As we reached this camping place, an express came in from General Taylor, directing this division to join him at Marin by a forced march. We are therefore bivouacked ready to march at a moment’s warning. It seems that the Mexicans are assembled in force between here and Monterey, and it is rumored that Santa Anna himself is in the field. There is no doubt about there being a strong force at Monterey, and General Taylor therefore directs that the first and second divisions shall join to-morrow, and march before the town. General Worth keeps his division always in readiness, so that he could hardly be surprised by night or day. Last night a sort of *stampede* occurred in camp, and we shall probably have another to-night. I cannot help thinking that if an alarm were to take place to-night, a most singular scene would follow. We are bivouacked in a thicket of trees, or large shrubs, all of which have thorns. To walk through them without stooping and dodging about to avoid the thorns is impossible. Horses and mules are tied by long lassoes in every direction. The whole thicket, as well as the road for half a mile, is filled with men stretched out on blankets, chatting about the probabilities of a fight. * * * * General Taylor arrives at Marin to-night, and will there consolidate his little army.”

Before sunrise on the 15th of December, the army commenced its march for Marin. At ten o’clock the advance reached a hill overlooking the town, from whence could be seen a large body of the enemy’s cavalry, ranged in the principal street. As the Americans numbered but 25 men, their captain, M’Culloch, ordered a halt, and the men scattered themselves along the brow of the hill, in order to avoid any shot which the enemy might throw from the town. The place afforded every opportunity for the concealment of troops, the great plaza being hidden from sight by the church and adjoining buildings. After waiting for some time, the captain observed the lancers moving slowly off towards Monterey, and soon after his command took undisputed possession of the town.

Marin is situated on elevated table-land, from which mountains soar up to a great height. It contains a church of white stone, and some handsome buildings. The former is surrounded with turrets and a steeple. A small stream of water runs through the south side of the town, but the inhabitants are supplied mostly by deep wells, in which the water is con-



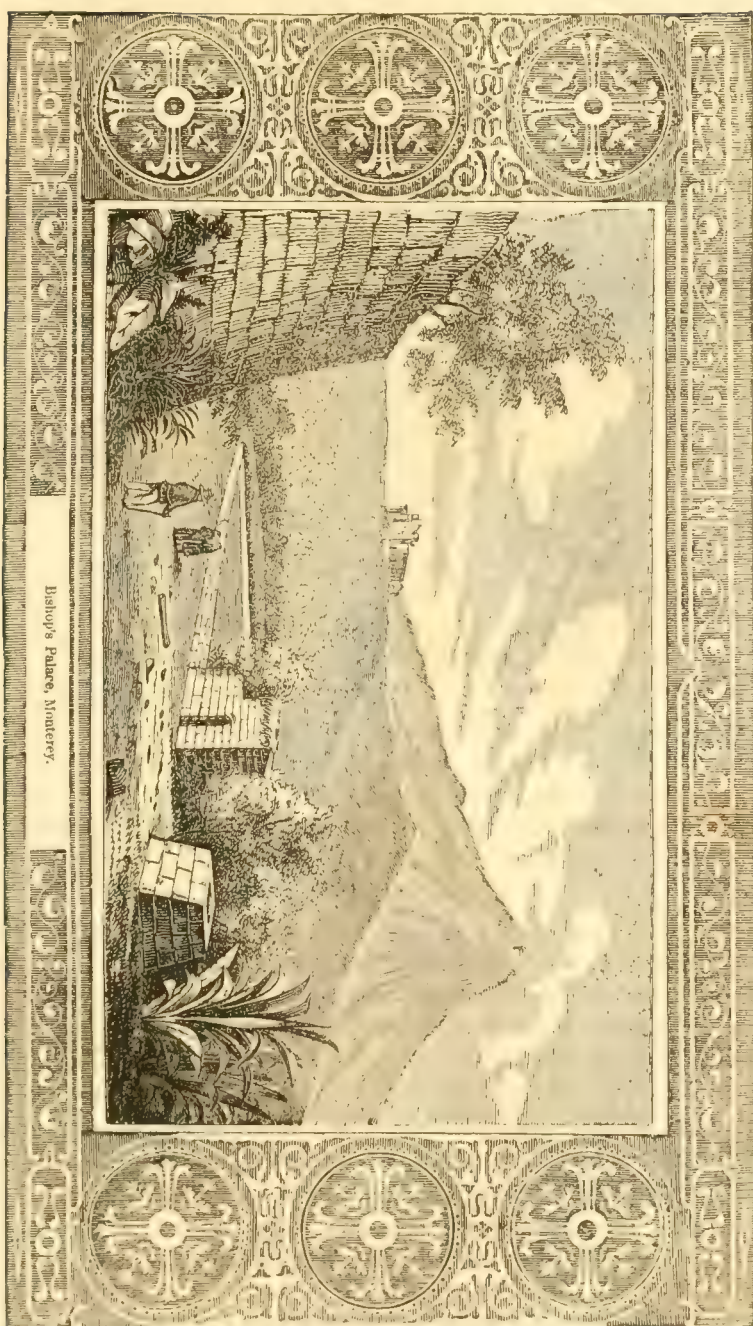
Americans marching to Marin.

stantly cool and clear. The scenery is perhaps equal to that of any part of Mexico. "When within about a mile of Marin," says Reid, "the scene that presented itself was magnificent in the extreme. On our right rose the tall peaks of the Sierra Alvo, about 3000 feet high, running nearly east and west, while before us were the towering peaks of the Sierra Madre, ranging north and south, of all shapes, forming battlements, leaning towers, obelisks, and steeples, which seemed almost to pierce the heavens. Again, on our left, another chain of mountains reared their lofty summits towards the blue sky, the whole composing as it were a semicircle, and presenting a scene of grandeur and surpassing beauty, which filled one with involuntary awe and admiration, while the soul became enwrapped and lost in contemplating the masterly works of nature."

On the 18th, the army reached the town of San Francisco, about 80 miles from Monterey; and on the next day arrived at the Walnut Springs, three miles from that city. Here General Taylor halted and prepared for one of the most remarkable sieges which it has ever fallen to the lot of the historian to record.

On the morning of the 19th of September, the American army encamped at Walnut Springs, within three miles of the city of Monterey. This place was naturally and artificially defended in the strongest manner. It is situated in a valley surrounded on the north, west and south by lofty mountains, and open to a plain on the east. It was fortified on this side with thick stone walls, with all the apparatus of ditches and bastions, well defended with cannon. The flat-roofed stone houses of the city itself had been converted into fortifications. Every street was barricaded and every house-top bristling with musketry. On one side of the town was the Bishop's Palace, a strong fortification, and on the northern side, the approaches were defended by a strong redoubt.

General Taylor, after having made a reconnoissance of the position and principal works of the enemy, as well as circumstances would permit, saw with the quick observation and discernment of a skilful and scientific chess-player, the assailable points of the enemy, and determined at once upon the plan of attack. The city was so thoroughly fortified on the east side, that it became necessary to gain the enemy's rear, and attack and carry the almost impregnable positions on the west side in the reverse, in order to break the concentrated force of the Mexicans, and thus give to the American army two chances of success; whereas by making an attack in the front, or eastern side, we had scarcely any at all. Noble, magnanimous, and generous in heart; calm and collected on the field of battle; though his iron determination, and the rapid revolution of military movements in his mind made him the stern warrior, and which, when





General Butler.

thwarted, caused his impetuous blood to rise at inaction, delay, or failure; yet the commander-in-chief ever held in view the comfort of his soldiers, and no one ever appealed to him in vain for the redress of grievances or wrongs.

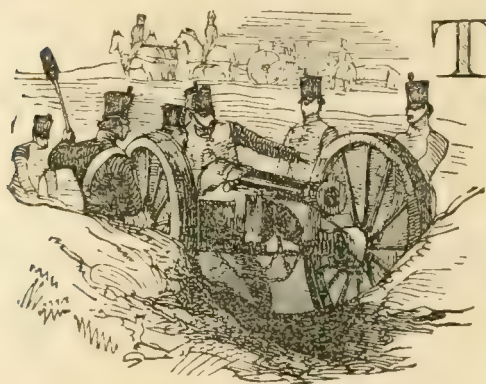
Preparations were accordingly made to gain the Saltillo road, and for this important object General Taylor generously confided the expedition to the command of General Worth, who had been prevented by circumstances from participating in the late battles of "Palo Alto" and "Resaca de la Palma." With all the impetuosity and eagerness of a war-steed chafing under the curb which held his progress in check, he had longed for the hour to come when he should once more take the field against the foe. That hour had arrived, and with a brave and gallant spirit had the trust been reposed. Orders were accordingly given to General Worth to proceed with his division, by a circuitous route, around the hill of the Bishop's palace, and carry the heights or detached works in the enemy's rear. For the sake of accuracy, we will again enumerate the force of this division. The First Brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel

Staniford, consisted of Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan's battery of horse-artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Child's artillery battalion, composed of the following companies: Company K, of the 2d regiment, companies A and B, of the 3d regiment, and companies G, H, and I, of the 4th regiment, acting as infantry; and the 8th regiment of the infantry, under Captain Scriven. The Second Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General P. F. Smith, (colonel of rifles,) was composed of Lieutenant Mackall's battery of horse-artillery, the 5th Infantry, to which was attached Captain Blanchard's company of Louisiana volunteers, under Major Martin Scott; and the 7th Infantry, under Captain Miles. Colonel Hays' regiment of mounted Texan Rangers also accompanied the division, numbering in all about 2000 effective men.

At two o'clock P. M., on the 20th, General Worth advanced. It was discovered that the movement had been perceived by the enemy, and that they were throwing forward reinforcements to the Bishop's Palace. To draw off the attention of the Mexican commander, the divisions under General Twiggs and General Butler were displayed in front of the town. Arrangements were made to raise a battery near the main work of the enemy on the night of the 20th, so as to open a fire on the next day. General Worth reached and occupied for the night a defensive position without range of the battery above the Bishop's Palace.

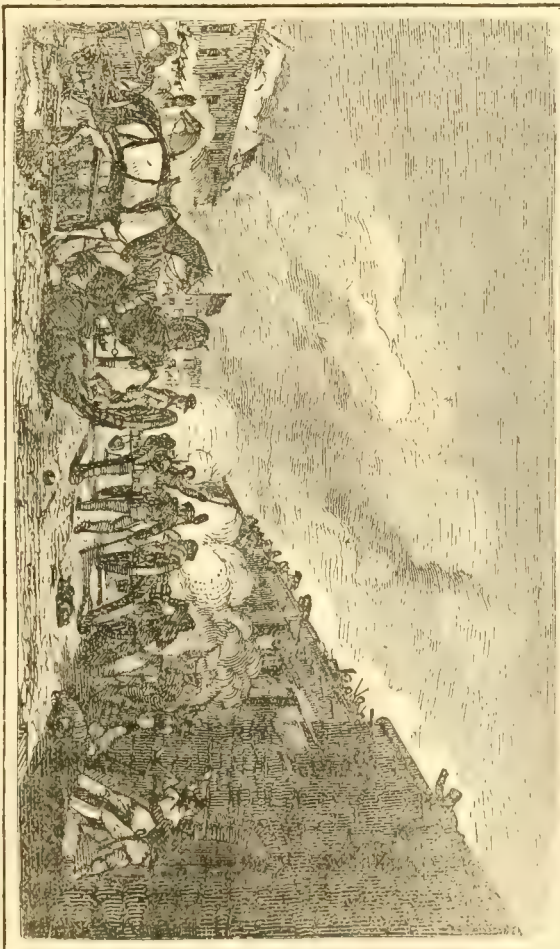
Taylor's column halted at the mortar-battery, situated on an eminence in front of the city, about three-quarters of a mile distant; while the dragoons, under Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel May, and Colonel Wood's regiment of Texan Rangers, under General Henderson, took position on the right to make an impression on the upper part of the city, as well as to support Worth, in case of necessity. Colonel Garland was then ordered to proceed with the 3d Infantry, commanded by Major Lear, numbering about 240 men, and the 1st Infantry, commanded by Major Abercrombie, with the battalion of Washington and Baltimore, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, the former numbering 180, and the latter 220 men, composing the brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson—making in all a force of 649 men, accompanied by Captain Bragg's battery of light artillery, towards the eastern or lower part of the town, with orders to make a strong demonstration, and, if practicable, to carry some one of the enemy's advanced works at the point of the bayonet, if it could be done without too heavy loss. Major Mansfield, of the engineers, accompanied this command to make a reconnoissance, and was charged with its direction, and to designate the points of attack; assisted also by Captain Williams and Lieutenant Pope, of the topographical engineers, and Colonel Kinney of Texas.

To account for the small numbers of the regiments of regulars, we will state, that, after the battle of Resaca, the regiments were reduced to six companies, which generally contained not over 50 men. We will also remark, that, from the low and concealed position of the forts and redoubts at the lower end of the city, they could not well be seen, and it was impossible to approach close enough to make a reconnoissance without drawing forth a murderous fire from the Citadel fort. The object of General Taylor, by the manœuvre ordered to be executed by Colonel Garland, was to draw the attention of the enemy from General Worth—at the same time to carry any of the outer works, if it could be done without too great a sacrifice, and without bringing on a general engagement with the enemy.



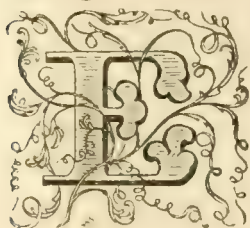
THE mortar, which was served by Captain Ramsey of the ordnance, and the howitzer battery, under Captain Webster of the 1st Artillery, had now opened their fire upon the Citadel, and drew forth a steady response from that work. The command of Colonel Garland moved off to a safe position towards the lower end of the city, when

Major Mansfield despatched Lieutenant Pope for two companies to support him in making a reconnoissance. Colonel Garland ordered the advance company, commanded by Lieutenant Hazlitt, and the company of Captain Field, both of the 3d Infantry, to be detached for that purpose. The detachment had proceeded about a quarter of a mile, when the enemy opened their fire from the battery of four guns, in the redoubt. At the same time, a large body of Mexican lancers showed themselves, and a fire of musketry was immediately opened on both sides. Colonel Garland was now ordered to advance with his whole command in line of battle, to support the detachment. On rushed the men in double-quick time, encountering a deadly fire of artillery from the redoubt, as well as an enfilading fire from the Citadel. Lieutenant R. Dilworth, of the 1st Infantry, here fell mortally wounded by a twelve-pounder. Passing the redoubt by a flank movement 200 yards to the right, they soon came within range of the enemy's musketry, and entered the narrow lanes of the suburbs, in the rear of the first redoubt, about 200 yards distant. Captain Bragg's battery having been sent for, the gallant captain came



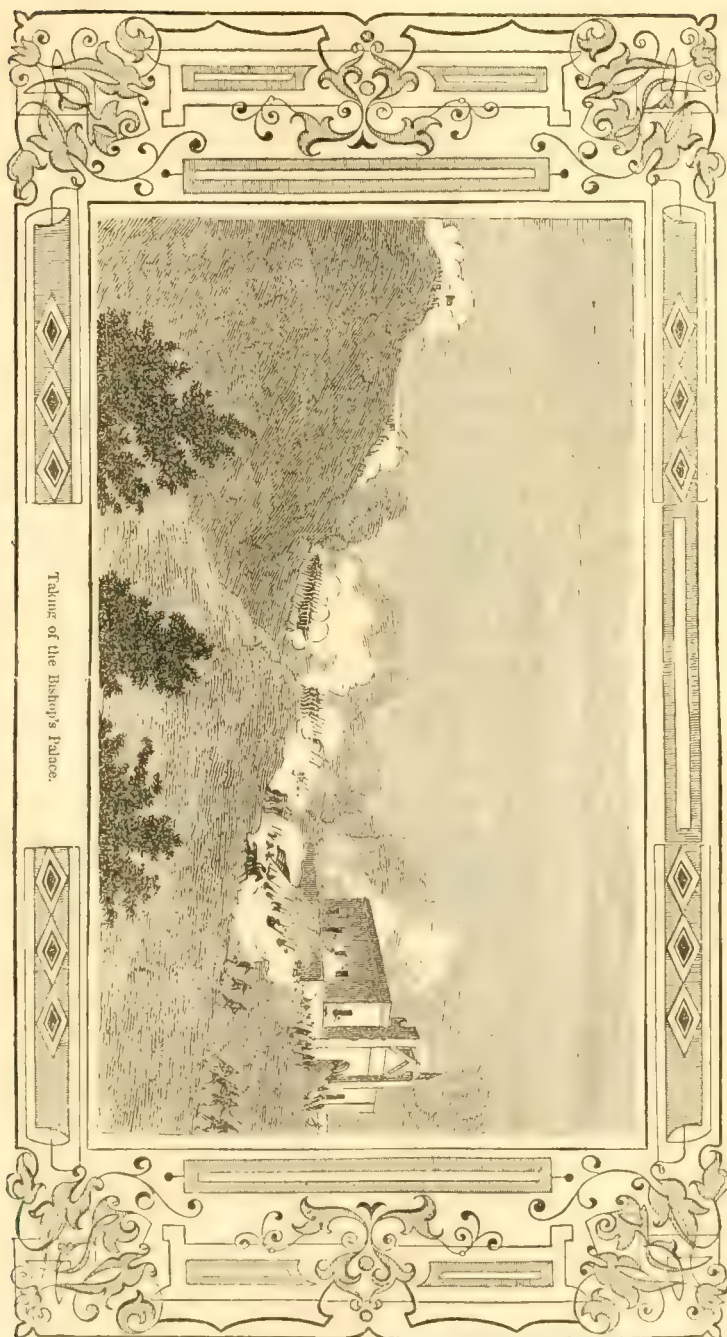
Storming of Monterey.

down at a full gallop, exposed for nearly half a mile to the fire of the heavy guns of the Citadel, and soon brought his battery into action in one of the narrow lanes in the outskirts of the city, directing his fire towards the barricades, but with little effect. The command now sustained a most terrible and appalling fire. Winged messengers of death flew in all directions, and our ranks thinned on every side. Peel after peel of the enemy's artillery from the Citadel and from the batteries Numbers 1, 2, 3, sent forth their deadly missiles of round-shot, grape, and cannister, while a heavy fire of musketry from the houses and covers was kept up without cessation. Captain Bragg's battery, doing but little execution, was ordered to move to a place of greater security. The infantry, however, pressed forward amid this storm of destruction, and, although officers and men were falling beside them, they fought on with the most determined perseverance, when, being repulsed on all sides, they were ordered by Major Mansfield, who was wounded, to retire to another position, which they did in good order. In this desperate conflict, the 3d regiment lost nearly all its officers. Its commander, Major W. W. Lear, fell mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, and the brave and gallant Major Barbour, with Captain G. P. Field, and Lieutenant D. S. Irwin, the adjutant, were killed. Lieutenant J. C. Terret, of the 1st Infantry, and the accomplished Captain Williams of the topographical engineers, were also mortally wounded.



EARLY on the morning of the 21st the rangers in advance of General Worth's division gained a position on the Saltillo road, routing the light troops of the enemy. The 22d of September passed without active operations in the lower part of the city. The fire from the citadel was directed to the parties exposed to its range, but little damage was done. In the upper part of the scene of operations the most important success was obtained. At dawn of day the height above the Bishop's Palace was taken, and about noon, the Palace itself was stormed, and carried. Its guns were turned upon the fugitive garrison. Then the gallant division of General Worth having accomplished its object, concentrated around the palace, and prepared to attack the town next day. The capture of the Bishop's Palace is thus related by Mr. S. C. Reid, one of M'Culloch's rangers:—

“It was now about ten o'clock, A. M., when the 5th Infantry, under Major Martin Scott, and Blanchard's Louisiana Volunteers, were ordered to descend from their position on Federation Hill, where they had remained since the afternoon of the 21st, and cross to that of Independence.





General Worth.

While crossing the river San Juan de Monterey, or the *Arroya Topa*, the regiment was opened upon with shot and shell from the Palace, doing no more injury, however, than causing Major Scott's horse to stumble, and *spilling* the major into the rapid stream.

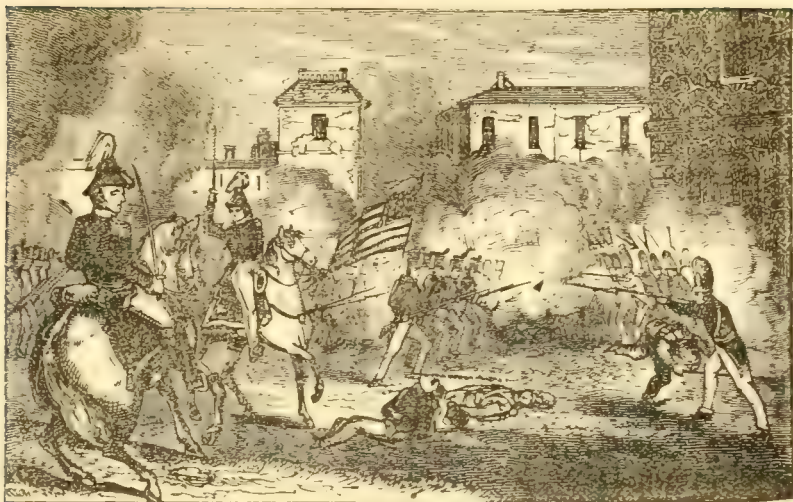
At the same time, Lieutenant J. F. Roland, of Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan's battery, was ordered from the main camp with a twelve-pound howitzer, assisted by the brave and energetic Captain Sanders, of the engineers, (to select the route most practicable,) with 50 men of the line, under Lieutenant D. H. M'Phail, of the 5th Infantry—that gallant and enterprising officer succeeded, in less than two hours, in placing his gun in position, having ascended a steep and rugged acclivity of nearly 700 feet! Lieutenant Edward Deas, of the artillery, also assisted in this enterprise. A fire was immediately opened from the howitzer, upon the Palace and the outer works, about 400 yards distant, with terrible effect. Half-way down the ridge, between the summit and the castle, was a position partially covered by rocks and bushes from the enemy's fire at which point the advance had been posted. The advance was now increased to

six companies, and Captain Vinton was ordered to take charge of this position. For four or five hours, a fire was kept up by the skirmishers, without any material effect. Captain Vinton now, by a ruse, sought to draw forth the enemy to sally upon our line, when we might hope not only to repulse his charge, but to carry the Palace by a *coup-de-main*. Orders preparatory to such a movement, were then given by him to the troops. Captain Blanchard's company of Louisiana volunteers was then ordered to take position on the left declivity of the hill, near Walker's Texans, with orders to fall back upon it whenever the signal should be given. On the same left declivity, was stationed a company of 8th Infantry, under Captain Bomford, and one of the 3d Artillery, under Lieutenant Ayres. On the right-hand slope were two companies of the 5th Infantry, under Captains Merrill and Chapman, and one of the 4th Artillery, under Lieutenant Bradford,—all deployed as skirmishers. Captain Vinton again issued his orders, that in the event of a sortie by the garrison, a signal would be given, when the companies on the right and left would close in at the top of the ridge, unite their flanks on this centre, and thus facing to the front, present to the enemy a strong firm line of bayonets, which it would not be easy for him to force.

The critical moment was at hand. Large reinforcements of cavalry and infantry were seen ascending the road from the city to the Bishop's Palace, and every thing indicated that some strong movement was about to take place. Don Francisco Berra, general commanding, finding no other resource left, determined to save the Palace by making a desperate effort to drive us from the summit. Orders were given for Blanchard's company to fall back on the alignment, while the Texan Rangers kept their covered position on each side of the slope of the mountain. This movement, apparently retrograde, was soon after followed by one from the enemy, which realized the very hopes that Captain Vinton had so warmly cherished. Battalions of infantry formed in front of the Palace, their crowded ranks and glistening bayonets presenting a bold and fearless front, while squadrons of light-horsemen, with lances bright and fluttering flags, and heavy cavalry, with carbines and broadswords gleaming in the sun, richly contrasting with the gaudy Mexican uniforms, made a most imposing sight. Their bugle notes now echoed forth the charge. Onward they came, in proud array, prepared for desperate strife—nearer and nearer they approached, their troopers dashing up the slope with fierce and savage air, until the clang of their arms rang wildly on the ear—then, when within twenty yards of our position, the appointed signal being given, out rushed our gallant troops and formed a serried line of bayonets which suddenly rose before the enemy, like an apparition, to

oppose their progress. Most bravely were they met; one volley from that long line, with a deadly fire from the Texians, made them reel and stagger back aghast, while above the battle-cry was heard the hoarse command to 'charge.' On, on, rushed our men, with shouts of triumph, driving the retreating enemy horse and foot, who fled in confusion down the ridge, past the Palace, and even to the bottom of the hill, into the streets of the city. The victory was won—the Palace ours; and long, long did the cheers of the victors swell on the air, which made the valley below ring with the triumph of our arms.

A short struggle ensued with those inside the Palace, but being soon overpowered, they surrendered. We here made some thirty prisoners, and captured four pieces of artillery, which were immediately turned and opened upon the enemy. An officer was also taken, who, it was said, was caught in the act of attempting to fire the magazine. Our loss in this encounter was some six killed and fifteen wounded, while, upon the part of the enemy, upon the hill and in the streets, some 180 were killed and wounded. Our force amounted to nearly 800 troops; that of the enemy which defended the Palace, and opposed us, was 2000. Lieutenant G. W. Ayres of the 3d Artillery was among the first to enter the castle, and hauled down the enemy's flag from the Palace, while Lieutenant-Colonel Walker of the Texan Rangers, with one of M'Culloch's men, cut down the blue and yellow signal flags from the cross in front of the works. Lieutenant Roland immediately run his gun down to the Palace, and was soon under fire. Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan's battery, which had been doing good execution below at the gorge, directed by Lieutenants W. Hays, and H. F. Clarke, during the operation of the howitzer on the hill, now came up at a gallop to the slope below the Palace, where, in conjunction with Mackall's battery, an effective fire was opened on that part of the town below, driving the enemy from their strong intrenchments as far as their guns would reach, even past Arista's garden, to the Plaza la Capella, where stood the church and cemetery, sweeping down the retiring masses that filled the streets, with fearful slaughter. The whole command of General Worth, with the baggage and ammunition train, now moved up to the Palace for the night, with the exception of the Texan rangers, who occupied the ranchos, near the junction of the roads, where we quartered the night before, and the 5th Infantry, which re-crossed the river to support the 7th, on Federation Hill. It was now about four o'clock, P. M., and the remainder of the evening was employed in removing the wounded to the Bishop's Palace, that of the enemy as well as our own, to our honor be it said, being equally cared for. While on the contrary, there were many cases on General Taylor's side where



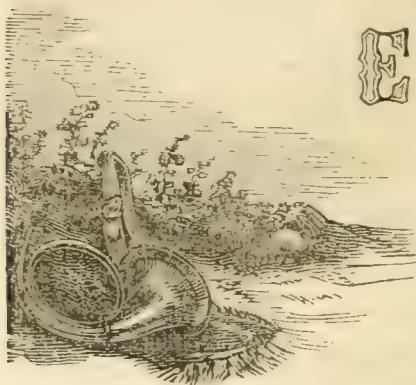
Street fight in Monterey.

our wounded were inhumanly put to death by the Mexican lancers. Poor Gillespie and Thomas were removed to some jacales, near the quarters of the Texians, that they might receive the attention of their comrades. We sat up the greater part of the night with the latter, and left him with hopes of recovery. He had been our messmate, and a more kind, noble, and generous heart was never sacrificed for his country. They both died the next day, and were buried on Independence Hill, where they fell, with the mountain for their grave, and the Palace for their monument."

During the night of the 22d, the Mexicans evacuated nearly all their defences in the lower part of the city. General Quitman was instructed to enter the town under cover of the houses and walls, and to advance as far as he deemed prudent. On the morning of the 23d, Quitman's brigade entered the town, and successfully forced its way towards the principal plaza. General Henderson, with the Texas mounted volunteers, and Captain Bragg's battery, was ordered to support General Quitman; and after firing for some time at the Cathedral, they moved on into the city. The advance was conducted vigorously, but with due caution. The troops pushed on from house to house and from square to square, until they reached a street but one square in the rear of the plaza, in and near which the enemy's force was concentrated.

In the meantime, the division of General Worth had entered the city upon the upper side, and though exposed to a galling fire from the housetops and from cannon planted to rake the street along which they moved,

they forced their way to within a short distance of the principal plaza—there night overtook them, but they continued their fire, doing considerable execution with a mortar which General Taylor had sent to the division. General Quitman's troops having been on duty the previous night, were withdrawn to the evacuated works until morning. General Worth was ordered to suspend his advance until he could have an interview with General Taylor in the morning.



EARLY on the 24th, Colonel Moreno came with a communication from General Ampudia to General Taylor, proposing to evacuate the town. A cessation of hostilities until twelve o'clock was arranged. Commissioners were appointed to agree upon the terms of a capitulation, and General Ampudia wishing a personal interview with General Taylor, it was granted, and General Taylor, with a number of offi-

cers, proceeded to the house at which the interview was to be held. A brief conference between the two commanders showed their views and demands to be directly opposite, and little hope of an amicable adjustment was entertained. General Taylor would not delay to receive any such proposition as Ampudia indicated. At length, one of Ampudia's officers suggested the appointment of a mixed commission. This was agreed to, and Generals Worth and Henderson, and Colonel Davis were appointed by General Taylor. Generals J. La Ortega, T. Requena, and Señor, the governor, M. la Llans were appointed by General Ampudia.

The terms of the capitulation may be briefly stated. The city, the fortifications, cannon, the munitions of war, and all other public property, with some few exceptions, was to be surrendered to the American commander. The commissioned officers were allowed to retain their side-arms; the infantry, their arms and accoutrements; the cavalry, their arms and accoutrements; the artillery, one field-battery, not to exceed six pieces, with twenty-one rounds of ammunition. The Mexican forces were to retire, within seven days, beyond the line formed by the pass of the Rincón de la, the city of Linares and San Fernando de Resas. The citadel was to be evacuated on the day after the surrender, and the American forces were not to enter the city until the Mexican troops had left it. The American forces were not to advance beyond the pass of the Rinconada, until the expiration of eight weeks. The Mexican flag, when

struck, was to be saluted by its own battery. These terms have been considered too liberal, under the circumstances, and General Taylor has been censured for binding himself not to pass a certain line until the expiration of eight weeks. But the censure is evidently unjust. The number of troops under General Taylor was too small to warrant his further advance into the country, until reinforced, and in agreeing to keep to the east of the pass of the Rinconada, he but bound himself to do what he should have done without the agreement. Besides the promptings of humanity to adopt these terms, which seemed to the Americans all that a further prosecution of hostilities could have secured, they were considered just and reasonable by all the principal general officers engaged in the capture of the city.



AFTER a great deal of hesitation and evasion, General Ampudia signed the terms of capitulation, and soon after, the city was evacuated by the Mexican forces. The works were found to be defended by 42 pieces of cannon, well supplied with ammunition, and manned by at least 7000 troops of the line, and from 2000 to 3000 irreg-

ulars. The whole force under the orders of General Taylor was 425 officers and 6220 men. His artillery consisted of one ten-inch mortar, two twenty-four pound howitzers, and four light field-batteries of four guns each—the mortar was the only piece fit for the work of a siege. The whole loss of the Americans during the siege was twelve officers and 108 men killed, 31 officers and 337 men wounded. The loss of the Mexicans is not known, but it is thought to have been greater than that of the besiegers. In whatever light this memorable siege is viewed, it appears to have been a mighty undertaking and a glorious achievement. Few generals would have dared, in the full knowledge of the strength of Monterey, to have laid siege to it, but fewer could be found who, having besieged it, could have conducted the work to a successful termination. The skill of the general who planned and directed the attack was equalled by the daring and determined spirit of those who executed his directions. Every individual of the army seemed alike animated with the heroic



General Wool.

spirit that is determined to conquer, let the obstacles be as numerous and formidable as they may.

After the Mexicans had evacuated the city, General Taylor established his head-quarters there, and made use of all the means in his power to make his wounded comfortable and to refresh his exhausted troops. In order to control as much of the country as possible, General Worth, with 1500 men and eight field-pieces, was despatched to Saltillo, and General Wool, with 2400 men, to Parras. The places were both taken without resistance. At Parras, the Americans received more than usual favor from the people. The sick were attended to, many wants of the soldiers supplied and many indications given that the people were not dissatisfied with the change of affairs.

During the retreat of the Mexicans from Monterey, they destroyed every thing upon the route which might be of use to the enemy upon the expected invasion. The wells and streams were stopped or filled up, and all provisions carefully removed. Nothing daunted by the loss of Monterey, they made great efforts to raise and equip a large army in the



General Santa Anna.

interior, and hoped, by placing an almost impassable desert between their foes and themselves to retrieve the condition of things.

It was the expectation of General Taylor that the terms of the capitulation of Monterey would be endorsed by the government of the United States. But the Cabinet at Washington were opposed to the armistice agreed upon by the two generals. Orders were despatched to General Taylor to recommence hostilities. The general immediately notified Santa Anna, who had been appointed general-in-chief of the Mexican forces, that the armistice was at an end, and requested him to release some prisoners detained at San Luis Potosi, as the general had done so with some of the Mexicans who had fallen into his hands. Santa Anna replied, acknowledging the conclusion of the armistice and releasing the prisoners.

Santa Anna soon found himself at the head of more than 20,000 men, and he was thought by his own people to be invincible. Throughout the Mexican nation, there was an universal sentiment of hatred of the invaders of their country, and the press displayed the greatest enthusiasm in her cause. The Mexican soldiers had everything to inspire and rouse them to action.

In December, 1846, General Taylor received information that the



General Patterson.

Mexican general, Urrea, was near Victoria, with a large force of cavalry. He therefore left Monterey, on the 15th of December, and proceeded in the direction most favorable for encountering the enemy. Santa Anna was near Saltillo, and threatened an attack on that place. General Taylor ordered General Quitman, with a field-battery, to join General Patterson at Saltillo, while he, himself, retired to Monterey. Having received a reinforcement, under General Wool, Taylor again marched for Victoria, which he entered on the 30th of December. There he received a letter from General Scott, the commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, requesting a large detachment of his troops, to join in the attack upon Vera Cruz and the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, which was about to be undertaken by General Scott in person. These troops were the flower of General Taylor's army, and the veterans of all his victories, and he parted from them with much sorrow. After their departure, the general fixed his head-quarters at Monterey, where he remained until February. Some volunteers, who arrived in that month swelled his command to about 5400 men. He then marched from Monterey, determined to meet the enemy on their own ground.



Colonel Jefferson Davis.

For some time it was doubtful whether Santa Anna intended to meet General Taylor or to march towards Vera Cruz ; but it was soon settled. He left San Luis Potosi on the 2d of February, at the head of a large army, consisting of 15,000 infantry, and 6000 cavalry, with about 30 pieces of artillery. Besides these troops there were other detachments in the field, under Generals Jurera, Minon and others. On the 7th of February, they reached Matchuala, between San Luis and Saltillo. The troops were in the greatest distress for want of food, water and clothing. No supplies had been received from the government, and it became necessary for Santa Anna to make great exertions to keep his army from disbanding. He pledged all his private estate for security for loans sufficient to enable his commissary-general to supply food and clothing to his troops.

On the 20th of February, General Taylor reached Agua Nueva, 18 miles below Saltillo. But he retired on the approach of Santa Anna, and awaited the threatened attack near Buena Vista, a few miles from



General Taylor and Captain Bragg at Buena Vista.

Saltillo. On the 21st, the Mexicans attacked and defeated a small mounted force, which was covering the removal of some public stores. At 11 o'clock, on the 22d, Surgeon Leidenburg of the Mexican army, came to General Taylor with a white flag and a summons to surrender. General Taylor declined, of course. Towards evening, the Mexicans attacked the extreme left of the Americans, under Colonel Marshall, and skirmishing and manœuvring were kept up until dark. A new order of battle was formed during the night, and the troops slept on their arms without fires.

Early on the 23d, the fight began again on the left. Several attempts were made to dislodge Colonel Marshall, but without success. The attacks were coolly sustained and the enemy repulsed each time. About 8 o'clock, a large body of cavalry advanced to attack the same point. These were dispersed by the battery of Captain Washington, but the main body, aided by infantry, bore down all opposition, routed the second Indiana regiment, repelled the Illinois, and drove back Captain O'Brien, who was forced to leave two of his guns. The Mexicans then poured large bodies of infantry and cavalry along the base of the mountain.

Up to this time, General Wool had conducted the battle upon the part of the Americans, General Taylor being at Buena Vista. Just as the enemy were concentrating in the rear, General Taylor arrived upon the field. He immediately ordered the Mississippi regiment, under Colonel Davis, to the left, and brought up the second Kentucky regiment and a section of Bragg's battery to their support. This timely aid restored the fortune of the day, and with the rallied Illinois regiment, under Colonel Hardin,



Colonel Clay

drove back the enemy and recovered a portion of the lost ground. They soon returned, however, and then the conflict raged with violence and obstinacy. Captain Bragg, with his artillery, fought within pistol-shot, and the Mississippi riflemen could distinguish the faces of their foes at each discharge of their rifles. The artillery did tremendous execution among the cavalry, and, at length, they were thrown into confusion. A portion of the first dragoons, under Colonel Rucker, was sent to cut off their retreat to the main body; but meeting with a severe loss, they returned.

In the meantime, a large force of the Mexicans concentrated to make a descent upon the hacienda of Buena Vista. Colonel May was ordered to support this point, with two pieces of artillery, under Lieutenant Reynolds. Before these arrived, the enemy had been met by the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry. The Mexican column then divided, one portion sweeping by the depôt, under a destructive fire from the dispersed Indiana regiment, the other reaching the opposite mountain. At this point, the situation of the Mexicans was very critical. They had gained



Death of Colonel Clay.

the rear, and would have been cut off but for a ruse of Santa Anna. General Taylor received a flag of truce from the Mexican commander, desiring to know what he wanted. The delay attendant upon answering this enabled the detached cavalry to join the main body. At the conclusion of the truce, the cavalry of General Minon, which had been hovering near Saltillo, all day, were so roughly handled by the American artillery, that they did not reappear.

Now came the tug which decided the day. The Mexican general seemed to confine his efforts to the protection of his artillery. The Illinois and second Kentucky regiments were overwhelmed by the masses that were poured upon them. The artillery was also driven back. Captain O'Brien, with two pieces had sustained the charge until every man and horse was killed or wounded, and had left his guns upon the field. General Taylor ordered Captain Bragg into battery, and without any infantry support, he came rapidly into action when the Mexicans were within a few yards of his pieces. After three discharges, the enemy were in a confused flight. The second Kentucky regiment rushed forward so far, that the pursued cavalry suddenly wheeled and drove them back. In this disastrous charge, Colonels Hardin and M'Kee, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clay were killed.

But for the assistance of Washington's battery, the regiment would have been cut to pieces.

This was the last effort of the Mexicans, and as they were driven back, the exhausted little band of Americans sank to rest upon the battle-field, among the dead and dying, without fires. The officers removed the wounded to Saltillo, and made everything ready for an attack the next morning. But when the next morning came, the enemy had disappeared.

THE victory in this battle was claimed by both commanders, although the advantages of a victory were all upon the side of General Taylor. Santa Anna alleged that his subsequent retreat was necessary on account of the starving condition of his troops. But, however that may be, the victory must be conceded to General Taylor. He had maintained his position, with only about 4500 men, against 21,000 disciplined troops, under the best general in the Mexican army. It is evident from the account of the battle, that the victory was almost entirely owing to the skilful management of the artillery. Thrice during the conflict, when all seemed lost, did this artillery,

under the command of Captains Bragg, O'Brien, Thomas, Sherman and Washington, restore the confidence of the soldiery by driving back the masses of the enemy, and sweeping whole ranks to the earth. The fearless spirit of emulation which existed among the different regiments of volunteers, and their hearty co-operation in sustaining the attack, was another cause of the result of the battle. The officers were always in advance of their troops, and their terrible loss proves how well they were fitted to command. Sixty-five commissioned officers, or one-fourth of the number on the field, were either killed or wounded. This is a proportion almost unparalleled. But the principal cause of the victory, whatever may have been the conduct of officers or men, must be found in the skill and bravery of the commanding general. The qualities displayed by General Taylor on that field rank him among the first commanders of his time. The choice of a position was the first instance of his skill. The arrangement of the line of battle was the next. Coolness and a spirit determined to conquer marked his conduct during the battle. When he came upon the



field, triumph was upon the side of the Mexicans, in spite of the efforts and conduct of General Wool. Having the full confidence of his officers and men, his presence gave them new spirit. It is only truth to assert, that the generals who could have triumphed under such circumstances as General Taylor did, are, in history, "few and far between."

The whole loss of the American army, in the battle of Buena Vista, was 267 killed, 456 wounded, and 23 missing—746, in all. The loss of the Mexican army could not be ascertained. Santa Anna states it to have been more than 1500 men. About 500 of their killed were left upon the field.

After the retreat of Santa Anna, no important event occurred until the 2d of March, when about 200 Americans, commanded by Major Giddings, accompanied by 150 wagons, were attacked by General Urrea, with 1500 Mexicans. The first onset was repulsed; but the cavalry, attacking the wagon train, drove the teamsters from their horses, and separated the whole into two bodies. A summons to surrender was sent to the smaller division, but the Americans refused, and soon after, cutting their way through the enemy, the two parties united and forced them to retire. The Americans lost fifteen teamsters and two soldiers. The Mexicans left more than 40 men on the field. Soon after this, General Taylor started in pursuit of Urrea, with about 1500 infantry, cavalry, and two pieces of artillery. On reaching Caidereta, it was ascertained that Urrea had escaped beyond the mountains. General Taylor fell back upon Monterey, and then fixed his head-quarters at Walnut Springs. General Wool was encamped at Buena Vista, with about 5000 troops. This was the close of active operations in this quarter:





Monterey, California.

CHAPTER LV.

THE MARCH OF GENERAL KEARNY AND CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA.



IN order to carry out an important part of the plan of operations resolved upon by the government of the United States, the President ordered General Kearny, an officer of tried ability and energy, to raise a sufficient number of volunteers, not to exceed 3000, which, being united with the regulars at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River, were to be called the "Army of the West." With this force, he was to cross the prairies and take possession of New Mexico. General Kearny was also authorized to proceed to California, after securing possession of New Mexico.

Carrying out these orders, the Governor of Missouri was called upon for 1000 volunteers—one battalion to serve as light artillery and the rest as mounted riflemen. No difficulty was experienced in procuring volun-



General Kearny's Expedition.

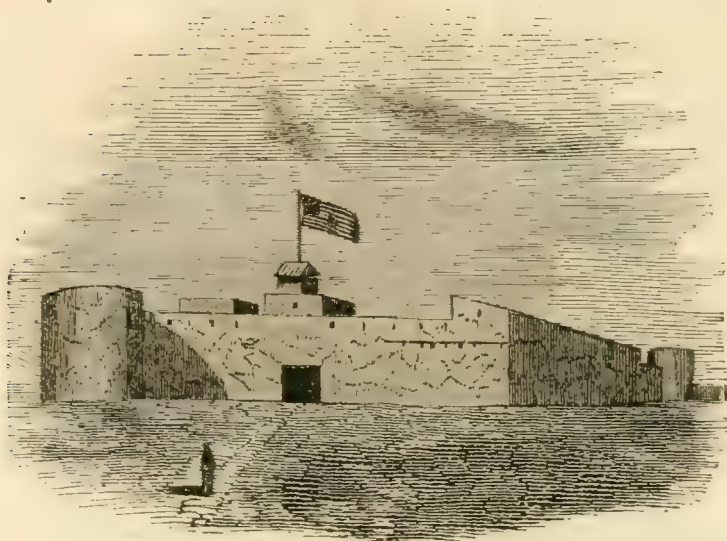


General Kearny.

teers; indeed, it was a service for which there was a general rush. Each man had to provide himself with a horse and every thing except his arms.

After numerous delays, on the 30th of June 1846, the "army of the west" started from Fort Leavenworth, and on the 29th of July arrived at Bent's Fort, a distance of 564 miles having been traversed. From Bent's Fort to Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, the distance is 309 miles. At the fort was found the remainder of the troops which had been ordered to join Kearny. His whole force then numbered about 1750 men. On the 31st of July, General Kearny issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of New Mexico, according to instructions.

On the 3d of August, the army pushed forward, and, in ten days, during which, the men suffered from bad water and the almost intolerable hot winds, and the horses suffered severely for want of grass, they began to ascend the Rocky Mountains. Information was received that Armijo, governor of New Mexico, would oppose the entrance of the Americans; and scouts were frequently captured, and, after being showed the full strength of the army, were sent back to Armijo. On the 15th of August, General Kearny arrived at the Lower Moro village, and here addressed the people. He made the alcaldes swear allegiance to the United States,



Bent's Fort.

and hailed the people as citizens of that country. His address was received with satisfaction by the inhabitants.

Proceeding on his march, General Kearny came to the village of San Miguel, on the 16th of August. Here he made another speech to the people, being in substance the same as that made at the Lower Moro village. On leaving San Miguel, General Kearny learned that General Salazar had been sent to command the troops destined to oppose his march. The next day, the son of Salazar was taken prisoner, and he informed the general that the Mexican troops had all returned to their homes. On the 18th of August, the Americans arrived at the cañon, where, a day or two before, a Mexican force of 3000 men had been assembled. But they had fled on the approach of Kearny. The army marched into the plaza of Santa Fé, and they were received by the acting governor and other dignitaries — Armijo having made his escape. The American flag was hoisted in the plaza, and General Kearny addressed the people, giving assurances of protection, and taking possession of the country for the United States. He also proclaimed himself governor.

On the 2d of September, George Bent, known as the proprietor of Bent's Fort, was appointed civil governor of New Mexico, and General Kearny started on a reconnoissance down the Rio Grande, with 750 men. He was every where upon the route favorably received, and the Indians



Santa Fe.

manifested the most friendly disposition. During the latter part of September, the Apache tribe, so formidable to the Mexicans, sent their chief to Santa Fé, and he there concluded a treaty of peace with the Americans. Arrangements were made for improving the civil government of the country, and a code of laws was promulgated, which was drawn up by Colonel Doniphan and Willard P. Hall.

On the 25th of September, being informed of the approach of the Missouri regiment, under Colonel Price, General Kearny left Santa Fé with 300 men, to march across the country to Upper California. Soon after leaving Santa Fé, the general received information of the conquest of California by Commodore Stockton and Colonel Frémont; this news induced him to send back a portion of his men. He then marched forward, a distance of 1000 miles through an unknown country, with only 100 dragoons as an escort. The remainder of the "army of the west" was posted at different places in New Mexico.

With the object of opening a communication with General Wool, at Chihuahua, Colonel Doniphan left Valverde, with about 500 men; and after a three days' journey, through a desert country, arrived near the town of El Paso. Near this place, they encamped on the road. Just when they had all dispersed, and when the rear-guard was six miles behind, they were attacked by a large body of Mexicans, with cavalry and artillery. Doniphan's men had not time to saddle their horses, but



Battle of Bracito.

drew up rapidly in front of their encampment, determined to fight on foot. A black flag, with skull and cross-bones upon it, was sent to the American commander, and an intimation given that there would be no quarter. They then opened their fire and charged handsomely, but they were driven back. A few of Doniphan's men then ran up to the Mexican line and secured their cannon. This desperate act made the Mexicans "perplexed in the extreme." They then knew the character of their foes. More of the Americans coming up, the Mexicans were soon put to flight. Their whole force numbered 1200 men, and they lost about 200 in killed and wounded. Doniphan's force was 500 men, all of whom were not engaged, and he only had seven men wounded—none killed. The arms, provisions and stores of the Mexicans fell into the hands of the victors. This, the first battle of the "army of the west," was called the battle of Bracito, from the bend of a river near which it was fought.

Colonel Doniphan entered El Paso on the 27th of December, and met with no opposition. He despatched a messenger to hasten a company of artillery, which had been previously ordered from Santa Fé; and he determined to await its arrival. Rumors kept reaching him of anticipated resistance at Carrizal—a fortified place some distance on this side of Chihuahua. At last, he found that regular carriers were sent from here to that place; and circumstances led him to suspect Ortis, the priest, of being the agent of the correspondence. A small scouting party was sent,

one night, to try to catch him in the act; and there is no doubt he would have been so caught, had it not been for the bad management of the officer in charge, who, instead of waiting to seize the messenger after he might have started, and to try to find despatches upon him, only surrounded the house, went up and politely knocked at the door, in front of which a horse was standing, ready saddled and bridled. Of course, no papers were found, but the priest and two gentlemen were brought up to the colonel's quarters. Ortis was upbraided with treachery; but he remarked that *he* did not call the delivering his country from a foreign enemy, by any means whatever, treachery. He said he was the enemy of all Americans, and never could be otherwise; and that he should use every endeavor to free his country from them—but that it would be by fair combat, and that he should not attempt to incite an insurrection, knowing that to be worse than useless. Colonel Doniphan told him that he admired his sentiments, but would take care that he should have no opportunity to carry them into effect, by keeping a strict watch over him; and that, as he had seen how Mexicans could fight on ground of their own selection—meaning Bracito, where Ortis was—he would take him with him as he went southward, in order that he might observe the Mexicans attacked and made to fight on ground of his, Doniphan's, selection. This the colonel did, taking him to Chihuahua.



ON the 1st of February, 1847, the artillery arrived. This increased the whole force under Doniphan's command to 1000 men. On the 11th of February, the army set out for Chihuahua. After marching 145 miles, information was received that General Wool was not at Chihuahua. This intelligence was disheartening, for it was fully expected that a junction could there be made with

the forces of that commander. A council of war was convened, to deliberate on this difficulty, and it was decided to go forward. The march from the place where the council of war was held, was one of the most difficult and dangerous ever made. Fire on the prairies which they crossed, and long journeys without meeting with water, together with the continual expectation of attack, were the most prominent sources of the difficulties and dangers of the army.

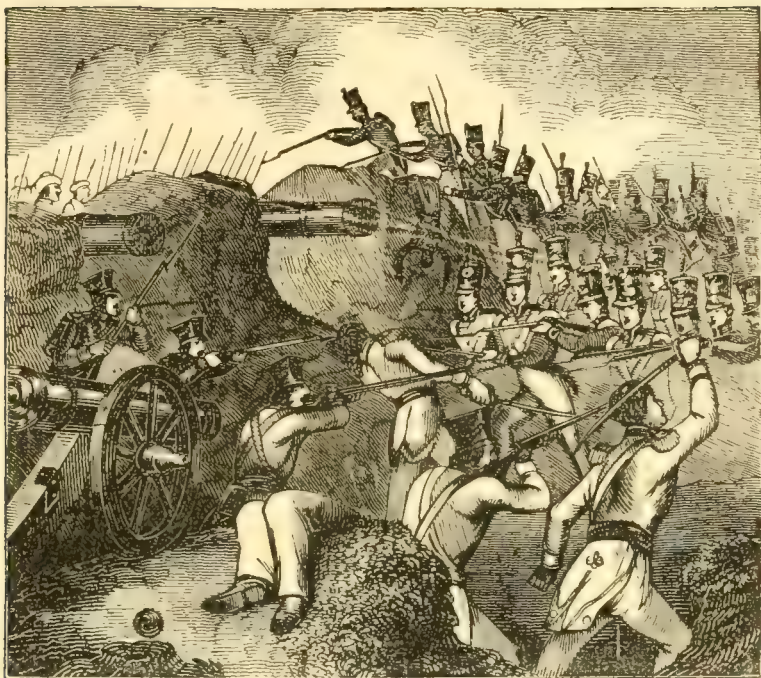
On the 27th of February, it became clear that a battle would be fought on the following day. Colonel Doniphan had received information that the enemy were posted in the neighborhood of the Sacramento, and everything prepared for battle. The following is a semi-official account of the battle:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, BATTALION MISSOURI LIGHT ARTILLERY. }
Camp near Chihuahua, Mexico, March 2, 1847. }

To Colonel A. W. Doniphan, Commanding American Forces in the State
of Chihuahua—

SIR:—I have the honor to report, that, agreeably to your instructions, I left the camp near *Sauz*, on the morning of the 28th ultimo, accompanied by my Adjutant, Lieutenant L. D. Walker, and non-commissioned staff, and proceeded in advance to a position commanding a full view of the enemy's camp and entrenchments, situated about four miles distant from this point. The enemy was discovered to be in force, awaiting our approach, having occupied the ridge and neighboring heights about *Sacramento*. Upon examination, it was ascertained that his entrenchments and redoubts occupied the brow of an elevation extending across the ridge between the *Arroyo Seco* and that of *Sacramento*—both of which, at this point, cross the valley from the elevated ridge of mountains in the rear of the village of *Torreon*, known by the name of the *Sierra de Victoriano*, that of *Nombre de Dios* on the east, and through which runs the *Rio del Nombre de Dios*. This valley is about four miles in width, and entrenched by the enemy entirely across, from mountain to mountain, the road to the city of Chihuahua running directly through its centre—and of necessity passing near to, and crossing the *Rio Sacramento*, at the *Rancho Sacramento*, a strongly built and fortified house, with adjoining corraals, and at other enclosures, belonging to Angel Trias, the Governor of Chihuahua. From observation, it was ascertained that the enemy had occupied the site between these hills, and that the batteries upon them were supported by infantry—his cavalry being in advanced positions, formed into three columns, between the *Arroyo Seco*, and our advance. During these observations, the enemy's advance guard discovering my party, approached rapidly, with the evident intention of intercepting it, but being met by that of our troops, which I had sent forward, it as rapidly retreated. At this time, also, the three columns of the enemy's cavalry recrossed the *Arroyo Seco*, and retired behind their entrenchments. I then approached within 600 yards of the most advanced redoubt, from which point the enemy's formation was plainly discernible. The entrenchments consisted of a line with intervals composed of circular redoubts, from 300 to 500 yards interval, with intrenchments between each, covering batteries partly masked by cavalry. The redoubt nearest to my position, contained two pieces of cannon, supported by several hundred infantry.

The enemy's right and left were strong positions—the *Cerro Frijoles*



Battle of Sacramento.

on his right, and having high precipitous sides, with a redoubt commanding the surrounding country, and the pass leading towards Chihuahua, through the Arroyo Seco. The Cerro Sacramento on his left, consisting of a pile of immense volcanic rocks, surmounted by a battery, commanded the main road to Chihuahua, leading directly in front of the enemy's entrenchments; crossing the Rio Sacramento at the rancho, directly under its fire, and also commanding the road from Terreon, immediately in its rear; the crossing of the main road over the Arroyo Seco, at the point from which my reconnoissance was made, laid directly under the fire of the batteries on the enemy's right, which rendered it necessary to ascertain the practicability of a route more distant from the enemy's entrenchments. The passage was found to be practicable, with some little labor, and a point selected as the best for the passage of the artillery, and wagons, and merchants' trains. The whole point of the enemy's line of entrenchments appeared to be about two miles, and his force 3000 men. The artillery being masked, the number and calibre of the cannon could not be estimated.

Further, I have the honor to report, that the battalion of artillery

under my command, composed of 110 men, and seven officers, with a battery of six pieces of artillery, were, on the morning of the battle, directed to form, under the direction of Captain Weightman, between the two columns of merchants' and provision wagons; being thus masked from the view of the enemy. In this column my troops continued the march to within 1500 yards of the enemy's most advanced position; our direction was then changed to the right, and the column having crossed the Arroyo Seco without reach of the enemy's fire, rapidly advanced towards the table-land between the Seco and Sacramento. At this time the enemy was perceived advancing from his entrenchments, to prevent our seizing upon the heights, but by a rapid movement of the battery, it was quickly drawn from its mask, and seizing upon a favorable position, protected in the rear by a mask, from the attack of a large body of the enemy's cavalry, ascertained to be hanging on our rear, it was formed, and at once opened fire upon the enemy's cavalry, rapidly advancing upon us. At this time his charging column was about 900 yards distant, and the effect of our stray shot and shells was such as to break his ranks, and throw his cavalry into confusion. The enemy now rapidly deployed into line, bringing up his artillery from the entrenchments. During this time our line was preparing for a charge—my artillery advancing by hand and firing. The enemy now opened a heavy fire of cannon upon our line, mainly directed upon the battery, with little effect. Lieutenant Dorn had his horse shot under him by a nine-pound ball, at this stage of the action, and several mules and oxen in the merchant wagons, in our rear, were wounded or killed, which, however, was the only damage done. The fire of our cannon at this time, had such good effect, as to dismount one of the enemy's pieces, and completely to disperse his cavalry, and drive him from his position, forcing him to again retire behind his entrenchments. For a short time, the firing on either side now ceased, and the enemy appeared to be removing his cannon and wounded, whilst our line prepared to change our position, and move towards the right, for the purpose of occupying a more advantageous ground. Our object being soon gained, the order to advance was given, and immediately after I was directed to send the section of howitzers, to support a charge upon the enemy's left. I immediately ordered Captain R. H. Weightman to detach the section, composed of two twelve-pound mountain howitzers, mounted upon carriages constructed especially for field-prairie service, and drawn by two horses each. These were commanded by Lieutenant E. F. Chouteau and H. D. Evans, and manned by some twenty men, whose conduct in this action cannot be too much commended.

Captain Weightman charged at full gallop upon the enemy's left,

preceded by Captain Reid and his company of horse, and after crossing a ravine some 150 yards from the enemy, he unlimbered the guns within 50 yards of the entrenchment, and poured a destructive fire of canister into his ranks, which was warmly returned, but without effect. Captain Weightman again advanced upon the entrenchment, passing through it in the face of the enemy, and within a few feet of the ditches; and in the midst of cross-fires from three directions, again opened his fire, to the right and left with such effect, that with the formidable charge of the cavalry and dismounted men to your own regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's escort, the enemy were driven from the breastworks on our right in great confusion. At this time, under a heavy cross-fire from a battery of four six-pounders, under Lieutenants Dorn, Kibben, and Labeaume, upon the enemy's right, supported by Major Gilpin on the left, and the wagon train escorted by two companies of infantry under Captains E. F. Glasgow and Skillman, in the rear, Major Gilpin charged upon the enemy's centre and forced him from his entrenchments, under a heavy fire of artillery and small arms. At the same time, the fire of our own battery was opened upon the enemy's extreme right, from which a continued fire had been kept up upon our line and the wagon train. Two of the enemy's guns were now soon dismounted on their right, that battery silenced, and the enemy dislodged from the redoubt, on the *Cerro Frijoles*. Perceiving a body of lancers forming, for the purpose of outflanking our left, and attacking the merchant train under Captain Glasgow, I again opened upon them a very destructive fire of grape and spherical case shot, which soon cleared the left of our line. The enemy vacating his entrenchments and deserting his guns, was hotly pursued towards the mountains beyond Cerro Frijoles, and down *Arroyo Seco de Sacramento*, by both wings of the army, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, and Major Gilpin, and by Captain Weightman, with the section of howitzers. During this pursuit, my officers repeatedly opened their fire upon the retreating enemy with great effect. To cover this flight of the enemy's forces from the entrenched camp, the heaviest of his cannon had been taken from his entrenchments to the *Cerro Sacramento*, and a heavy fire opened upon our pursuing forces and the wagons following in the rear. To silence this battery, I had the honor to anticipate your order to that effect, by at once occupying the nearest of the enemy's entrenchments, 1225 yards distant, and notwithstanding the elevated position of the Mexican battery, giving him a plunging fire into my entrenchments, which was not defiladed, and the greater range of his long nine-pounders, the first fire of our guns dismounted one of his largest pieces, and the fire was kept up with such

briskness and decision of aim, that the battery was soon silenced, and the enemy seen precipitately retreating. The fire was then continued upon the Rancho Sacramento, and the enemy's ammunition and wagon-train retreating upon the road to Chihuahua. By their fire, the house and several wagons were rendered untenable and useless. By this time, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell had scaled the hill, followed by the section of howitzers, under Captain Weightman, and the last position of the Mexican forces was taken possession of, by our troops; thus leaving the American forces masters of the field. Having silenced the fire from Cerro Sacramento, one battery was removed into the plain at the rancho, where we gained the road, and were in pursuit of the enemy, when I received your order to return and encamp within the enemy's entrenchments for the night. From the time of first opening my fire upon the Mexican cavalry, to the cessation of the firing upon the rancho and battery of Sacramento, was about three hours, and during the whole time of the action, I take the utmost pleasure in stating, that every officer and man of my command, did his duty with cheerfulness, coolness and precision, which is sufficiently shown by the admirable effect produced by their fire, the great accuracy of their aim, their expedition and ingenuity in supplying deficiencies in the field during the action, and the prompt management of their pieces—rendered still more remarkable, from the fact, that I had, during the fight, less than two-thirds the number of cannoniers generally required for the service of light artillery, and but four of the twelve artillery carriages belonging to my battery harnessed with horses, the remaining eight carriages being harnessed to mules of the country. During the day my staff were of the greatest service—Adjutant Leo D. Walker having been sent with the howitzers, and the non-commissioned officers remaining with me, to assist in the service of the battery. In this action, the troops under your command have captured one nine-pounder mounted on a cheek trail carriage, one nine-pounder, one six-pounder, and seven four-pounder guns, all mounted on new stock-trail carriages. These pieces were manufactured in Chihuahua, except the six-pounder, which is an old Spanish piece. Three of the four-pounders were made at the mint in Chihuahua. Seven of the ten pieces were spiked, but have been unspiked since their capture; four of these were rendered unserviceable in the action; one entirely dismounted, was seized by my adjutant, whilst in the act of being dragged from the field by the retreating enemy. There were also taken, two pieces of artillery, mounting three wall-pieces of one and a half-inch calibre each, and these are formidable weapons upon a charging force. With these twelve pieces of artillery was taken a due proportion of am-

munition, implements, harness, mules, &c.; and they may be rendered serviceable by being properly repaired and manned; for which purpose I would ask for further reinforcement of my command. It is with feelings of gratitude to the Ruler of all battles, that I have now the honor to report, that not a man of my command has been hurt, nor any animals, with the exception of one horse killed under Lieutenant Dorn, chief of the first section of six-pound guns, and of one mule, belonging to the United States, shot under one of the cannoniers; neither has a gun or other carriage of my battery been touched, except in one instance, when a nine-pound ball struck the tire of a wheel, without producing injury. This is a fact worthy of notice, that so little damage was done to a command greatly exposed to the enemy's fire, and of itself made a point of attack by the enemy, if I may so judge by the showers of cannon and other shot constantly poured into us, as long as the enemy continued to occupy his position. I might call your attention to the individual instances of personal courage and good conduct of the men of my command, as well as of the intrepid bravery, cool and determined courage of many of your own regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's escort, who charged with us upon the enemy's works, were it not impossible, in any reasonable space, to name so many, equally worthy of distinction; and did I not presume, that other field-officers on that occasion, would report the proceedings of their own commands, and the praiseworthy conduct of their own officers and men.

With high respect, I am, Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servant,

M. LEWIS CLARK,

Major Commanding Battalion Missouri Light Artillery.

The day after the battle, the army halted to mend their ragged clothes and prepare for a triumphal entry into Chihuahua, which took place the next day. At that place, a council was held to deliberate upon the best course to pursue. They had been twice disappointed in not finding General Wool, and some wished to stay at Chihuahua a short time to rest from the fatigues of their great march. An express was sent to General Taylor to know whether they should join him or return home. It returned in a short time with orders to join him by way of Parras and Saltillo. On the 25th of April, the army left Chihuahua for Saltillo, a distance of 900 miles, which they accomplished in forty-five days, and arrived at Saltillo on the 22d of May. Many offers were made to induce them to enlist again, their term of service having expired; but the temptations of home were irresistible, and even the call to glory was inefficient



Colonel Fremont.

in comparison with this strong natural feeling. They returned to the United States, and were received with applause and rejoicings.

In the meantime, important events had been taking place in California. Before the war began, in 1846, the territory of Upper California formed the northwestern portion of the Republic of Mexico. The chief portion of its inhabitants were Indians, on account of whose hostility the interior of the country was little known. The settlements of the descendants of the Spaniards and Mexicans, were situated upon the coast of the Pacific, or near it. These small towns had grown up around the missions established at different places by the Jesuits at an early period. Portions of the country, situated in the valley of San José and in the vicinity of Los Angeles, were very fertile. But the greater part of the territory was thought to be only fit for grazing purposes, and consequently, the population increased very slowly. Intelligence of the commencement of the war upon the Rio Grande, having reached the Pacific Ocean on the 2d of July, Commodore Sloat, commander of the squadron on that station,



Capture of Monterey.

arrived at Monterey, and on the 7th, the American flag was hoisted over that town amid the cheers of the Americans and a salute from the ships in the harbor. Commodore Sloat then issued a proclamation to the people of California. On the 8th the American flag was hoisted at San Francisco, by Montgomery, commander of the sloop-of-war Portsmouth.



CAPTAIN FREMONT, who had arrived in California by an overland journey, with a party of about 170 men, took possession of Sonoma, one of the most northerly posts in the territory, and, leaving a small garrison at that place, marched for the mission of San Juan, about 30 miles east of Monterey. He arrived there and took possession of the mission without opposition. A considerable quantity of stores was found there.

The fortification of Monterey was commenced immediately after raising the United States' flag. On the 23d, Commodore

Sloat sailed in the *Levant* for the United States, leaving Commodore Stockton in command of the Pacific squadron. Immediately after, the *Cyane*, Commandant Dupont, with Captain Frémont and volunteers on

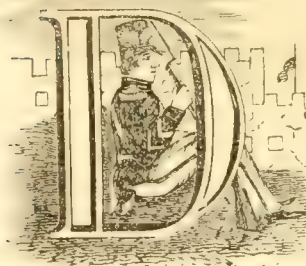
board, sailed for San Diego, and the frigate Congress, Commodore Stockton, sailed for San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles, the capital of California. The frigate Savannah remained at Monterey, and the sloop-of-war Portsmouth at San Francisco. Thus all the ports of the territory were secured.

On the 17th of August, Commodore Stockton issued a proclamation, declaring California in the full and peaceable possession of the United States, and authorizing the election of civil officers throughout the country. Colonel Frémont soon afterwards went north, with only 40 men, intending to recruit and return immediately. Early in September, Commodore Stockton withdrew all his forces, and proceeded with the squadron to San Francisco. Captain Gillespie was left in command of Pueblo de los Angeles, with about 30 riflemen; and Lieutenant Talbot in command at Santa Barbara, with only nine men. Scarcely had Commodore Stockton arrived at San Francisco, when he received information that all the country below Monterey was in arms, and the Mexican flag again hoisted. He immediately returned, took command of the sailors, and dragging by hand six of the ships' guns, marched towards Los Angeles. At the ranche Sepulinda, the Californians were prepared to meet him, but in the battle which ensued, they were routed with great loss. By this victory, Commodore Stockton acquired a sufficient number of horses, mounted his men, and organized his force for land operations.



On the 23d of September, the City of the Angels was invested by an army of Californians, whose overwhelming numbers caused Captain Gillespie to surrender that place. He returned with his 30 riflemen to San Pedro, and there embarked for Monterey. The Californian chief, Manuel Gaspar, then led 200 of his men against Santa Barbara, where they were braved by Lieutenant Talbot and his insignificant force for ten days. This youthful commander, who had won the esteem of Colonel Frémont in his former expeditions, now proved himself worthy of holding the post of danger. He held the town until he was completely besieged, and then refusing to surrender, forced his way through the enemy to the mountains in the vicinity, where he remained eight days, suffering from cold and hunger. The enemy made several attempts to induce him to surrender, which he rejected. One detachment of 40 men advanced to take him, but was driven back. They then offered to permit him to retire if he would promise neutrality during the war, but he told them that he preferred to fight. At length finding that neither force nor persuasion would cause him to leave his position, they set fire to the grass and brush

around him and burned him out. He then retreated with his nine men to Monterey, 500 miles, mostly on foot. The brave fellows were welcomed as from the grave, the fears of their companions that they were slain having been confirmed by a report of the Californians to that effect. Colonel Frémont had made an attempt to go from San Francisco to the relief of Captain Gillespie, but after being at sea twenty-nine days, he was compelled to put back to Monterey by bad weather. A day or two after the arrival of Lieutenant Talbot, a party of 27 Americans, under Captains Burrows and Thompson, were attacked by the Californians, 80 in number. Captain Burrows and three Americans were slain. Three of the enemy also fell, but they kept the Americans shut up at the mission of St. Johns, until Major Frémont marched to their assistance. The whole party left St. Johns on the 26th of November, and arrived at San Fernando on the 11th of January.



URING the progress of these events in California, General Kearny was on his march thither from Santa Fé. On the 6th of October, he met Carson, with fifteen men, coming as an express from the City of the Angels, with an account of the conquest of that country by Frémont and Stockton. With the devotion to the public service for which he has always been characterized, he complied with the request of General Kearny

to allow some one else to take his despatches to Washington, and, giving up his hopes of seeing his family, he turned his face again towards the Pacific as a guide. General Kearny then sent back a part of his forces and continued his march with 100 men, well equipped. On the 15th of October, they left the Rio Grande, and commenced the march across the mountains.

On the 5th of December they were met by a small body of volunteers, under Captain Gillespie, who had come from San Diego for the purpose of giving them information concerning the state of the country. Captain Gillespie informed them that there was an armed party of Californians, with a number of extra horses, encamped at San Pasqual, three leagues distant. General Kearny determined to march upon them, in the double hope of gaining a victory and a remount for his poor soldiers, who had completely worn out their animals in the march from Santa Fé, 1050 miles. Captain Johnston led the advanced guard of twelve dragoons, mounted on the best horses in the company, then came twenty volunteers, under Captains Gibson and Gillespie, and in the rear two mountain



Battle of San Pasqual.

howitzers, with dragoons to manage them, mounted on sorry mules. The rest of the army were ordered to follow on the trail of this detachment with the baggage. At daybreak on the 6th of December, they encountered the enemy, who was already in the saddle. Captain Johnston made a furious charge upon them, with the advance guard, and was well supported by the dragoons. He fell almost in the very beginning of the fight, but the action did not flag, and the enemy were forced to retreat. Captain Moore led off rapidly in pursuit, but the mules of the dragoons could not keep up with his horses, and the enemy seeing the break in the line renewed the fight, and charged with the lance. They fought well, and their superiority of numbers had well nigh proved fatal to the little band; but the dragoons came up and they finally fled from the field, carrying off most of their dead with them. They had kept up a constant fire in the first part of the fight, and used their lances with great dexterity at its close, and the American loss was heavy. Captain Johnston, Captain Moore, Lieutenant Hammond, two serjeants, two corporals, eleven privates, and a man attached to the topographical department, were slain. General Kearny was wounded in two places, Captain Gillespie had three wounds, Lieutenant Warner, of the topographical engineers, three, and Captain Gibson and eleven others were also wounded, most of them having from two to ten wounds from lances. The howitzers



Battle of San Gabriel.

were not brought into action until near its close, when the mules attached to one of them got alarmed, broke from their drivers, and ran away with it, directly into the enemy's lines. The severe wounds of the soldiers caused a halt in the march until the 10th of December, when the march was resumed, and on the 12th the army reached San Diego.

The arrival of General Kearny at San Diego was opportune; and Commodore Stockton and he now laid a plan for putting an end to the war. On the 29th of December, the little army, composed of 60 dismounted dragoons, 50 California volunteers, and about 400 marines and sailors, started from San Diego to march to Los Angeles. They had proceeded 110 miles to the Rio San Gabriel, when they met the enemy in a strong position, with 600 mounted men and four pieces of artillery, prepared to dispute the passage of the river. January 8, 1847, the necessary preparations for a battle having been made, the Americans waded through the water under a galling fire, dragging their guns after them, and reserving their fire until they reached the opposite bank. Here they repelled a charge of the enemy, and then charged up the bank in the most gallant manner, and succeeded, after fighting an hour and a half, in driving the enemy from the field. The Americans encamped there over night, and on the next morning resumed their march. On the plains of the Mesa the enemy made another effort to save their capital. They were concealed in a ravine, with their artillery, until the Americans came almost within gun-shot, when they opened a brisk fire with their field-pieces upon the right flank, and at the same time charged both on

the front and rear. They fell back as the Americans advanced, and finally retired, after concentrating their forces, and making one more charge on the left flank. In the afternoon the army reached the banks of the Mesa, and encamped three miles below Los Angeles. On the 10th they entered the city without opposition. The loss in these two battles was very slight, one private being killed, and Captain Gillespie, Lieutenant Rowland, of the navy, and eleven privates wounded. The enemy carried off their dead and wounded, so that the extent of their loss is unknown. General Kearny says that it must have been considerable, and Commodore Stockton estimates it at between 70 and 80 men.



Two or three days previously to the battle of the 8th of January, Jose Maria Flores, the commander of the Californians, had sent two commissioners to Captain Stockton, with proposals for making a treaty of peace. The commodore replied that he could not recognize Flores, who had broken his parole, as an honorable man, or as one having rightful authority, or worthy to be treated with; that he was a rebel in arms, and that if he caught him he would have him shot. After losing the battles of the 8th and 9th, they met Colonel Frémont on his way to Ciudad de los Angeles. Jose Maria Flores had fled, leaving the command to Don Andres Pico, who made propositions of surrendering his forces to Colonel Frémont, which the latter, being ignorant of the occurrences of the few days previous, agreed to accept. The articles of capitulation were signed on the 13th of January. The terms did not treat the Californians either as rebels or citizens of the United States, and did not exact oaths of allegiance until a definitive treaty of peace should be made between Mexico and the United States. Present obedience to the American authorities was required, and the occurrences of the past were forgotten. Commodore Stockton approved of this agreement, though he was sorry to have lost the opportunity of punishing the officers for breaking their parole. The territory again became quiet.

Colonel Frémont joined the forces of Kearny and Stockton at Los Angeles on the 15th. Here the misunderstanding arose between General Kearny and Commodore Stockton, as to their relative prerogatives, which, in the end, lost to the country the valuable services of one of the most talented and enterprising of her military officers. Commodore Stockton had been deeply impressed with the bravery, activity, and zeal displayed by Colonel Frémont in the conquest of the country. Without men or

money, he had succeeded, by his untiring personal efforts, in raising from the widely scattered little settlements a force of 450 men, well mounted, and supplied with every equipment of war. They formed one of the most curious collections of men ever found in one army. They were representatives from almost every nation of the civilized world, and Indians from many different tribes of North America, all speaking different tongues; yet he had succeeded in disciplining them into a very efficient corps, and had led them with constant success wherever they were needed, although he had always a force of Californians hovering around his flanks watching to take advantage of the first false move, or the least decline of vigilance.

In return for his services, before leaving the coast, Commodore Stockton appointed him governor of California.



N January, 1847, Commodore Shu-
brick arrived at Monterey, and
assumed the command of the
naval forces on that station.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke joined
General Kearny at San Diego with the
Mormon battalion, in fine order, good health,
and high spirits. They were posted at the
mission of San Luis Rey, to prevent any
reinforcements of troops entering California

from the department of Sonora. General Kearny sailed to Monterey. Captain Tompkins arrived early in February, with his company of United States artillery, and was stationed at Monterey, and on the 6th of March, Colonel Stephenson arrived, with 250 of the New York California volunteers at San Francisco. The remainder of his regiment arrived soon after. He was soon afterwards ordered to occupy Monterey with four companies, and Lieutenant-Colonel Burton, with three companies, took post at Santa Barbara. The emigrants who had formed the California battalion were discharged, and began to establish themselves. New settlements were made in all directions. On the 16th of July, 1847, the time of service of the Mormon battalion expired, when the military force of the country consisted of Colonel Stephenson's regiment, one company of dragoons, and one of light artillery. This army, with the co-operation of the navy, has proved amply sufficient to preserve order in the country, from which the most cheering accounts are continually arriving. The last act of General Kearny was to order Lieutenant-Colonel Burton to sail to La Paz in Lower California, and take possession of that country. The occupation of the province was made without much difficulty, but

when the fleet left the Gulf of California, to avoid the severity of the winter months, the people rose upon the several garrisons, and a number of minor battles and sieges occurred, the particulars of which have not been received in any authentic form. The Americans generally maintained their positions, and in defending them evinced a high-toned bravery and determination which would have won for them unfading laurels on a more extensive field.



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BURTON

gained a brilliant victory at La Paz, over 300 of the enemy, killing and wounding 50 of their number, with the loss of only three men. The defence of San Jose, the most southern port of California, was very creditable. Some 30 sailor-soldiers, and 20 California volunteers, under Lieutenant Heywood, having been surrounded and besieged for 30 days by nearly 400 of the enemy, they maintained their post, despite of

thirst and famine, and the vigorous assaults of the Californians, until they were relieved by the United States' ship *Cyane*, the crew of which landed and put the enemy to flight. A series of small fights and skirmishes also took place on the Pacific coast of Mexico. The town of Guaymas was bombarded in October, 1847, by the Congress and the Portsmouth, the garrison of 800 men driven out, and the town taken. Commander Selfridge, of the United States' sloop *Dale*, landed near Sinaloa, with 88 men, and routed a force of 400 of the enemy, killing and wounding 40 of their number.

In February, 1847, General Kearny had received instructions, issued from the war department in the preceding year, and, in consequence, assumed the direction of operations on the land, and the administrative functions of government over the people and territory of California. A proclamation announcing this fact was issued by him and Commodore Shubrick, on the 1st of March, 1847. As soon as Colonel Frémont was apprised of this action, he started, on the 21st of March, from Los Angeles, attended by a colored man and two Californian gentlemen, Don Andres Pico, and his brother, Don Jesus Pico. Both of these owed their lives to Colonel Frémont; he having granted that of the first in the capitulation of the 13th of January, and pardoned the other, at the solicitation of his wife and children and friends, when he was taken and

condemned to death, in December 1846, in consequence of his having broken his parole.

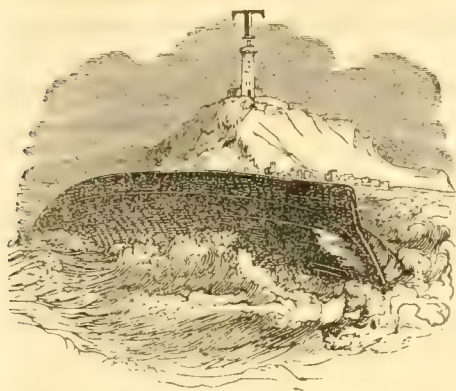
Colonel Frémont, when informed of the commission from the government as commander-in-chief, and of the orders with which General Kearny arrived in California, declined to obey his military orders, and continued to act as "governor and commander-in-chief of California," under the appointment of Commodore Stockton, on the ground that the authority conferred on General Kearny had become obsolete by the force of events, not looked to by the government as to happen until after the arrival of General Kearny in the territory. The principal of these was the conquest of California, which, he alleged, had been achieved by Commodore Stockton and himself, before the arrival of General Kearny and the troops under his command. At the end of May, General Kearny left the country to return home, having appointed Colonel Mason governor of California. Colonel Frémont accompanied him, bringing back his original engineering party. They reached Fort Leavenworth in 66 days, their march for the last 57 days averaging 31 miles daily. At Fort Leavenworth, formal charges (of mutiny, disobedience of lawful commands of his superior officer, and conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline) were preferred by General Kearny against Colonel Frémont, who asked for a speedy trial. He was subsequently tried in Washington, before a court-martial, which found him guilty of all the charges. With reference to the peculiar circumstances in which he had been placed, "between two officers of superior rank, each claiming to command-in-chief in California, circumstances in their nature calculated to embarrass the mind and excite the doubts of officers of greater experience than the accused, and in consideration of the important professional services rendered by him previous to the occurrence of the acts for which he was tried," the officers of the court recommended him to executive clemency. The President was of opinion that the charge of mutiny was not sustained, but approved of the sentence of the court, which was "dismissal from the service," on the ground of the accused being guilty of the other two charges. He however remitted the sentence, and directed Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont to be released from arrest and report for duty. He was ordered to join the rifle regiment, of which he held his commission as lieutenant-colonel, in Mexico; but he was not conscious of having done any thing to merit the finding the court against him, and he would not seem to admit its justice by accepting executive clemency. He therefore resigned his commission.

Soon after the departure of Colonel Doniphan for Chihuahua, an insurrection broke out in the northern part of New Mexico, which appeared

to have for its object the massacre of all American residents, and such of the Mexicans as had taken office under the government established by General Kearny. A conspiracy was first formed under a number of prominent Mexicans, headed by Thomas Ortiz and Diego Archaleta. The postponement of their scheme from the time first fixed for its accomplishment led to its discovery, and its leaders fled. Their doctrines, however, continued to be disseminated among the people, and gave anxiety to the authorities. Governor Bent issued an ably written proclamation on the 5th of January, calculated to do away with the false impressions which had been made upon the people by their infatuated leaders, and exhorting them to remain quiet and enjoy the protection and security offered them. This paper seemed to have had the desired effect, and confiding in the apparent tranquillity, the governor went to Taos, unattended, on some private business. On the 19th of January, a party of Pueblo Indians came to the village, demanding the release of two of their comrades, who were confined in prison for crime. Stephen L. Lee, the sheriff, was about to give them up, when Vigil, the Mexican prefect, forbade it. The Indians then killed both Vigil and Lee, and released the prisoners. Then being joined by the Mexicans, they marched towards the house of Governor Bent, but being informed of their approach, he rose from his bed, dressed himself, and seized his pistols. A woman in the house advised him to fight, but he said it was useless to oppose such a crowd of savages, and he would endeavor to gain assistance or escape. There was a window opening from his house into that of another, through which he was passing, when he received two arrows from the Indians, who had covered the house-tops. He made his way to the door and asked assistance from some of the persons present, but they refused to aid him, telling him he must die. The Indians by this time had obtained an entrance into the house, and they shot him through the body and killed him. One Tomas then took the governor's pistol and shot him in the face. They then scalped him, stretched his body on a board with brass nails, and paraded it through the streets. The district attorney, Mr. Leal, they treated in a more brutal manner, scalping him alive, and killing him by shooting arrows into his body a little way at a time. Two others fell victims to their barbarity. They then sent messengers all over the country, informing the people that a blow had been struck, and inviting their aid in prosecuting the revolt. On the same day, several Americans were murdered at the Arroyo Honda, and two others on the Rio Colorado.

Colonel Price heard of these events on the 20th of January, and at the same time learned that the insurgents had collected an army and were advancing to fight him. He prepared an expedition against them, and

met them on the 24th of January, with a force of 353 rank and file, and four howitzers.



THE Mexicans were about 1500 strong, in the valley bordering the Rio del Norte, in possession of the heights commanding the road to Cumada. They saw that the train of Colonel Price's command was some distance in the rear, and attempted to cut it off. In this they were foiled, and the battle was regularly commenced. In a few minutes they were dislodged from every one of their

positions, and flying in all directions. Colonel Price lost two killed and six wounded. The enemy left 36 dead on the field, and carried off their wounded. They retreated so rapidly that they could not be overtaken. On the 29th of January, Colonel Price learned that some 60 or 80 of them were posted on the gorge leading to Embudo, and he despatched Captain Burgwin, with 180 men, to fight them. The road to be travelled would not admit of the passage of artillery or baggage wagons.

Captain Burgwin found them 600 strong, posted on the precipitous sides of the mountains, where the gorge would only admit the passage of three men abreast. There could scarcely be a better position for a defence than that they held, yet Captain Burgwin drove them from it, with the loss, on their part, of 20 killed and 60 wounded. He had only one man killed and one wounded. He marched through the pass and entered Embudo. From thence he marched to Trampas, where he met Colonel Price, and the whole army marched over the Taos mountains, breaking a road through the snow which covered it for the passage of their artillery. The enemy were found to have fortified Pueblo de Taos, a place of great strength, surrounded by adobe walls and strong pickets, every part of which was flanked by some projecting building. He opened his batteries on the town on the 3d of February, but in a little time retired to await the concentration of his forces. On the 4th at nine o'clock in the morning, the fire was again opened, and at eleven, finding it was impossible to make a breach in the walls with the howitzers, the colonel determined to storm the church, which was in the north-western angle of the town. Captain Burgwin led the attack. His party established themselves under the western wall of the church, and attempted to breach it with axes, while the roof was fired by the help of a temporary ladder.

In this emergency, the gallant commander exposed himself fatally to the enemy. Captain Burgwin left the shelter afforded by the flank of the church, and penetrating into the corral in front of that building, endeavored to force the door.

Burgwin, in this daring effort, received a wound which caused his death on the 7th of February. Several other officers had accompanied him to the church door, but they were not able to force it, and therefore retired behind the wall; while they had been thus engaged, some small holes had been cut in the wall, and shells were thrown in by hand, doing good execution. A six-pounder was now brought around by Lieutenant Wilson, who poured a heavy fire of grape into the town from the distance of 600 yards. The enemy had maintained a steady and heavy fire upon our troops during the whole fight. At half past three, ten rounds of grape were fired within 60 yards, into the holes that had been cut in the church wall with the axes, and a practicable breach was thus made. The gun was then run up to ten yards' distance, a shell was fired, and three more rounds of grape followed.



LIEUTENANTS DYER, Wilson, and Taylor then entered and took possession of the church, feeling for the foe in the smoke which filled it. The capture of the town was then speedily effected. Many of the enemy endeavored to escape towards the mountains, but were intercepted by Captains Slack and St. Vrain, who killed 51 of them. They then sued for peace, and to obtain it gave up towns, the Indians who had been concerned in the murder of Governor

Bent, and much of the property of the murdered Americans. The people of Moro, a town on the east side of the mountains, had risen on the 19th of January, and massacred eight Americans residing there. Captain Henley being near the town at the time, attempted to take it, but was repulsed with the loss of his life. Captain Morin reinforced the assailants, and took and burned the town. The Indians begged for peace, giving up those who had excited them to hostilities. The active participants in the rebellion were tried, and many who were convicted and condemned were promptly executed. For his zeal and gallantry in these movements, Colonel Price was rewarded by promotion to the rank of brigadier-general.

The Camanche, Arapaho, and Kiawa tribes of Indians, with others inhabiting the country from Missouri to Santa Fé and California, kept up such a series of hostilities and outrages, that it was found necessary to send a battalion of troops thither, under Colonel Gilpin. That energetic officer speedily succeeded by his judicious measures and his great activity, in bringing the country into quietness and order, and the Santa Fé trader and the government trains pass unmolested. Many of the Indians have fled to a distance from the route, and we may reasonably expect soon to see this region of country under the safe guardianship of the hardy western pioneer and his trusty rifle.



Colonel Garland.



CHAPTER LVI.

CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL SCOTT.



ORDERS were given to General Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, to proceed to Mexico, and, if he deemed it practicable, to set on foot an expedition against the Gulf coast. In the order of the Secretary of War, the line of operations was nearly indicated, all the details being left to Scott's prosecution according to his own judgment. In pursuance of these orders, the general sailed from New York on the 30th of November, and reached the Rio Grande on the 1st of January.

Preparatory to this movement a small squadron was placed in the Gulf early in 1846, under the command of Commodore Conner. This officer, after assisting General Taylor during his operations on the Rio Grande, sailed in the direction of Tampico. On the 7th of August, he made an attempt on the town of Alvarado, but failed. On the 15th of the same month, the brig Truxtun, commanded by officer Carpender, ran aground on the bar of Tuspan. On the 17th she was abandoned by all



Tampico.

the officers and men, except Lieutenant Hunter, with a boat's crew. The latter succeeded in regaining the squadron, but the others were captured by the enemy, and subsequently exchanged for General La Vega, and his fellow prisoners. The Truxtun, being utterly immovable, was burnt.

On the 15th of October, Commodore Conner made a second attack upon the town of Alvarado. His force was three steamers, three gun-boats, and two schooners. The first division crossed the bar and engaged with a Mexican battery of seven guns, placed at the entrance of the river. The second division, however, was prevented from crossing by the grounding of a steamer. The commodore finding it would be folly to proceed with the first division, withdrew his vessels and abandoned the attempt.

On the 16th of October, Commodore Perry sailed from the squadron to attack the town of Tabasco, having with him two steamers and seven schooners. Crossing the bar on the 23d, he took, without resistance, the small town of Frontera, capturing all the vessels in port, including two steamers. On the following day he commenced the ascent of the river leading to Tabasco. Reaching a fort which commanded a difficult pass, he forced the enemy to evacuate it, and then spiked the guns; and at noon on the 25th, all his vessels were anchored in front of the town.

After a slight engagement, it was spared at the earnest solicitation of the foreign merchants. In this expedition, Commodore Perry captured or destroyed all the vessels in the river, comprising two steamers and eleven sail of ships, and put a stop to a trade by which munitions were introduced from Yucatan to Mexico. On the 12th of November, Tampico surrendered to Commodore Conner without resistance.

On the night of November 20, Lieutenant Parker, Midshipmen Rogers and Hynson, and six men, rowed in a small boat to the Mexican brig *Creole*, and succeeded in burning her under the guns of San Juan de Ulloa. So daring a feat reflects great credit on the lieutenant and his little company.

The first great object of the new army was an attack upon Vera Cruz and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa. It was arranged, that the fleet in the Gulf was to aid the army. The squadron, under Commodore Conner, was in readiness for the attack; but the forces of the general were not sufficient to justify it, until a large number of troops had been detached from General Taylor's army. These reached General Scott in February, 1847, and augmented his army to about 12,000 men.

The city of Vera Cruz is situated upon the exact spot where Cortes landed on the 21st of April, 1519. It is very strongly fortified—being surrounded by a stone wall, defended by nine towers. All of these towers can mount 100 pieces of cannon of various sizes, and save those of the middle ones, their fires all cross in front of the guard-houses, the external walls of which form part of the wall surrounding the town. One portion of the wall is washed by the Atlantic, and the shore on the opposite side is a dry, sandy plain.

The castle of San Juan de Ulloa is one of the strongest and most noted fortresses in the world. Its construction was commenced in 1582, upon a bar or bank in front of Vera Cruz, at the distance of 1000 Castilian varas, or yards, from the town. It is entirely surrounded by water. The fortress is constructed in the shape of a polygon, and its walls are from four to five yards thick. The material used in its construction is *Madrepora Astrea*, a species of coral which abounds in the neighboring islands; the exterior being faced with a harder stone. Its full equipment is 370 cannon. This castle was considered by the Mexicans as impregnable.

The two commanding officers of the land and naval forces landed at Anton Lizardo, a Mexican port upon the Gulf, and from thence proceeded, in a steamer, to make a reconnoissance. The beach due west from the island of Sacrificios was selected by them, as the most suitable point to land the troops. Accordingly, all the vessels used for transportation having arrived, the landing took place on the 9th of March. No enemy



Harney's Dragoon Fight.

with a party of American dragoons defeated a superior force of Mexican lancers, killing or wounding about 100 of them.

Commissioners were appointed by the two commanding generals, to arrange the terms of the capitulation ; and every thing being satisfactorily agreed upon, the surrender of the city of Vera Cruz took place on the 29th of March. The following were the terms of the surrender :—

1. The whole garrison or garrisons to be surrendered to the arms of the United States, as prisoners of war, the 29th instant, at ten o'clock, A. M.; the garrisons to be permitted to march out with all the honors of war, and to lay down their arms to such officers as may be appointed by the general-in-chief of the United States armies, and at a point to be agreed upon by the commissioners.

2. Mexican officers shall preserve their arms and private effects, including horses and horse-furniture, and to be allowed, regular and irregular officers, as also the rank and file, five days to retire to their respective homes, on parole, as hereinafter prescribed.

3. Coincident with the surrender, as stipulated in article 1, the Mexican flags of the various forts and stations shall be struck, saluted by their own batteries ; and, immediately thereafter, Forts Santiago and Concepcion, and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, occupied by the forces of the United States.

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to all arms and descriptions of force, giving the usual parole, that the said rank and file, as well as themselves, shall not serve again until duly exchanged.

5. All the *materiel* of war, and all public property of every description found in the city, the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, and their dependencies, to belong to the United States; but the armament of the same (not injured or destroyed in the further prosecution of the actual war) may be considered as liable to be restored to Mexico by a definitive treaty of peace.

6. The sick and wounded Mexicans to be allowed to remain in the city, with such medical officers and attendants, and officers of the army, as may be necessary to their care and treatment.

7. Absolute protection is solemnly guaranteed to persons in the city, and property, and it is clearly understood that no private building or property is to be taken or used by the forces of the United States, without previous arrangement with the owners, and for a fair equivalent.

8. Absolute freedom of religious worship and ceremonies is solemnly guaranteed.

On the 29th of March, the Mexicans evacuated both city and castle, marching to an open plain behind the city, stacking their arms, and then proceeding towards the interior. Women and children accompanied them, bearing heavy burdens, and exhibiting the melancholy consequences of the assault. After their flag was struck, the Americans entered the city amid the strains of national music, the shouts of the overjoyed soldiery, and the loud booming of cannon from both fleet and castle. General Twiggs was appointed governor, and soon restored quiet and confidence. An immense quantity of guns, ammunition, and other military stores were captured.

Ever keeping in mind the instructions of government—to conquer a peace—General Scott used every effort to conciliate the Mexican population, and convince them that so far from entertaining hostile feelings towards them, the American government regarded them in a spirit of amity and forbearance. A proclamation was issued, solemnly promising them protection in the enjoyment and exercise of all their rights, social and religious; while at the same time they were exhorted to remain neutral, and avoid every thing which might foster a spirit of distrust and retaliation between themselves and the American soldiers.

A few days before the commencement of the assault upon Vera Cruz, Commodore Conner had been superseded in the command of the Gulf squadron by Commodore Perry, who had charge of the fleet during the whole siege. On the 21st of March a detachment, under Lieutenant Hunter, appeared before the town of Alvarado and demanded its sur-



Lieutenant Hunter.

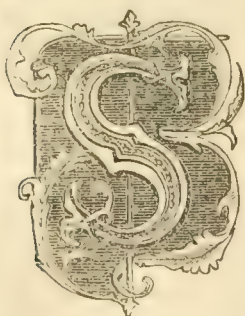
render. This was complied with, and thus the place which had been a desired object to the Americans for nearly a year, was attained without bloodshed. Hunter was subsequently called to account for exceeding his orders, and after being severely reprimanded by the commodore, was dismissed from the squadron; but, on reporting himself at Washington, he was ordered on other duty.

News of the taking of Vera Cruz was received in the United States with the wildest demonstrations of joy. Thanks and tokens of esteem were voted to Scott and his army, and public illuminations were held in most of the great cities. It was indeed a great feat, that, with the loss of only a few men killed and wounded, our troops should subdue a fortress considered by all the world as impregnable.

On the 8th of April, the army under General Scott left Vera Cruz, and began its march for the city of Mexico. All were in high spirits,

and knowing that Santa Anna was in the neighborhood, with a large force, all were eager for the fray. After his repulse at Buena Vista, Santa Anna, by great efforts, succeeded in gathering a large force, with which he advanced to meet the Americans. As General Scott approached, he marched towards the Jalapa road, and took a strong position at Cerro Gordo, where he awaited the onset of the Americans.

The position of the Mexican army was one of immense strength. The road from Vera Cruz, as it passes the Plan del Rio, which is a wide, rocky bed of a once large stream, is commanded by a series of high cliffs, which were completely covered by forts and batteries. These cliffs extend along the road for several miles, rising one above another. The road then debouches to the right, and curving round the ridge, passes over a high cliff which was also completely commanded by forts and batteries. The Cerro Gordo commanded the road, on a gentle declination, for nearly a mile; therefore an approach in that direction was impossible. A large force would have been cut to pieces. But the Mexicans confidently believed that the Americans would attack them in front, both because of the known desperate valor of the assailants, and the supposed strength of their position on the right and left. This strong position was defended by at least 14,000 of the best soldiers in the Mexican army, under the command of Santa Anna; and they had with them about thirty-five pieces of cannon.



COTT, with the eye of a skilful general, perceived the folly of a front attack, and determined to avoid it. He had a road cut to the right, so as to escape the front fire from the Sierra, and turn the position on the left flank. This was made known to the enemy by a deserter from our camp, and in consequence, a large force, under General La Véga, was sent to the forts on the left. On the 17th of April, in order to cover his flank movements, General Scott ordered General Twiggs

to proceed against the fort on the steep ascent a little to the left of the Sierra. This was an undertaking of the greatest difficulty. Colonel Harney commanded the troops that were to perform the service. At the head of them he pushed up the ascent amid the most tremendous storm of grape and musketry. The work was soon carried, but with a severe loss. Having secured this position near the enemy's strongest fortification, and having raised one of his large guns to the top of it, General Scott proceeded to follow up his advantages. A demonstration was made from this position against another strong fort in the rear, near the Sierra;



General Twigg at Cerro Gordo.

but the undertaking was given up, on account of the strength of the enemy.

Before daylight, the entire division of Twigg was roused to storm the height. As the loud cannon opened on each side, Shields hurried on against the fort to the west, so as to carry it and gain the Jalapa road. As light gradually spread among the mountains, the long lines of American soldiery could be seen clambering up the precipitous ascent, in direct route for the main height. Colonel Harney, assisted by Colonel Childs, led the assault, while the commander-in-chief fixed his anxious eye upon the movement. Although for some time protected by the steep ledges, the assailants came at length within range of the opposing fire, and the front ranks melted away before its withering showers. Thundering tones shook all the mountain heights, echoing and breaking among the gorges, with terrific grandeur; while answering them went up the shouts of man and officer, the firm, clear words of command, and the quick clashing of arms. The gallant Harney, regardless of personal danger, cheered on his men, rushing along their front, through showers of death that rained on every side. Animated by his voice and example, the troops breasted the murderous storm, reached the parapet and leaped over among their enemies. Then the cannon ceased, and there were a few moments of terrible silence, succeeded by the ringing of bayonets, and the groans of the dying. The struggle was short. Dismayed by the impetuous charge, the enemy either threw down their arms or broke and fled down the



General Scott Complimenting Colonel Harney.



General Shields wounded.

southern ascent to the main road. Generals Santa Anna, Canalizo, and Almonte, escaped to Jalapa. Twiggs's division, headed by Harney and Childs, continued in close pursuit of the fugitives, until late in the afternoon.

So conspicuous was the conduct of Colonel Harney, during the whole of this terrible charge, that immediately after the enemy's works had been carried, and while all around was confusion and wild pursuit, General Scott rode up to the colonel and exclaimed, "Colonel Harney, I cannot now adequately express my admiration of your gallant achievement, but I shall take pleasure in soon thanking you in proper terms." With characteristic modesty, Harney replied that the praise was due less to himself than to his officers and men.

Meanwhile General Shields, with his volunteers, had stormed and carried the height to the west, and marching down rapidly into the road, cut off the retreat of the fugitives from Cerro Gordo. In the commencement of the action, the general was paralyzed by a musket-ball which passed through his lungs. Colonel Baker then took command of his division, and conducted the pursuit.

At the same time General Pillow had attacked the strong positions of the enemy, situated on the plateau. General La Vega received him with a galling fire, but without being able to check his advance. The column was led by Haskell's regiment of Tennessee volunteers, followed by the



General Shields.

other regiments of the brigade. When near La Vega's position, the advance suddenly received a heavy fire from a masked battery, which drove it back with great loss. Pillow restored his line and again ordered it forward. The troops advanced with spirit; but the Mexicans, animated by their former success, poured forth so terrible a discharge from all their batteries, that they again drove back the assailants. At this time the American flag was observed on Cerro Gordo, and judging it useless to resist further, General La Vega surrendered. The force of the Americans at Cerro Gordo was about 8500; their loss was 33 officers and 398 men—total 433; of whom 63 were killed. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was never known, but during the battle it no doubt equalled that of their antagonists, and in the retreat was greatly augmented by the slaughter committed among the fugitives by Harney's dragoons. The amount of ammunition, arms, military stores, and prisoners captured was so great, that in General Scott's language, the victors were "embarrassed with the results of victory,—prisoners of war," says the commander, "heavy ordnance, field batteries, small-arms, and accoutrements. About



Colonel Hitchcock.

3000 men laid down their arms, with the usual proportion of field and company officers, besides five generals, several of them of great distinction,—Pinzon, Jarrero, La Vega, Noriaga, and Abando. A sixth general, Vasquez, was killed in defending the battery (tower) in the rear of the whole Mexican army, the capture of which gave us those glorious results."

As the great number of prisoners was an insupportable burden to the army, General Scott released them all on parole, except a few officers, who chose to remain under the good treatment of the American government. All the private effects were restored to their owners, and the small arms and some ammunition destroyed. The duty of receiving the paroles of the Mexican officers was intrusted to Colonel Hitchcock, inspector-general of the army, who also furnished provisions for the prisoners.

On the same day that the victory of Cerro Gordo was achieved, the town of Tuspan was captured with but slight resistance by a portion of the Gulf squadron. On the following day Twiggs entered Jalapa, in pursuit of the flying enemy. On the same day and the following, the



Capture of Tuspan.

Mexicans abandoned the strong post of La Hoya; and on the 22d, General Worth entered the strong town and castle of Perote. This fortress is one of the most formidable in Mexico. It contained 54 pieces of cannon, bronze and iron mortars, 11,000 cannon-balls, 14,000 bombs, and 500 muskets, all of which fell into the hands of the Americans.

On the 15th of May, General Worth, who led the advance division, took possession of the city of Puebla—Santa Anna at the head of 3500 men, retreating as the Americans advanced. At Puebla, Worth halted, until the commander-in-chief, with the main body, came up.

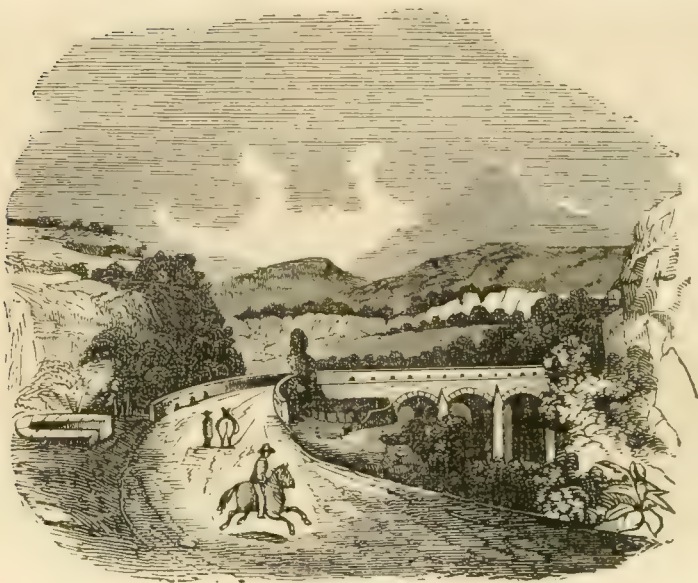
After the fall of Vera Cruz, the Mexican government authorized the organization of small bands of citizens and villagers, armed and mounted. They were termed “guerrilla parties,” and being composed mostly of outlaws and robbers—the dregs of the population—they entered upon the campaign with the avowed determination to extend no quarter to any who might fall into their hands, but to rob and murder as often as occasion offered. Spreading themselves over the country through which the route of the Americans extended, they seized the mountain fastnesses and strong passes, attacked scouting parties, intercepted communications, and even entered garrisoned cities at night, and murdered all American stragglers within their reach. Some of their attempts were so daring and serious, as to be deserving of particular record.



Puebla de los Angeles.

Early in May, a party of infantry were attacked near the National Bridge, and obliged to fall back upon the wagon train. Here they rallied, and charged on the guerrillas who were dispersed with considerable loss. One American was killed. On the same day, no less than 21 bodies were found on the road, of those who had been murdered by the rancheros. Not long after, some unknown persons of General Taylor's army entered a rancho near Seralvo, and hung nearly 40 Mexicans. Generals Taylor and Wool made the most strenuous exertions to discover the perpetrators of this outrage, but without success. On receiving news of the murder, General Canales issued a proclamation declaring the whole eastern country under martial law, and that no quarter should be extended to any American.

On the 22d of May, Colonel Sowers reached Vera Cruz with despatches from General Scott, then approaching Puebla. On the same day, with an escort of five men and Lieutenant M'Donnell, he set out for Santa Fé, hoping to find Captain Wheat there, from whom he expected further reinforcements. Being disappointed, he set out with two additional men, but was attacked on the road by the guerrillas, and himself and six men murdered. The survivor escaped to carry the sad news to Vera Cruz. About the same time, Captain Walker, with 800 men, while escorting a wagon train, was attacked by a body of rancheros, whom he charged, capturing six, killing ten, and pursuing the remainder as far as the darkness of



National Bridge.

night would admit. The 2d dragoons, who accompanied Walker, had six killed and eleven wounded, a loss which induced them to shoot the prisoners taken by Walker.

On the night of June 4th, 800 men, under Colonel M'Intosh, started from Vera Cruz for Puebla, with a train of 150 wagons, and 600 mules. He had with him 225,000 dollars in specie. On Sunday, the 6th of June, the advance guard, consisting of Captain Ford's Indiana dragoons, was suddenly attacked by a large body of Mexicans, who killed two and wounded five or six others. This threw the American front into confusion, and enabled the enemy to follow up their success by capturing several horses and a large quantity of baggage. The troops were just recovering from this unexpected assault, when in about half an hour the rear of the train was attacked, and before the guard, who were unfortunately too far behind, could get up, they had lost a large number of pack mules, and several wagons were robbed of their contents. The assailants then retired into the neighboring chaparral, where it was impossible to pursue them.

The train was now arranged in order, the mounted dragoons placed as a rear guard, and the whole again moved forward. At sunset they reached a low part of the road, bordered on the left by an open chaparral, and on the right by a field, set with thickets, and commanded on the



Mexican Cavalry menacing a train of Wagoners

farther end by a small fort situated on a hill. The stillness of this lonely spot was suddenly broken by heavy discharges of musketry, while from the fort, the hill in its rear, and the rows of chaparral, blazed forth sheets of blinding flame. Although the Americans were mostly raw recruits, they received the enemy's fire with coolness, and poured forth in return a volley from their rifles. After this had continued for some minutes, they charged upon the chaparral in the rear of the adjoining field, and after a short but exciting struggle, silenced the Mexicans' fire, and drove them from the thicket. At the same time the dragoons rushed down upon the fort on the hill, entered it amid loud shouts, and compelled the garrison to fly in confusion over the neighboring heights.

Throughout the whole of this affair the Mexicans behaved with more than usual skill and bravery. During the confusion incident to the first attack, they avoided the American troops as much as possible, and fell upon the wagons and mules, which extended over a distance of four miles, and having the guard of 400 men weakened by extension. They were thus enabled to capture 28 wagons, and nearly 200 pack mules. The loss of the Americans during this week, in specie alone, was more than \$50,000. Thirty men were killed. Colonel M'Intosh halted at Paso de Obijas, and despatched a courier to General Cadwallader, at Vera Cruz, for supplies.

This action encouraged the guerrillas to such an extent that they spread themselves between Vera Cruz and General Scott's head-quarters, cut

off the communication, and occupied all the strong positions in the vicinity. Strong bodies entered Vera Cruz at night, and drove off numbers of horses: scouting parties were attacked, and sometimes murdered; while it became almost impossible to travel with a train without its being accompanied by a large escort.

On the 8th, a small recruiting party of Americans, with some citizens and disbanded soldiers, numbering in all 150, left Puebla for Vera Cruz. It was conducted by Captain Bainbridge of the 3d artillery. On approaching Cerro Gordo, two officers were fired upon from the chaparral in the rear of the train, and soon after the Captain was informed that the pass was guarded by 4000 Mexicans. After halting at the mouth of the pass, and organizing, the party passed through without meeting the enemy, and arrived that evening at the National Bridge. The troops were now so much fatigued as to be unable to furnish a guard; but, while preparing to bivouac, they received information that some persons were barricading the bridge. About the same time signal-lights were distinctly observed on the ridges and cliffs near Cerro Gordo. In order to prevent surprise, a few men were placed between the bridge and the encampment, but no attempt was made on them during the night.

Before daylight the sick and wounded were removed to a place of safety, and two parties despatched towards the bridge, one of which cleared it without meeting the enemy. These were followed soon after by the main body. Every thing appearing safe, Lieutenant M'Williams and a Mr. Frazer were sent to bring the train across the bridge. While on their way, they were fired at by about 25 Mexicans posted on a ridge. The wagon-master and four others were killed, and a wagon captured. Immediately after a party of lancers appeared on the bridge, and prepared for a charge; but on perceiving that Captain Bainbridge's party were ready to receive them, they hastily retired. Placing his troops in order, the captain resumed his march, followed by several hundred lancers, who hung upon his rear and flanks until he arrived at the pass, where Colonel M'Intosh was awaiting reinforcements. The Mexicans were a portion of the same party that had attacked the colonel and cut off his train, and during the whole night they kept up a continual fire upon the camp, often approaching very near to the American sentinels.

On the following day Bainbridge's party resumed its march to Vera Cruz, in company with Captain Duperu's dragoons, who returned to obtain their horses. It had been owing to the bravery of this company that M'Intosh's command was not entirely cut off or dispersed during the fierce attack of the lancers. On arriving at Santa Fé, the dragoons halted in order to protect a large return train, at that time threatened;



Captain Duperu's Dragoons attacking the Guerrillas

and meanwhile Captain Bainbridge pushed on to Vera Cruz, where he arrived in safety. The threatened assault upon Duperu's command was made; but, although the enemy were greatly superior, he succeeded in driving them back with loss, and arrived safely at Vera Cruz.

On the day that Captain Bainbridge's command left M'Intosh's camp, General Cadwallader reached it with 800 men, and two howitzers. The two commands, numbering about 1000 men, were then joined, and moved forward towards the National Bridge. General Cadwallader led his troops over the heights from which the enemy had made their attack, so as to be on even ground with the Mexicans in case of a second assault. The Americans were not long in suspense. A heavy fire from all the neighboring ridges and chaparral, soon announced that a large force had collected to dispute his passage. The command was halted, and the two howitzers placed in a position to rake the thickets. A furious action ensued, which lasted several hours, and was terminated only by a charge into the chaparral. After a short struggle, the Mexicans retreated, leaving behind them, in killed and wounded, about 100 men. The loss of the Americans was thirteen killed and between thirty and forty wounded. Cadwallader passed the bridge, and proceeded on his way to Jalapa.

Colonel De Russy, with 128 men, was sent on the 7th of July, from Tampico, by Colonel Gates, commandant at that place, to Huejutla, to

ask of the Mexican general, Garay, the liberation of some prisoners of war entitled to release. On reaching a point eight miles from Tantayuca, and one mile from the Calabosa River, he met a Mexican Indian, from whom information was received that General Garay was in force at that river, and meditated an attack upon the party. Nearly at the same moment, shots were heard in advance, the Mexicans having fired upon and killed Captain Boyd, leader of the pioneer party, and six of his men.



HE main body of the Americans then charged the enemy in three columns, driving them from their left and right, to the opposite side of the river, where they formed in one body. In this position the battle continued for an hour, Captain Wyse gallantly serving the only piece belonging to the company, and acting with the greatest coolness throughout the whole engagement. The enemy were finally beaten off, and the Americans commenced their retreat to Tantayuca. The Mexicans were now reinforced by numerous small parties of citizens and guerrillas, and a running fight ensued, which was maintained until the Americans had regained their magazine—a distance of twelve miles. On arriving at Tantayuca they dispersed a portion of the enemy stationed there, and entering the town, provided themselves with arms and ammunition, and also stripped it of provisions and other stores.

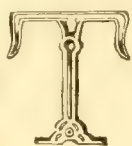
At nine o'clock in the evening, a summons for capitulation arrived from General Garay. The demand was refused; but an agreement was made to meet the general in the plaza at ten o'clock. Captain Wyse repaired to the place at the time appointed, and waited until midnight without receiving any intelligence of the Mexican officer.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 13th, the Americans left their camp, and marched for the Panuco road amid a heavy rain. At ten A. M., they were pursued by the Mexicans, and a running action commenced, and was continued over a space of 50 miles. The loss of the Americans, during the whole affair, was fifteen killed, ten wounded, and three missing; that of the enemy is unknown. In the latter end of June, eight of the prisoners confined by General Garay made their escape to the American quarters.

In July, General Pierce left Vera Cruz to join Scott's army, having with him 2500 men, 150 wagons, 700 mules, and \$1,000,000 in specie. At the National Bridge he was attacked by 1400 Mexicans, and a severe battle ensued, which terminated in the defeat of the enemy. Their loss was 150—that of the Americans, 30 killed and wounded. After returning to Vera Cruz for artillery and reinforcements, the general marched

forward, and reached Puebla on the 6th of August, one day previous to Scott's march upon the capital.

On the 10th of August, a party of Americans, under Major Lally, was attacked, near the National Bridge, by the guerrillas. The skirmish was severe, the major being assailed in front and rear, and losing many men. He maintained his ground, however, with vigor, and finally drove off the enemy. A short time previous to this, an engagement had taken place between Captain Ruff's cavalry and the guerrillas, in which he was eminently victorious, not losing a man.



THESE attacks of the guerrillas kept the region between Vera Cruz and Puebla in a state of constant alarm, and rendered travelling, except with a strong escort, in the highest degree dangerous. The most active and daring of these partisans was the celebrated Father Jarauta, a priest, who had organized most of the parties, and who seems to have been considered as their general leader.

Vigilant exertions were made to capture him by Captain Walker, and General Patterson, who was then stationed at Vera Cruz, but without success; and, until the close of the war, he continued to arm and lead different bands, whose rapid and fearless movements rendered his name a terror in that neighborhood.

On the 8th of August, the march of Scott's army towards the capital was resumed. After passing round Lake Chalco, by an unfrequented road, for the purpose of avoiding the strong fortress of El Penon, the troops reached San Augustin, a village twelve miles south of the city of Mexico, on the 18th of August. A reconnoissance of the fortress of San Antonio was made on the following day, during which, Captain Thornton was killed. San Augustin was situated in a broken valley, near its northern extremity. On the rocks which border the western side of the valley, was situated the strong post of Contreras, which the Mexicans had carefully fortified and furnished with a large garrison.

In conformity with the orders of General Scott, General Twiggs left his wagon train at San Augustin, and proceeded with his division, on the morning of the 19th, across the rough road which leads to Contreras. On arriving within sight of that place, a rifle regiment was ordered forward as skirmishers, to clear the ground. This was done safely and quickly. The enemy's pickets were driven to within 300 yards of their works, and then Magruder's battery, a mountain-howitzer and a rocket-battery were placed in position for service. The Mexicans opened a heavy



General Persifer Smith.

fire with their large guns, and the Americans returned it with effect. For several hours a cannonade was kept up, which was most destructive to Twiggs's troops. So great was the loss of artillerymen and officers that the batteries were withdrawn and placed under cover. General Smith's brigade was then ordered to gain a position in the rear of the enemy, and turn the position of San Antonio. The troops advanced over fields of lava, scarcely passable by single individuals, until within range of the Mexican batteries on the San Angel road. These opened their fire, and the situation of the Americans became one of great danger. The strong fortress of Contreras was erected on the edge of a ravine; it mounted 22 guns and was garrisoned by 7000 troops. Reconnoitring, General Smith found he was advancing by the only path that crossed the broken bed of lava, and on which the enemy were prepared to receive him. The guns could be dragged no further, and the infantry would be exposed to a terrible fire without knowing whether the crossing of the ravine was possible. In this dilemma, Smith resolved to abandon the direct march and try one of the enemy's flanks.

To cover this movement, Captain Magruder opened his fire in front,

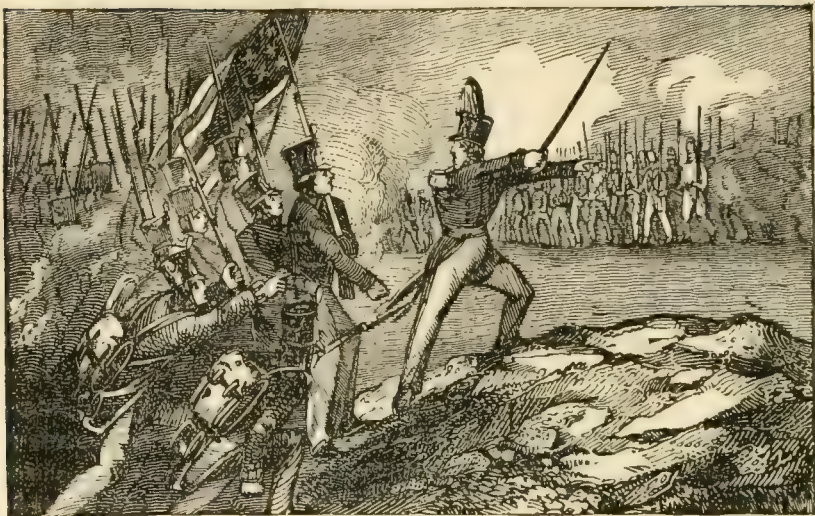
while a select corps passed behind his pieces, and filed off to the Mexican right. After crossing a rock nearly a mile in length, the troops descended to the village of Encelda, near Contreras. Here they saw an immense body of troops approaching the fort from the capital. These formed on the slope of the ravine, on the opposite side of the village. Instead of pausing, the Americans continued their march, crossed two streams, and entered the village. There they met four regiments of Pillow's division, under General Cadwallader, who placed himself under the orders of General Smith.

General Smith drew up Cadwallader's troops on the outer edge of the village, facing the enemy, placed the infantry and rifles on the right flank, garrisoned a church, and secured the rear with a regiment, under Major Dimmick. In this position he awaited the onset of the enemy. While the Mexicans were getting ready to advance, Colonel Riley, who had been sent by Twiggs to favor Smith's movement, arrived with his brigade. With this accession of strength, General Smith determined to become the assailant. Riley's troops were placed in column on the left, and Cadwallader's on the right. But night and a severe storm set in before the attack could be made. The bivouac of the night was one of the most distressing that the army of Scott experienced. The troops were without covering from the storm, no fires were kindled, and the air was piercing cold. Besides this, they were surrounded, except in the rear, by at least 18,000 men, with nearly 30 pieces of cannon, and including in their force, 6000 cavalry. Smith's whole force numbered but 3300 men, without cavalry or artillery.



IN the desperate situation in which he was placed, General Smith resolved to attack Contreras before daylight. A reconnoissance of the ravine in the rear of the fort indicated that an attack in that direction with infantry was practicable, and it was resolved to make it. Three o'clock, on the morning of the 20th, was selected as the time of marching. In the meantime, Captain Lee volunteered to return to the general-in-chief and inform him of their situation. But an unexpected aid arrived: General Shields appeared on the other side of the ravine with the New York and South Carolina volunteers. Being the superior officer, Shields could have taken the command, but he generously let General Smith follow out his own plan, and contented himself with defending the village during the attack upon Contreras.

At three o'clock, on the 20th, the troops, cold, wet and hungry, commenced their march. Riley's brigade formed the van, followed by Cad-



Storming of Contreras.

wallader, while Smith's own brigade brought up the rear. The road was one of great difficulty, being jagged by stones and pointed rocks, the interstices filled with mud and water. At daylight, the van entered the ravine cautiously, until it reached a point from whence a charge might be made upon the rear of the works. Here it halted, and the rear closed up. Forming into two columns, preparatory to an assault, Riley's men marched forward amid the crags and gulleys of the ravine, until he stood in full front of the Mexican rear, but sheltered from its fire by an acclivity. There they again halted, re-formed and pushed up the eminence. The Mexicans then opened their fire from the fort, and in the rear. This was the critical moment. Throwing forward his two divisions as skirmishers, Riley shouted to his men to follow, and rushed towards the fort, supported by his whole command. This charge was one of the most brilliant of the whole war. The remainder of Smith's troops could hardly be restrained, such was their enthusiasm. Through a tremendous storm of the enemy's cannon, Riley hurried his shattered column, until he reached a cross ravine close to the fort. Across this, under the brow of the slope, the rifles and engineers had been thrown to check the detachments outside. Preparing for a decisive struggle with the bayonet, Riley's men rushed forward and were soon upon the enemy's works. Cadwallader moved rapidly to his support; and Smith's brigade, under Major Dimmick, advanced in the same direction, but arriving opposite the fort, a large body of the enemy were observed upon its left flank. Major Dimmick was

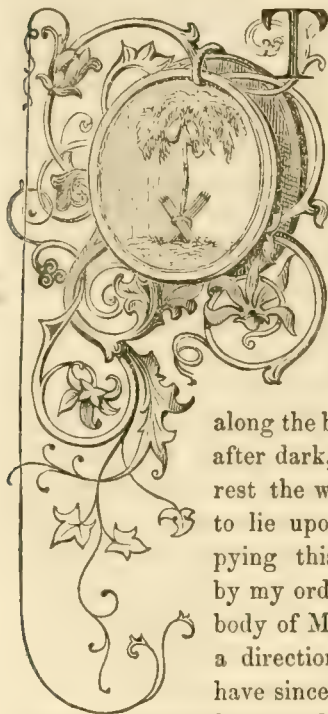
ordered to charge and rout it, which he did in the finest style. A portion of this regiment mounted the bank of the first ravine, rushed down the second, and met the enemy outside of their works, just as Riley's brigade poured upon it. Riley's charge was irresistible. Every battery in the fort was silenced, and the masses of the enemy were driven from the walls and were soon flying from the gates in confusion. The cavalry outside of the gates were attacked by Major Dimmick, with the bayonet, and both men and horses overwhelmed in irremediable slaughter. Thousands leaped headlong from the walls, and rushed across the fields and up the ravine. The rout was complete. Riley's colors were placed upon the works, and the artillery companies seized upon the cannon. Among the captured guns were two taken by Santa Anna at Buena Vista. General Scott arrived soon after the capture, and joined in the shouts of the victorious troops.



THE promptitude of General Shields in cutting off the enemy's retreat, which he accomplished by a fine stratagem, contributed in no little degree to the complete success of Smith's plan. The assault took place "not more than half a mile," says the latter officer, "off the garden and house occupied by a part of General Shield's brigade, placed there to intercept the enemy. This skilful and gallant officer, when we marched, had spread his men over the line we had occupied, and directed them to make

fires towards daylight, as though preparing their breakfast. The enemy in front had, during the night, placed batteries along their line, and in the morning moved detachments forward to take in flank the attack he saw we were meditating the night before, which he was preparing to meet, supposing, from the indications he found, that we were still in force in the village. When, after daylight, he saw a column moving on Contreras, (the intrenched camp,) and already prepared to turn it, he must have supposed we had been strongly reinforced; for his movements to and fro indicated great perplexity. His doubts were soon resolved, however, by the loss of Contreras, (the camp,) and he immediately commenced a hasty retreat along the top of the hill, inclining towards the San Angel road. Shields's force (five or six hundred men) having, under his skilful direction, thus disposed of one enemy, he turned to the other, who, in their flight, found themselves intercepted at the garden, and, under the sure fire of the South Carolina regiment, broke away over the opposite fields,

and taking shelter in the ditches and ravines, escaped, many of them, to the rocks. Two squadrons of cavalry, either by chance or a wise design, in a narrow part of the road between the wall and dike, laid down their arms, and so choked the way that pursuit was interrupted for upwards of twenty minutes; which sufficed (we having no cavalry) for the safety of many of the fugitives. A large body escaped upwards towards the mountains."



PHIS gallant conduct of General Shields was not unattended with danger to his own command. In speaking of the event of the battle, he thus describes his own operations, commencing with the time when, on the afternoon of the 19th, he marched to support General Smith.

"Directing my march upon the village near Contreras, the troops had to pass over ground covered with rocks and crags, and filled with chasms, which rendered the road almost impassable. A deep rugged ravine,

along the bed of which rolled a rapid stream, was passed, after dark, with great difficulty and exertion; and to rest the wearied troops after crossing, I directed them to lie upon their arms until midnight. While occupying this position, two strong pickets, thrown out by my orders, discovered, fired upon, and drove back a body of Mexican infantry moving through the fields in a direction from their position towards the city. I have since learned that an attempt had in like manner been made by the enemy to pass the position on the

main road occupied by the 1st regiment of artillery, and with a like want of success. About midnight I again resumed the march, and joined Brigadier-General Smith in the village already referred to.

"General Smith, previous to my arrival, had made the most judicious arrangement for turning and surprising the Mexican position about day-break, and with which I could not wish to interfere. This cast upon my command the necessity of holding the position to be evacuated by General Smith, and which was threatened by the enemy's artillery and infantry on the right, and a large force of his cavalry on the left. About day-break the enemy opened a brisk fire of grape and round shot upon the church and village in which my brigade was posted, as also upon a part of our own troops displayed to divert him on his right and front—evi-

dently unaware of the movement in progress to turn his position by the left and rear. This continued until Colonel Riley's brigade opened its fire from the rear, which was delivered with such terrible effect, that the whole Mexican force was thrown into the utmost consternation.

"At this juncture, I ordered the two regiments of my command to throw themselves on the main road, by which the enemy must retire, to intercept and cut off his retreat; and although officers and men had suffered severely during the march of the night, and from exposure without shelter or cover to the incessant rain until daybreak, this movement was executed in good order, and with rapidity. The Palmetto regiment, crossing a deep ravine, deployed on both sides of the road, and opened a most destructive fire upon the mingled masses of infantry and cavalry; and the New York regiment, brought into line lower down, and on the roadside, delivered its fire with like effect. At this point many of the enemy were killed and wounded; some 365 captured, of which 25 were officers, and amongst the latter was General Nicolas Mendoza.



IN the meanwhile the enemy's cavalry, about 3000 strong, which had been threatening our position during the morning, moved down towards us in good order, and as if to attack. I immediately recalled the infantry, to place them in position to meet the threatened movement; but soon the cavalry changed its direction and retreated towards the capital. I now received an order from General Twiggs

to advance by the main road towards Mexico; and having posted Captain Marshall's company of South Carolina volunteers and Captain Taylor's New York volunteers, in charge of the prisoners and wounded, I moved off with the remainder of my force, and joined the positions of the 2d and 3d divisions, already *en route* on the main road. On this march we were joined by the general-in-chief, who assumed command of the whole, and the march continued uninterrupted until we arrived before Churubusco."

According to the reports of the Mexican generals, there were in and about Contreras, about 7000 men, under General Valencia, and 12,000 in front of Encelda, under Santa Anna. Their loss was 700 killed, a

large number wounded, and fifteen prisoners, including several generals. The victors captured 22 pieces of brass ordnance, a large number of mules and horses, and an immense quantity of shells, ammunition and small arms. The latter were destroyed. In this battle, about 3000 men without guns or cavalry, drove twice their number from a fortress considered impregnable, provided with every requisite for defensive warfare and seconded by a reserve of 10,000 troops. The plan was the work of General Smith; the execution, that of officers and men, unsurpassed for skill and undaunted courage.



SANTA ANNA, in his official report of the action, imputes the whole blame to the commandant, General Valencia, whom he had ordered to evacuate Contreras, on perceiving that the American army had safely eluded El Penon and Mexicalzingo. This, Valencia neglected to do, relying on the strength of his position, and the known superiority of his garrison in point of numbers. But for this disobedience of orders, the difficulties of the Americans would have been seriously augmented. Even

after so severe a blow, dispiriting as it was to the remainder of Santa Anna's army, the fortress of Churubusco was defended most obstinately; and the addition of 7000 troops, led by Santa Anna, with twenty pieces of cannon, and the immense stores of Contreras, previous to the occurrence of an enervating defeat, would have thrown a degree of energy into the defence of the first position which would have required more than the exertions of Smith's and Shield's commands to carry it. "Had Valencia," says an eye-witness, "obeyed the order of Santa Anna, sent to him on the 18th August, and fallen back to Coyoacan or Churubusco, with his 7000 veteran troops, 22 large cannon, and his vast stores of ammunition, it would have so strengthened Santa Anna, that we doubt if General Scott could ever have carried this latter position. As it was, our army encountered a fierce and destructive opposition, which cost us 1000 killed and wounded. Our army, too, but for the victory of Contreras, would have exhausted its supply of ammunition, before it could have made an impression on the enemy's strong position at Churubusco. But the capture of Contreras supplied the whole army with abundant stores of ammunition, and doubled the strength of our artillery.

"The result proved the sagacity of Santa Anna; for had Valencia obeyed the order to evacuate his position, we doubt if our army would now be occupying it.

"The victory of Contreras opened to our army the road to the capital.



General Quitman.

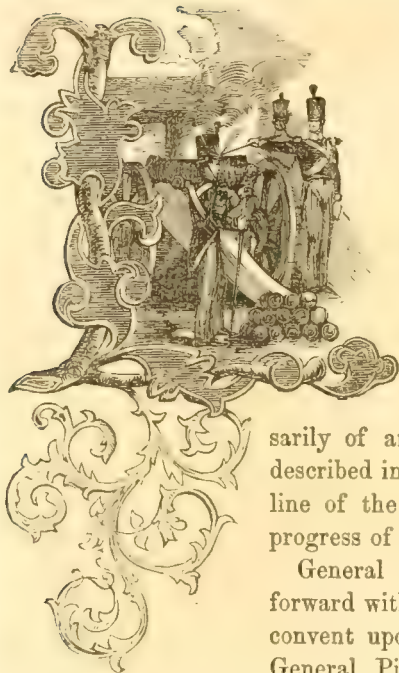
It is emphatically the great battle of the war. Had it been a defeat, disgrace and ruin, or utter annihilation, would have been the fate of our army."

The language of this extract is, perhaps, in a few places, rather strong ; since there can be little doubt that even in the event of a repulse before Churubusco, the genius of General Scott would have surmounted every difficulty, and cut his way into the capital. It shows, however, the light in which the victory of Contreras was regarded by the army, and as the writer justly observes, proves the sagacity of Santa Anna.

During the assault upon Contreras the divisions of Worth and Quitman were marching to Smith's assistance. But the battle was over before they appeared, and General Scott immediately ordered them to their former positions. These two divisions, with Shields's brigade, were placed under the command of Major General Pillow, and ordered to march towards Churubusco. General Worth, by skillful and daring movements, forced the position of San Antonio, and then joining Pillow, marched through ditches and swamps towards the next grand centre of attack.



Battle of Churubusco



THE hamlet of Churubusco, besides the fortified convent, presented a strong field work, with regular bastions and curtains, at the head of a bridge over which the road passes, from San Antonio to the capital. The whole remaining force of Mexico—about 27,000 men—was now collected in, or on the flanks of those works, and seemed resolved to make a last, desperate stand to save the capital. The movements of the assailants were necessarily of an intricate nature, and cannot be described in detail. We shall only give an outline of the principal attacks, and the general progress of the battle.

General Twiggs received orders to move forward with his division and attack the fortified convent upon the right of the enemy's works. General Pillow was ordered to assault, with Cadwallader's brigade, the *tete de pont*, a strong fort on the bridge, to the left. General Worth's division advanced to attack the same post from another direction, and the two detachments joined. The fields to the right of the bridge were filled with standing corn which masked large bodies of the enemy and enabled them to deliver a very destructive fire. But a portion of the troops crossed over these and engaged the regular line of the enemy. A regiment of infantry moved forward and attacked the work in front. But being exposed to a raking fire of grape, cannister and musketry, it was checked for some time. Two other regiments, under a terrible fire, crossed the deep ditch which surrounded the fort, carried it by the bayonet and turned the captured cannon upon the enemy posted in the town. Then the church or convent, which formed the citadel of Churubusco, hard pressed by Twiggs on one side and Worth upon the other, became the object of a general attack. Twenty minutes after the capture of the *tete de pont*, signals of surrender were thrown out of it on all sides, but not until the infantry had cleared the way by fire and bayonet, and had entered the work. A large number of prisoners were taken, including three generals. The following account of the termination of the battle is from General Scott's lucid despatch:—

"Pierce's brigade, followed closely by that of the volunteers—both under the command of Brigadier-General Shields—had been detached to our left to turn the enemy's works;—to prevent the escape of the garrisons;—and to oppose the extension of the enemy's numerous corps, from the rear, upon and around our left.

"Considering the inferior numbers of the two brigades, the objects of the movement were difficult to accomplish. Hence the reinforcement (the rifles, &c.) sent forward a little later.



IN a winding march of a mile around to the right, this temporary division found itself on the edge of an open wet meadow, near the road from San Antonio to the capital, and in the presence of some 4000 of the enemy's infantry, a little in the rear of Churubusco, on that road. Establishing the right at a strong building, Shields extended his left, parallel to the road, to outflank the enemy towards the capital. But the enemy extending his right, supported by 3000 cavalry, more rapidly, (being favoured by better ground,) in the same direction, Shields concentrated the division about a hamlet, and determined to attack in front. The battle was long, hot, and varied; but ultimately, success crowned the zeal and gallantry of our troops, ably directed by their distinguished commander, Brigadier-General Shields. The 9th, 12th, and 15th regiments, under Colonel Ransom, Captain Wood, and Colonel Morgan, respectively, of Pierce's brigade, (Pillow's division,) and the New York and South Carolina volunteers, under Colonels Burnett and Butler, respectively, of Shields's own brigade, (Quitman's division,) together with the mountain howitzer battery, now under Lieutenant Reno, of the ordnance corps, all shared in the glory of this action—our *fifth* victory in the same day.

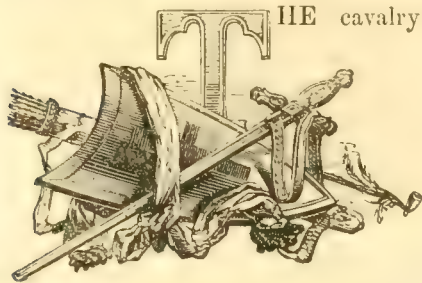
"Brigadier-General Pierce, from the hurt of the evening before—under pain and exhaustion—fainted in the action. Several other changes in command occurred on this field. Thus Colonel Morgan being severely wounded, the command of the 15th infantry devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Howard; Colonel Burnett receiving a like wound, the command of the New York volunteers fell to Lieutenant-Colonel Baxter; and, on the fall of the lamented Colonel P. M. Butler—earlier wounded, but continuing to lead nobly in the hottest part of the battle—the command of the South Carolina volunteers devolved—first on Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, who being severely wounded, (as before in the siege of Vera Cruz,) the regiment ultimately fell under the orders of Major Gladden.

"Lieutenants David Adams and W. R. Williams, of the same corps; Captain Augustus Quarles, and Lieutenant J. B. Goodman, of the 15th,

and Lieutenant E. Chandler, New York volunteers—all gallant officers, nobly fell in the same action.

“Shields took 380 prisoners, including officers; and it cannot be doubted that the rage of the conflict between him and the enemy, just in the rear of the *tete de pont* and the convent had some influence on the surrender of those formidable defences.

“As soon as the *tete de pont* was carried, the greater part of Worth's and Pillow's forces passed that bridge in rapid pursuit of the flying enemy. These distinguished generals, coming up with Brigadier-General Shields, now also victorious, the three continued to press upon the fugitives to within a mile and a half of the capital. Here, Colonel Harney, with a small part of his brigade of cavalry, rapidly passed to the front, and charged the enemy up to the nearest gate.



THE cavalry charge was headed by Captain Kearny, of the 1st dragoons, having a squadron, with his own troop, that of Captain M'Reynolds, of the 3d—making the usual escort to general head-quarters; but, being early in the day attached for general service, was now under Colonel Harney's orders. The gallant captain not hearing the *recall* that had been sounded, dashed up to the San Antonio gate, sabreing, in his way, all who resisted. Of the seven officers of the squadron, Kearny lost his left arm; M'Reynolds and Lieutenant Lorimer Graham were both severely wounded, and Lieutenant R. S. Ewell, who succeeded to the command of the escort, had two horses killed under him. Major F. D. Mills, of the 15th infantry, a volunteer in this charge, was killed at the gate.

“So terminated the series of events which I have but feebly presented. My thanks were freely poured out on the different fields—to the abilities and science of generals and other officers—to the gallantry and prowess of all—the rank and file included. But a reward infinitely higher—the applause of a grateful country and government—will, I cannot doubt, be accorded, in due time, to so much merit, of every sort, displayed by this glorious army, which has now overcome all difficulties—distance, climate, ground, fortifications, numbers.”

The victory of Churubusco was as complete and glorious as any ever obtained in the history of war. Defences which had cost the greatest general of Mexico incessant labor, and which were regarded as impregnable, were, in a few hours, demolished or captured. The results of the



General Pillow.

battle may be summed up as follows: Eight thousand five hundred men defeated 32,000 posted in an almost impregnable position; made about 3000 prisoners, including eight generals, and 205 other officers; killed or wounded 4000 of all ranks, besides entire corps dispersed or dissolved; captured 37 pieces of ordnance, with a large supply of small arms and ammunition. Among the prisoners taken, were about seventy deserters from the American army, who had been of great service to the Mexicans. The loss in killed and wounded of the invading army, was thirteen officers and 336 of the rank and file.

Notwithstanding the worn-out condition of the American troops, they were eager to enter the capital during the night of the 20th of August. But General Scott wisely resolved to recruit his troops before attempting such a thing. The men had been marching, watching, fasting and fighting for 36 hours, and Scott was fully aware that the heights of Chapultepec and the *garitas* were still before them, capable of making a strong defence. On the evening of the 20th, General Scott received a flag of truce from

the enemy, asking for an armistice long enough to appoint commissioners to negotiate. The armistice was granted, but it was made terminable in 48 hours.



COMMISSIONERS were at once appointed by Generals Scott and Santa Anna, to agree upon a cessation of hostilities. Generals Quitman, Smith and Pierce were the American commissioners, and Ignatio de Mora y Villamil and Benito Quijano, the Mexican. On the 22d of August, these officers met at Tacubaya, and, after considerable discussion, agreed upon the following articles:—

1. Hostilities shall instantly and absolutely cease between the armies of the United States of America and the United Mexican States, within thirty leagues of the capital of the latter states, to allow time to the commissioners appointed by the United States, and the commissioners to be appointed by the Mexican republic, to negotiate.

2. The armistice shall continue as long as the commissioners of the two governments may be engaged on negotiations, or until the commander of either of the said armies shall give formal notice to the other of the cessation of the armistice, and for 48 hours after such notice.

3. In the meantime neither army shall, within 30 leagues of the city of Mexico, commence any new fortification or military work of offence or defence, or do anything to enlarge or strengthen any existing work or fortification of that character within the said limits.

4. Neither army shall be reinforced within the same. Any reinforcements in troops or munitions of war, other than subsistence now approaching either army, shall be stopped at the distance of 28 leagues from the city of Mexico.

5. Neither army, nor any detachment from it, shall advance beyond the line it at present occupies.

6. Neither army, nor any detachment or individual of either, shall pass the neutral limits established by the last article, except under a flag of truce, bearing the correspondence between the two armies, or on the business authorized by the next article, and individuals of either army who may chance to straggle within the neutral limits, shall, by the opposite party, be kindly warned off or sent back to their own armies under flags of truce.

7. The American army shall not by violence obstruct the passage, from the open country into the city of Mexico, of the ordinary supplies of

food necessary to the consumption of its inhabitants, or the Mexican army within the city; nor shall the Mexican authorities, civil or military, do any act to obstruct the passage of supplies, from the city or the country, needed by the American army.

8. All American prisoners of war remaining in the hands of the Mexican army, and not heretofore exchanged, shall immediately, or as soon as practicable, be restored to the American army, against a like number, having regard to rank, of Mexican prisoners captured by the American army.

9. All American citizens who were established in the city of Mexico prior to the existing war, and who have since been expelled from that city, shall be allowed to return to their respective business or families therein, without delay or molestation.

10. The better to enable the belligerent armies to execute these articles, and to favor the great object of peace, it is further agreed between the parties, that any courier with despatches that either army shall desire to send along the line from the city of Mexico or its vicinity, to and from Vera Cruz, shall receive a safe conduct from the commander of the opposing army.

11. The administration of justice between Mexicans, according to the general and state constitutions and laws, by the local authorities of the towns and places occupied by the American forces, shall not be obstructed in any manner.

12. Persons and property shall be respected in the towns and places occupied by the American forces. No person shall be molested in the exercise of his profession; nor shall the services of any one be required without his consent. In all cases where services are voluntarily rendered, a just price shall be paid, and trade remain unmolested.

13. Those wounded prisoners who may desire to remove to some more convenient place, for the purpose of being cured of their wounds, shall be allowed to do so without molestation, they still remaining prisoners.

14. Those Mexican medical officers who may wish to attend the wounded, shall have the privilege of doing so if their services be required.

15. For the more perfect execution of this agreement, two commissioners shall be appointed, one by each party, who, in case of disagreement, shall appoint a third.

16. This convention shall have no force or effect unless approved by their excellencies, the commanders respectively of the two armies, within twenty-four hours, reckoning from 6 o'clock, A. M., of the 22d day of August, 1847.

On the presentation of this instrument to General Scott, he addressed

the following note to Santa Anna and the commissioners :—" Considered, approved, and ratified, with the express understanding that the word 'supplies,' as used the second time, without qualification, in the seventh article of this military convention—American copy—shall be taken to mean, (as in both the British and American armies,) arms, munition clothing, equipments, subsistence, (for men,) forage, and in general all the wants of an army. The word 'supplies,' in the Mexican copy, is erroneously translated 'viveres,' instead of 'recursos.'"



SANTA ANNA replied to this in the following note:—


" Ratified, suppressing the 9th article, and explaining the fourth to the effect that the temporary peace of this armistice shall be observed in the capital, and 28 leagues around it; and agreeing that the word 'supplies' shall be translated 'recursos,' and that it comprehends every thing which the army may need except arms and

ammunition."

These conditions were ratified by General Scott, and the corrected copies of the armistice signed by both commanders.

Immediately after the conclusion of this meeting, commissioners were appointed by the civil government of Mexico, to open negotiations with Mr. Trist for a permanent treaty of peace. They met on the 25th. Both parties were evidently anxious for peace; but unfortunately the question of boundary—always a vexed one—arose, in its most aggravated form, that of a cession by Mexico of the disputed territory in Texas to the United States. The substance of Mr. Trist's proposal was, that the boundary line of the two republics should run up the middle of the Rio Grande to the limits of New Mexico, then turning to the westward, take the course of the Gila and the Lower Colorado, and through the mouth of the latter river down the middle of the Californian Gulf into the Pacific. This would have brought the southwestern boundary line of the United States about ten degrees farther south, depriving Mexico of all Upper and Lower California, as well as of the districts on the Rio Grande, and leaving her the Gila for her northern boundary, at the point where the present frontier of Sonora marks her settled territories. For the region thus acquired by the United States, Mr. Trist offered a liberal sum, to be paid to Mexico at such time as might afterwards be agreed upon. To all this the Mexican commissioners consented, excepting the clause relating to the Rio Grande as the western boundary. It will be remembered that, immediately previous to the conclusion of the annexation treaty, by which Texas became a part of the United States, Mexico had declared her willingness to acknowledge the independence of her

rebellious province on condition that the latter would remain a sovereign state, and *take measures for settling the disputed boundary question*. On this subject the Mexicans had always evinced a jealous tenacity approaching to infatuation. They claimed the whole territory as far as the Nueces, or none. It is highly probable that, had the United States offered them this river as a boundary after the victory of Cerro Gordo, or even of Vera Cruz, it would have been accepted. It was on this rock that the hopes of the friends of peace were destined again to split. The lands of California, and the fine harbors of the Pacific, were incalculably more valuable than the sandy wastes along the Rio Grande; yet, notwithstanding this, and in the face of the humbling proofs of the nation's inability to obtain more by force, Mexican pride remained inflexible and uncompromising, choosing rather to stake all upon the apparently hopeless issue of war, than consent to the dismemberment of her ancient territory.

 OTWITHSTANDING the many difficulties between the commissioners, negotiations were continued until the 2d of September, when Mr. Trist handed in his *ultimatum*, or final propositions, and the negotiators adjourned to meet on the 6th. Meanwhile the subject was referred to the supreme Mexican authorities, for their decision. Before the second meeting of the commissioners, circumstances, not connected with their deliberations, occurred, which hastened the resumption of hostilities. In the early part of September, some infractions of the truce, respecting supplies from the city, were committed, followed by apologies from the enemy. These were overlooked by General Scott. But, on the 5th, the American general learned that, as soon as the ultimatum had been considered in a grand council of ministers and others, Santa Anna had, on the 4th and 5th, actively commenced the strengthening of his military defences. This information was confirmed on the 6th, in consequence of which General Scott addressed to the Mexican commander the following note, dated on the same day:

“The 7th article, as also the 12th—that stipulates that *trade shall remain unmolested*—of the armistice, or military convention, which I had the honor to ratify and to exchange with your excellency the 24th ultimo, have been repeatedly violated, beginning soon after date, on the part of Mexico; and I now have good reason to believe that, within the last 48 hours, if not earlier, the third article of that convention has been equally violated by the same party.

“These direct breaches of faith give to this army the most perfect

right to resume hostilities against Mexico without any notice whatever; but, to allow time for possible explanation, apology, and reparation, I now give formal notice, that, unless full satisfaction on those allegations should be received by me before 12 o'clock, meridian, to-morrow, I shall consider the said armistice at an end from and after that hour."

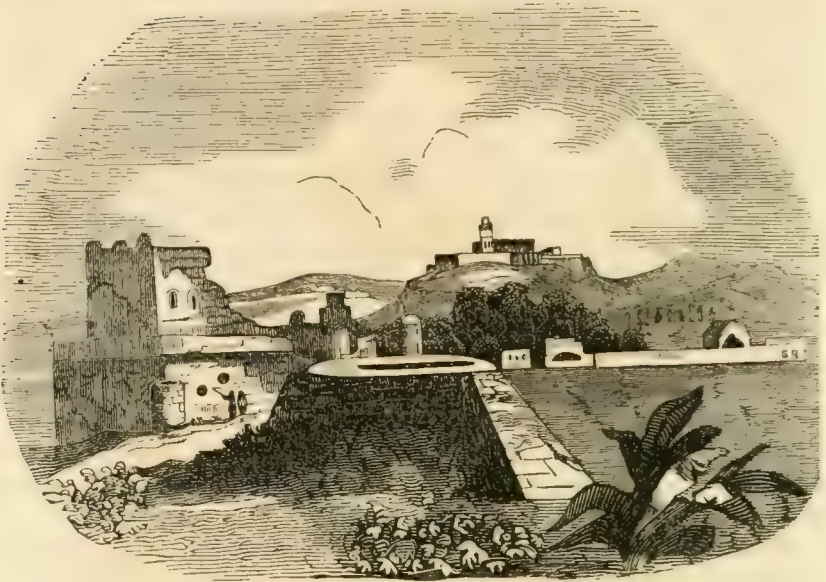


N his reply, (dated the same day, but not delivered till the 7th,) Santa Anna expressed his astonishment at the reception of such accusations, denying imperatively that the civil or military authorities had obstructed the passage of provisions, and affirming that the few cases where difficulties of the kind had occurred, had been owing to the imprudence of the

American agent. In return, he accused General Scott of preventing the owners and managers of grain mills in the vicinity from furnishing any flour to the city. The remaining part of his letter contains the following strong, and, considering the condition of the Mexican nation at the time, remarkable language:

"It is false that any new work or fortification has been undertaken, because one or two repairs have only served to place them in the same condition they were in on the day the armistice was entered into; accident or the convenience of the moment having caused the destruction of the then existing works. I had very early notice of the establishment of the battery behind the mud wall of the house called Garay's, in the town occupied by you, and did not remonstrate, because the peace of two great republics could not be made to depend upon things grave in themselves, but of little value compared to the result in which all the friends of humanity and of the prosperity of the American continent take so great an interest.

"It is not without great grief, and even indignation, that I have received communications from the cities and villages occupied by the army of your excellency, in relation to the violation of the temples consecrated to the worship of God, to the plunder of the sacred vases, and to the profanation of the images venerated by the Mexican people. Profoundly have I been afflicted by the complaints of fathers and husbands, of the violence offered to their daughters and wives; and these same cities and villages have been sacked, not only in violation of the armistice, but of the sacred principles proclaimed and respected by civilized nations. I have observed silence to the present moment, in order not to obstruct the progress of negotiations which held out the hope of terminating a scandalous war, and one which your excellency has characterized so justly as unnatural.



Ruins of Molino del Rey.

"But I shall desist offering apologies, because I cannot be blind to the truth, that the true cause of the threats of renewing hostilities, contained in the note of your excellency, is, that I have not been willing to sign a treaty which would lessen considerably not only the territory of the republic, but that dignity and integrity which all nations defend to the last extremity. And if these considerations have not the same weight in the mind of your excellency, the responsibility before the world, who can easily distinguish on whose side is moderation and justice, will fall upon you.

"I flatter myself that your excellency will be convinced, on calm reflection, of the weight of my reasons. But if, by misfortune, you should seek only a pretext to deprive the first city of the American continent of an opportunity to free the unarmed population of the horrors of war, there will be left me no other means of saving them but to repel force by force, with the decision and energy which my high obligations impose upon me."

The accusations contained in this answer, General Scott pronounced as "absolutely and notoriously false, both in recrimination and explanation." The correspondence closed, and all hope of a satisfactory adjustment of the subjects of dispute being at an end, both parties prepared for another appeal to arms.



General Cadwallader.

On the day previous to the termination of the truce, the American general learned that a great number of church-bells had been sent from the capital to a foundry called Casa Mata, to be cast into two guns, and that large stores of ammunition had arrived at the same place. As soon as the truce ended, General Scott resolved to attack that place, and deprive the enemy of the means necessary to complete their defences. The execution of this plan was given to Major-General Worth.

A daring reconnoissance was made on the 7th of August, by Generals Scott and Worth, but on account of the defences of Molino del Rey being skilfully masked, but an imperfect idea of their strength was obtained. On the same day, a large body of the enemy was seen hovering near the works, but they did not venture an attack, and Scott would not derange his plans by offering battle. Worth's division was reinforced by General Cadwallader's troops, and the whole command then numbered 3200 men. The orders of General Scott were that the division should attack and destroy the lines and defences between the Casa Mata and Molino del Rey, capture the enemy's artillery, destroy the machinery and material



Storming of Molino del Rey.

in the foundry, but on no account to attack Chapultepec. The communication between Chapultepec and Molino del Rey was cut off by posting Garland's brigade on the right of the latter. Artillery was placed upon a ridge 500 or 600 yards from the enemy's works, to play upon them and cut off the connection between the castle and the other works. The assaulting party consisted of 500 picked men and officers, commanded by Major Wright, and they were to be strongly supported. The whole plan of attack displayed the skill of the commanding general.

At 3 o'clock, A. M. of the 8th of August, the division marched by columns, each taking a different route. Such was the accuracy of the arrangement, that notwithstanding the darkness of the night, and the broken character of the ground, the troops were in their different positions preparatory to the attack, before daylight. Soon after, the artillery upon the ridge opened a heavy fire upon the works of Molino del Rey, and thus gave the signal for the attack. So heavy were the discharges, that, in a very short time, masses of masonry fell with tremendous noise and the whole line of entrenchments began to shake. The enemy returned the fire and soon unfolded the unsuspected strength of their works. In the meantime, all being in readiness, Major Wright dashed down the hill upon which he was posted, followed by the whole assaulting party, amid the shouts of the whole division. At the same moment, the central batteries, which had been masked, opened their terrible fire upon the assaulting party, and great slaughter ensued. But amid the storm of musketry and cannister, Wright rushed on with his gallant band, and carried the works, drove infantry and artillery at the point of the bayonet, seized the large field battery and turned its guns upon the retreating foe.



EVERETHELESS, the battle was not yet decided. After falling back a short distance, the Mexicans suddenly halted; and seeing the smallness of the force by which they were attacked, they returned to the conflict. The little assaulting party were overwhelmed by the numbers of the enemy, and suffered a fearful loss. Seeing the party was thrown into confusion, General Worth ordered the

right wing of Cadwallader's brigade to its support. These troops reached the shattered remnant of Major Wright's command at a seasonable moment. The struggle was close, but short. The enemy were again routed and their central positions fully carried and occupied.

The assault upon the left of the defences was intrusted to Garland's brigade, with Drum's artillery. The struggle at that point was obstinate

and bloody. The artillery did great execution on both sides. The loss of the assailants was heavy, but they succeeded in driving the Mexicans from their guns; and then, as the garrison fled towards Chapultepec, turned the fire of their own guns upon them till they were out of reach.



IMULTANEOUS with this assault, Duncan's battery opened upon the right of the enemy in order to mask an assault by Colonel M'Intosh. The whole field was soon in an uproar, the battle raging throughout the entire line of defences.

The command of M'Intosh moved steadily to the assault. nearing the Casa Mata, it was found to be a strong stone citadel, with bastioned entrenchments and impassable ditches. The difficulty of the assault proved ten times greater than had been supposed. The batteries of the enemy kept silent until the Americans were within musket-shot, when they poured their destructive storm upon the advancing party. The ranks melted away beneath such a fire, and all the principal officers of the assaulting party were either killed or wounded. This created confusion, and the troops fell back to Duncan's battery.

Colonel Duncan had, in the meantime, been arduously engaged. A large cavalry force had appeared at the extreme left of the American line, and against this, Duncan, supported by Cadwallader's voltigeurs, advanced. The whole battery opened upon them, and with great effect. Major Sumner, with his dragoons, moved to the aid of the artillery, under a destructive fire from the Casa Mata, of which he was within pistol range. As he advanced the cavalry of the enemy retired; but the major held his position upon the left flank throughout the action. The repulse of the brigade of M'Intosh enabled Duncan to open his battery again upon the Casa Mata, which the Mexicans, after a short fire, abandoned. The Americans rushed into the works with loud cheers, seized the cannon and turned them upon their former owners, who were now retreating in every part of the field. The Casa Mata was blown up, and all the cannon moulds destroyed. There were about 14,000 men, commanded by Santa Anna in the works when assaulted. About 3000 of them, including two generals, were killed, wounded or captured. The loss of the victors was about 800 men killed and wounded, among whom were many valuable officers.

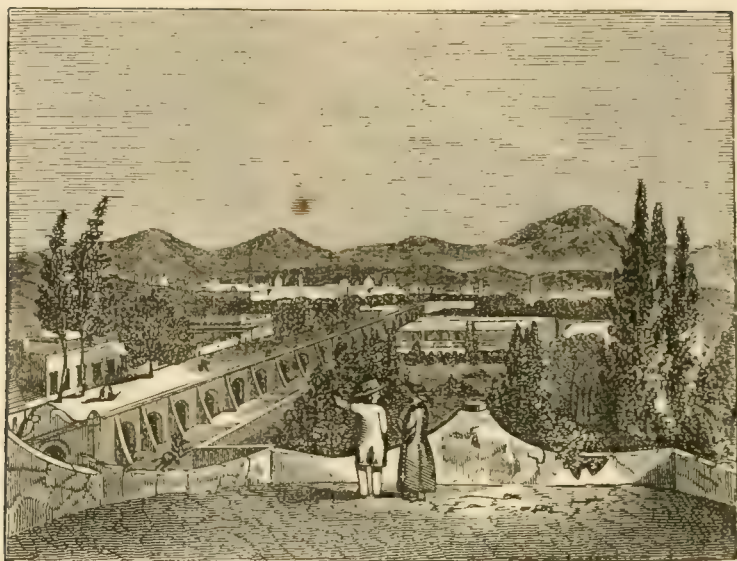
Immediately after this victory, the American engineers commenced a series of daring reconnoissances on the castle of Chapultepec and the works of the capital preparatory to commencing that series of brilliant achievements called by General Scott, the Battle of Mexico. The city stands on a slight swell of ground, surrounded by a ditch of great breadth



Major Sumner.

and depth and entered by eight gates, each of which was very strongly fortified and manned. An approach to the city by the northern side, as Scott at first intended, might have been achieved, but with great loss; and that general, as humane as he was brave and skilful, changed his plan of attack. A feint was to be made at the north, while the real attack was to be made on the south and southwest.

The first step in the new movement was to carry Chapultepec. Besides a numerous garrison, here was the military college of the republic, with a large number of sub-lieutenants and other students. Those works were within direct gunshot of the village of Tacubaya, and, until carried, we could not approach the city on the west without making a circuit too wide and too hazardous.

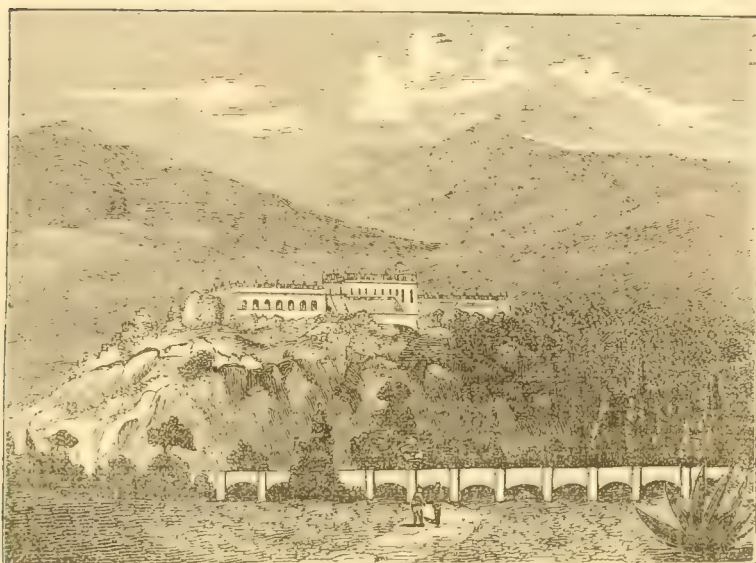


City of Mexico, from the convent of San Cosmo.

"In the course of the night of the 11th," says General Scott, "heavy batteries within easy ranges, were established. No. 1, on our right, under the command of Captain Drum, 4th artillery, (relieved the next day, for some hours, by Lieutenant Andrews, of the 3d,) and No. 2, commanded by Lieutenant Hagner, ordnance—both supported by Quitman's division. Nos. 3 and 4, on the opposite side, supported by Pillow's division, were commanded, the former by Captain Brooks and Lieutenant S. S. Anderson, 2d artillery, alternately, and the latter by Lieutenant Stone, ordnance. The batteries were traced by Captain Huger and Captain Lee, engineer, and constructed by them, with the able assistance of the young officers of those corps and the artillery.

"To prepare for an assault, it was foreseen that the play of the batteries might run into the second day; but recent captures had not only trebled our siege pieces, but also our ammunition; and we knew that we should greatly augment both by carrying the place. I was, therefore, in no haste in ordering an assault before the works were well crippled by our missiles."

The disposition of forces thus sketched should be borne in mind while taking a survey of the subsequent operations. The whole army was divided into two great sections, each performing duties distinct from the other, yet essential to the success of the final operations. One of these



Chapultepec.

amused the enemy, and prevented him from employing, to much effect, his strongest forces; the other conducted the assault at numerous points of the western defences. The former duty was intrusted to General Twiggs, with Riley's brigade and two batteries; while Smith's brigade remained as a supporting reserve. At the same time, the divisions of Quitman and Pillow marched by night from the neighborhood of the southern defences, and joined General Scott at Tacubaya, preparatory to the assault upon Chapultepec. This hill lay between Twiggs's station and the western portion of the city, whither General Scott designed to make his attack. To pass between it and the city wall was impossible; and to march around on the opposite side would have consumed so much time as to unfold the stratagem to the enemy, and thus defeat one important object of it. There remained, therefore, no alternative but to storm the fortress, since, by so doing, the enemy would be still in the dark as to the ultimate point of attack, and might easily be induced to believe that, in case of capturing it, the Americans would resume their station near the southern gates. Subsequent disclosures proved that they labored under this delusion.

The two batteries of Captain Drum and Lieutenant Hagner, supporting Quitman's division, and those of Captain Brooks and Lieutenant Stone, supporting Pillow, opened on the castle, early on the 12th. The bom-

bardment and cannonade were superintended by Captain Huger, and continued during the whole day. During the continuance of this dreary work, Twiggs was actively plying his guns on the southern side, in order to prevent the arrival of reinforcements at Chapultepec. The bombardment at length became so severe, that all the garrison, excepting a number sufficient to manage, abandoned their works, and formed on a secure position of the hill, where they could easily return in case of an assault. As night approached, the fire of the assailants necessarily ceased; but it was observed that a good impression had been made upon the castle and its outworks.

No changes of position were made during the night of the 12th, so that early on the following morning the guns re-opened on the castle. At the same moment those of Twiggs were heard battering the gates of San Antonio and Piedad. The Mexicans were again observed upon the hill, holding themselves in readiness for an assault.



BUT in the meantime the general-in-chief was actively preparing to storm the work. The force designed for this service consisted of two columns, acting independently and on different sides of the hill. The first was led by General Pillow, the second by General Quitman—the commands of these officers being reinforced by corps from other divisions. On the previous evening, Worth had received orders to designate a party from his division to assist Pillow,

and immediately organized a command of 260 men, with ten officers, under Captain M'Kenzie. He was also advised to take position with the remainder of his division and support Pillow, in case that officer should request his aid. He accordingly chose a favorable position and reported himself to Pillow. At the same time Smith's brigade was ordered to proceed towards the hill and support Quitman's column. These troops arrived on the following morning, after marching over an exposed road two miles in length. Twiggs also supplied a reinforcement to Quitman's storming column, about equal in number to that from Worth's division, and commanded by Captain Casey.

The signal for the march of the storming parties was the momentary cessation of fire from the heavy batteries. At about eight o'clock on the

morning of the 13th, General Scott despatched an aid to General Pillow, and another to Quitman, to inform them that this was about to be given. Immediately the whole field was covered with the troops of the assailing parties, moving into position. At the same moment a number of Mexican soldiers outside the fort, rushed into it and prepared to resist the assault.

General Pillow, in the morning, had placed two field-pieces of Magruder's field-battery inside the Molino del Rey, to clear a sand-bag breast-work which the enemy had constructed without the main wall surrounding Chapultepec, so as to annoy any party assailing the principal works. Through the houses and walls of the mills, he had also placed a howitzer battery, to aid in driving the enemy from a strong intrenchment which extended nearly across the front of the forest and commanded the only approach to Chapultepec on that side. At the same time he placed in position four companies of the voltigeur regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, with instructions to advance by a rapid movement on the outside, and enter the inclosure after it had been gained by the storming parties. Four other companies of voltigeurs were placed under Colonel Andrews, at a narrow gateway opening from the rear of the mills, with orders to advance in front, and uniting with Colonel Johnstone's command, to deploy as skirmishers and drive a body of the enemy from some large trees among which it had taken shelter.



EVERYTHING being now in readiness, the heavy batteries were silenced, and immediately the storming columns rushed forward to the attack. Knowing too well the object of this movement, the Mexicans opened all their batteries, the fires from which swept every approach and glared in front of the advancing troops like a volcano.

On they rushed driving the enemy from the woods, and reaching the hill, commenced the ascent. At this moment, General Pillow was struck from his horse by a grape-shot, and the command devolved on Cadwallader. The former general would not leave the field; but employed some of his men to carry him up the hill, in order that he might be a witness of the result. Under command of the intrepid officer from Pennsylvania, the troops entered the enemy's drizzling fires, and laboured over the steep rocks. "The broken acclivity," says the general-in-chief, while describing Cadwallader's advance, "was still to be ascended, and a strong redoubt midway to be carried, before reaching the castle on the heights. The advance of our brave officers, though necessarily slow, was unwavering, over rocks, chasms, and mines, and under the hottest fire of cannon and musketry. The redoubt now yielded to resistless valor, and the shouts that followed announced to the castle the



Colonel Harney.

fate that impended. The enemy were steadily driven from shelter to shelter. The retreat allowed not time to fire a single mine without the certainty of blowing up friend and foe. Those who at a distance attempted to apply matches to the long trains were shot down by our men. There was death below as well as above ground. At length the ditch and wall of the main work were reached; the scaling-ladders were brought up and planted by the storming parties; some of the daring spirits first in the assault were cast down—killed or wounded; but a lodgment was soon made; streams of heroes followed; all opposition was overcome, and several of our regimental colors were flung out from the upper walls, amidst long-continued shouts and cheers, which sent dismay into the capital. No scene could have been more animating or glorious."

Conspicuous in this charge was the gallant Colonel Ransom, of the 9th infantry, who met a soldier's death while leading his troops up the summit to the castle. He was shot in the forehead. Major Seymour



Colonel Ransom.

succeeded him, and on arriving before the walls, mounted the ladders, leaped upon the parapet, and tore down with his own hands the Mexican colors.

Simultaneously with this attack, General Quitman's troops approached the fortress on the opposite side. At early dawn he had opened his batteries with much effect, and commenced preparations for the assault.

Ladders, pick-axes, and crows were placed in the hands of a pioneer storming party of 120 men, selected from all corps of the division, and commanded by Major Twiggs. At this time, General Smith arrived with his brigade, and was instructed to move in reserve, on the right flank of the assaulting column, to protect it from skirmishes or more serious attacks, and if possible, cross the aqueduct leading to the city, and cut off the enemy's retreat.

These dispositions being completed, the whole command at the pre-



Major (now Colonel) Seymour.

concerted signal, moved forward with confidence and enthusiasm. At the base of the hill constituting part of the defences, and directly across the line of advance, were strong batteries, flanked on the right by equally strong buildings, and by a heavy stone wall, about fifteen feet high, which extended around the base of the hill, towards the west. The troops were, however, partially covered by some dilapidated buildings at about 200 yards' distance. Between these and the wall, extended a low meadow, whose long grass concealed a number of wet ditches, by which it was intersected; and to this point the command, partially screened, advanced by a flank movement, having the storming parties in front, who sustained a heavy fire from the enemy's fortress, batteries, and breast-works. Here, under partial cover of the ruins, the advance was halted,



Storming of Chapultepec.

and upon the appearance of the New York and South Carolina regiments, General Shields was directed to move them obliquely to the left, across the low ground to the wall at the base of the hill. Encouraged by the presence of the man who had led them to victory at Churubusco, these tried regiments waded through deep ditches, while the water around them was foaming with the enemy's shot, and rushing forward together effected a lodgment at the wall. Similar orders were given to Lieutenant-Colonel Geary, and executed by his regiment with equal alacrity and success. While cheering on his men, General Shields was severely wounded in the arm; but no inducement could persuade him to leave his command, or quit the field. About the same time, the esteemed Lieutenant-Colonel Baxter was mortally wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel Geary disabled, and Captain Van O'Linda killed.

During this advance, Brigadier-General Smith was driving back skirmishing parties of the enemy on the left; Lieutenant Benjamin, at the first battery, was pouring shot after shot into the fortress and woods on the slope, while Lieutenant Hunt, having obtained a favorable position in the rear, also threw shells and shrapnell shot into the enemy's lines with

good effect. At this moment, General Quitman ordered the storming parties to the assault. Led by their gallant officers, they rushed on in one unbroken tide, while the batteries from behind continued to pour shells and shot over their heads into the enemy's fortress. The Mexican fire was tremendous; but without pausing for a moment, the Americans swept on until they reached the outer breastworks. Here, for a short time, the contest was terrible. Hand to hand the fierce antagonists met each other's strokes, while, as though pausing for the result, died away the loud noise of opposing batteries. Swords and bayonets were crossed, rifles clubbed, and friend and foe mingled in one confused struggling mass. Resistance, however, to the desperate valor of the assailants was vain. The batteries and strong works were swept, and the ascent to Chapultepec laid open on that side. Seven pieces of artillery, 1000 muskets, and 550 prisoners were the trophies of victory. Among the prisoners were 100 officers, including a general and ten colonels.



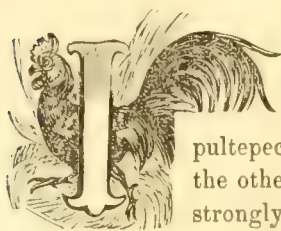
CAPTAIN CASEY, the gallant leader of the storming party of regulars, having received a severe wound when directly in front of the batteries, the command devolved on Captain Paul, who, during the remainder of the day, distinguished himself for his bravery. The storming party from the volunteer division also lost its commander, the lamented Major Twiggs—and was led, during the remainder of the attack, by Captain James Miller.

At the same time the volunteer regiments on the left, animated by a generous enthusiasm, were ascending the hill on the south side. Fighting their way through every obstacle, these brave men fell in with their comrades of General Pillow's division; and side by side, amid the storm of battle, the colors of the two commands were seen struggling together up the steep ascent. At this moment the American batteries, which had continued their fire upon the castle over the heads of the assailants, ceased; and immediately after the troops gained the summit. The short but obstinate struggle has been described. The veteran Mexican, General Bravo, with a number of other officers, was captured, by Lieutenant Charles Brower, of the New York regiment. In the assault upon the works, Lieutenant Steele, with a portion of the storming party, had advanced in front of the batteries, towards the left, scaled the outer wall through a breach near the top, ascended a hill in front, and was among the first upon the battlements.

After giving the necessary directions for the safe-keeping of the prisoners, General Quitman ordered his troops to form near the aqueduct, and hastily ascended the hill, for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy's

position in front of the city. There he met with Major-General Pillow, who, as formerly stated, had been carried by his troops to the castle, in order to enjoy the triumph of the occasion.

In speaking of this brilliant affair, General Pillow says:—“We took about 800 prisoners, among whom were Major-General Bravo, Brigadier-Generals Monterde, Monega, Doramentas, and Saldana; also, three colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, 40 captains, 24 first, and 27 second lieutenants.



IMMEDIATELY after the capture of Chapultepec, General Scott made active preparations for following up his success by an attack upon the capital. There are two routes from Chapultepec to the city, one leading to the Belen gate, the other to the gate of San Cosme, both of which were strongly fortified. Worth advanced along the San Cosme road, and Quitman by that of Belen. Both these generals were strongly reinforced with troops and heavy siege guns. As the San Cosme gate was judged to be the least difficult of entrance, Scott intended that Quitman should merely manœuvre while Worth made the main attack. But Quitman pressed on, under flank and direct fires, and carried the Belen gate after a desperate struggle and severe loss. Worth advanced, preceded by skirmishers and pioneers with axes to force windows and doors, and by eight o'clock in the evening had carried two batteries and driven the enemy into the heart of the city. The American troops in the city were sheltered during the night. About four o'clock in the morning, a deputation from the city authorities reached General Scott, reported that the Mexican army had fled, and demanded terms of capitulation. General Scott, knowing his forces to be already in possession of the city, would not listen to any terms dictated by the authorities; and about daylight, ordered General Quitman to advance and take possession of the Grand Plaza and government buildings. Quitman immediately executed the order, and soon the star-spangled banner was floating over the National Palace. As the remainder of the army entered Mexico, the troops were fired upon by about 2000 liberated convicts, posted on the tops of houses and at the corners of streets. This unlawful warfare lasted 24 hours, and was not suppressed until many officers and men were killed or wounded. The convicts were punished. General Quitman was appointed military governor of the city.

Thus in less than one month, 8000 men fought eight important battles, stormed castles, towns and redoubts, garrisoned with three times the number of assailants; defeated 32,000 Mexican veterans, killing 7000,



Colonel Childs.

and capturing 3700, and thirteen generals, of whom three were ex-presidents; taking more than 20 standards, 122 cannon, 20,000 small arms, with an immense quantity of shot, shells, &c.; and finally entered in triumph a capital where every wall was a fortification, every house a fort, and which contained a population of nearly 200,000 souls.

The next great event, after the capture of Mexico, was the siege of the city of Puebla by Santa Anna. The garrison was small, and encumbered with 1800 sick. The commander of it was Colonel Childs. A tremendous fire was opened upon the works of the Americans, but it was effectively returned. On the 25th, Childs was summoned to surrender, but he declined. The fire of the Mexicans then increased, and the small garrison were forced to endure the greatest fatigue and privation. But they nobly maintained themselves, and after giving the enemy many instances of their bravery and skill in various sorties, Santa Anna withdrew to oppose the march of General Lane, from Vera Cruz, with reinforcements. The bombardment and cannonade continued until the 12th of

October, when General Lane arrived, and relieved the wearied garrison. The siege of Puebla lasted 40 days, and was the longest single military operation of the war.

General Lane had met with considerable hard fighting on the road to Puebla. Rumors of the enemy's designs upon Puebla, and of large parties infesting the road leading to that city, reached Vera Cruz in the latter part of September. In consequence of the information, General Lane left the latter place with a considerable force, and marched for the interior. He was not long without sight of an enemy. At the hacienda of Santa Anna, near the San Juan River, he came up with a party of guerrillas. Captain Lewis's company of mounted volunteers was sent in pursuit, and a portion under Lieutenant Lilly succeeded in overtaking them. A short skirmish ensued, in which the lieutenant behaved with great bravery, and finally drove the Mexicans from their position. After this slight interruption, the whole command proceeded until it reached the Paso de Ovejas, where the rear-guard was fired upon by a small guerrilla force, and Lieutenant Cline, an efficient young officer, killed.



THIS march was unusually fatiguing to the troops, on account of the heat of the weather, and nature of the road. Occasionally but a part of the general's force could move forward; and frequently the artillery was greatly delayed amid ravines, passes, and other natural obstructions. Meanwhile rumors continued to multiply, concerning a large Mexican force concentrating between Perote and Puebla. On arriving at the former place, General Lane received confirmation of these reports, with the additional information that they numbered 4000 men, with six pieces of artillery, and were commanded by Santa Anna in person. At the hacienda of San Antonio Tamaris, he learned from his spies that the enemy were then at Huamantla, a city but a few miles off. He promptly determined to march thither, and if possible, give their army battle.

In order to execute this as speedily as possible the general left his train packed at Tamaris's, under charge of Colonel Brough's regiment of Ohio volunteers, Captain Simmons's battalion, and a battery under Lieutenant Pratt, and moved forward with the remainder of the command, consisting of Colonel Wynkoop's battalion, Colonel Gorman's regiment of Indiana volunteers, Captain Heintzelman's battalion of six companies, Major Lally's mounted men, under Captain Walker, and five pieces of artillery, under Captain Taylor. After marching as rapidly as the nature of the ground admitted, the column came in sight of the city at one o'clock on the 9th of October. The troops being halted, the advance

guard of horsemen, under Captain Walker, was ordered to move forward to the entrance of the city, but not to enter if the enemy were in force, until the arrival of the infantry. When within about three miles, Walker observed parties of horsemen riding over the fields towards the city; and lest he might be anticipated, his men were put to a gallop. His progress was anxiously watched by General Lane, until owing to a hedge of thick maguay bushes on each side of the road, his movements were concealed from view. In a few minutes, firing was heard from the city. About the same time a body of 2000 lancers were seen hurrying over the neighboring hills, and General Lane ordered Colonel Gorman to advance with his regiment and enter Huamantla from the west, while Colonel Wynkoop moved towards the east.



CAPTAIN WALKER, on arriving at the entrance of the city, had discovered about 500 of the enemy drawn up in the plaza. He immediately ordered a charge. Dashing among the Mexicans, his handful of men engaged hand to hand with three times their number, and after a close and bloody conflict, drove them away and captured three guns. A vigorous pursuit commenced, in which many feats of daring were performed, among which was the capture of Colonel La Vega and Major Iturbide, by Lieutenant Anderson, of the Georgia volunteers. The former was a brother of General La Vega, and the latter a son of the unfortunate emperor of Mexico. Anderson narrowly escaped with his life. A Mexican lieutenant was also taken.

After pursuing the enemy some distance, Walker's men imprudently dispersed, and returned to the square in small parties. This was in consequence of a belief that the enemy's whole force had been routed. Suddenly a company of lancers charged upon the plaza, and succeeded in separating the Americans into bodies. A desperate fight took place, in which the Mexicans behaved with unwonted courage; but by skilful manœuvring, Walker succeeded in uniting his forces, and entered the convent yard, where the command was dismounted. Another action now took place, in which the lancers were assisted by both artillery and infantry. Here, while directing the movements of his little band, Captain Walker fell mortally wounded, and soon afterwards expired. The enemy were driven back.

The exact manner in which Walker met his death is uncertain. The popular account is that he was lanced during the final charge by a Mexican whose son he had just slain. Authority equally reliable, states that he was shot from a house in which was displayed a white flag. Few men



Major Irubide.

were ever more sincerely lamented. When the cry "Captain Walker is dead" rang through his company, the hardy soldiers burst into tears; and throughout the United States the profoundest emotions of sorrow were exhibited at the news. He was one of the best officers in the service; and the fame of his exploits on the Rio Grande, was not only spread over America, but throughout the most important countries of Europe. He had been one of the leading spirits of the Texan revolution, and "by a strange coincidence, he fell in the neighborhood of the castle, where he once pined in captivity, but not in his former unhappy condition, as one of a few ragged, dispirited, half starved prisoners, jeered at by the dastard Mexicans, but in a glorious battle, heading the charge of the resistless rangers and in the arms of victory."

Meanwhile the main column of the American forces arrived at the city, and opened their fire upon masses of the enemy. Gorman, with the left wing of his regiment, proceeded towards the upper part of the town,



Captain Walker.

where the enemy still were, and succeeded in dispersing them. At the same time Colonel Wynkoop's command had assumed position; but before they could open their batteries, the Mexicans had fled.

In this hard-fought action, the loss of the Americans was thirteen killed and eleven wounded. They succeeded in capturing one six-pounder brass gun, a mountain howitzer, numerous wagons, and a large quantity of ammunition. The Mexicans lost in killed and wounded 150 men.

After this battle, General Lane marched to the relief of Colonel Childs. He remained at Puebla with his whole force until the evening of the 18th of October, when information was received that the Mexican general, Rea, was at Atlitxco, 30 miles distant, in considerable force. Lane immediately ordered his troops to be ready for marching the next morning, at eleven o'clock. At that time he left Puebla with nearly the same force that had entered it, and after a forced march of five hours' duration, came in sight of the enemy's advance guard, near Santa Isabella. Here a halt was made, until the cavalry could come up from their examination of a neighboring hacienda. Meanwhile, small parties of the enemy came

to the foot of the hill, and opened a straggling fire, which did no execution. On the arrival of the cavalry, Lane put his whole force in motion; but as signs of confusion appeared among the Mexicans, he hurried on the cavalry to charge the enemy, and keep them engaged until the infantry could come up. As the Americans approached, the Mexicans retired, until at a small hill, about a mile and a half from their first position, they halted and fought severely. The action was continued until, by a forced march, the American infantry arrived, when the foe again fled, pursued by the cavalry. Another running fight of about four miles took place, during which many of the fugitives were cut down. When within less than two miles of Atlixco, the enemy's main body was observed posted on a side hill behind rows of chaparral hedges. Without stopping to ascertain their numbers, the cavalry dashed among them, dealing death on all sides, and forcing them within the thickest part of their shelter. Then dismounting, the assailants entered the chaparral, hand to hand with their foe. Here the struggle was long and terrible, scores of the enemy falling beneath the heavy blows of the Americans. This continued until the arrival of the infantry, who for the last six miles had been straining themselves to the utmost to join the cavalry, notwithstanding the previous fatiguing march of 16 miles. The road being intersected by numerous gullies, prevented the artillery from advancing faster than at a walk; and so worn out were the cavalry, both through exertion and the heat of the weather, that they could pursue the enemy no farther. The column continued, however, to press forward towards the town, but night had already set in, when it reached a hill overlooking it. But the moon shone with a splendor which afforded a fine view of all the surrounding country, and enabled the American general to continue his operations with perfect certainty.



As the Americans approached, several shots were fired upon them; and deeming it imprudent to risk a street fight in an unknown town at night, General Lane ordered the artillery to be posted on a hill overlooking the town, and to open upon it. This was speedily put in execution, so that in a very short time the terrified inhabitants beheld flaming balls and shells hurled into their town, with a precision and effect to which their own system of warfare afforded no parallel.

Every gun was served with the utmost rapidity; and amid the stillness of a Mexican night scene, the discharges of artillery pealed for miles around, while at intervals the crashing of walls and

roofs afforded a strange and distressing contrast. This bombardment continued for nearly an hour, with great effect; the gunners being enabled by the moonlight to direct their shot to the most populous parts of the town.

The firing from the town had now ceased, and wishing to obtain, if possible, its surrender, Lane ordered Major Lally and Colonel Brough to advance cautiously with their commands into the town. On their entering, the general was met by the *ayuntamiento*, or city council, who desired that their town might be spared. Quiet was accordingly restored, and on the following morning Lane disposed of such ammunition as could be found, and then commenced his return to Puebla.

"General Rea," says Lane, "had two pieces of artillery; but as soon as he was aware of our approach, he ordered them with haste to Matamoras, a small town eleven leagues beyond. The enemy state their own loss in this action to be 219 killed and 300 wounded. On our part, we had one man killed and one wounded. Scarcely ever has a more rapid forced march been made than this, and productive of better results. Atlixco has been the head-quarters of guerrillas in this section of the country, and of late the seat of government of this state. From hence all expeditions have been fitted out against our troops. So much terror has been impressed upon them, at thus having war brought to their own homes, that I am inclined to believe they will give us no more trouble."



EACHING Cholula, on his return, General Lane found that the Mexicans had just finished two pieces of artillery at Guexocingo. These he resolved on destroying; and proceeding to the town with 450 men, he commenced a thorough search. The pieces had been removed, but their carriages were found and destroyed. A party of the enemy were observed in the vicinity, who retreated precipitately; and the next morning, without further accident, Lane entered Puebla.

About the same time that the battle of Atlixco was fought, Captain Lavallette [October 15-16] entered the port of Guaymas, a small town on the Gulf coast, with part of the American squadron, consisting of the frigate Congress, the sloop of war Portsmouth, and the brig Argo. On the 18th, the latter vessel anchored between the islands of Almagre Grande and Almagre Chico, on each of which a mortar was planted. The other vessels had already taken their stations. A flag was despatched to the authorities, through Mr. William Robinson, who, on being conducted to the governor, explained to him the object of the Americans, and advised a surrender. He was answered, that to surrender the town would



Capture of Guaymas.

be entirely incompatible with the honour both of the governor and Mexican nation. Mr. Robinson then returned to the *Argo*.

On the 19th, the Congress and Portsmouth took up their positions of attack. At the same time, the place was formally summoned to surrender, but the Mexicans artfully eluded an answer until night. Then, favored by the darkness, the commandant marched silently to a position, three miles distant, where he had previously placed a battery of fourteen guns, to resist the Americans, should they attempt to penetrate into the interior. At six o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the fire of the assailants opened from both vessels of war, and two mortars, and continued for more than an hour. Five hundred shells and shot were thrown into the town, killing one English resident, and destroying several houses. Being abandoned by their garrison, the citizens signified their willingness to listen to terms, when a party of American sailors and marines landed and ran up the national flag on a fort defending the Casa Blanca hill. At the same time, Lavallette issued a proclamation, claiming the town and port for the United States, ordering the surrender of all public property, and establishing a civil and military police. The Mexican authorities were invited to continue in office, religion and church property were placed under the American protection, and the customary routine of business was ordered to be resumed. Mr. Robinson was made collector of the port.

About the same time another portion of the squadron captured the port of Mazatlan, also on the Gulf coast.

The operations of General Lane, at Atlixco and Huamantla, were followed by a successful attack upon the town of Matamoras, which had been



General Cushing.

for a long time a principal rendezvous for guerrillas. After a slight skirmish, a party of Mexican lancers were defeated with loss, and the general took measures to hinder his being in future disturbed by them.

In the month of November, events of the most unhappy kind occurred at Mexico, tending to cast a shade over the proud enthusiasm of the officers, who had so heroically followed their leader to the conquest of the famed city of Montezuma. By an article in the military code, "private letters or reports, relative to military marches and operations," being "frequently mischievous in design, and always disgraceful to the army," are strictly forbidden; "and any officer found guilty of making such report for publication, without special permission, or of placing the writing beyond his control, so that it finds its way to the press, within one month after the termination of the campaign to which it relates, shall be dismissed from the service." Some time after the victories of August 19 and 20, extracts from private letters, dated "Tacubaya, Mexico, August 24, 1847," purporting to be an original account of the battles of Contre-

ras and Churubusco, appeared in the *Pittsburg Post*. By some means this account, copied in a *Tampico* paper, together with a similar one, from a *New Orleans* paper, fell into the hands of the general-in-chief, who immediately issued an order, denouncing the letters as despicable and scandalous, and intimating the general's surmisings of their authors. On the following day, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan addressed a card to one of the leading Mexican papers, avowing his connection with the *Pittsburg* letter, and endeavoring to exculpate the generals suspected by the commander, from all blame. He and General Worth were the same day placed under arrest. Subsequently General Pillow was also arrested for contempt of his superior. On receiving news of this transaction, government suspended the general-in-chief himself, on specified charges, preferred in part as an appeal by General Worth, ordered a court-martial to try him with the other officers, and placed the army under the command of Major-General Butler.



GENERAL TOWSON, paymaster-general, was appointed president of the court. The other members, first named by President Polk, were Brigadier-General Caleb Cushing, and Colonel E. G. W. Butler. Lieutenant Hammond was named as chief advocate. Subsequently Colonel Butler was relieved, and brevet Colonel Belknap appointed in his place. In like manner, Captain S. C. Ridgely succeeded Lieutenant Hammond, as judge advocate and recorder. Perote was first named as the place of meeting, but this was afterwards changed to Puebla.

On the 18th of February, 1848, this body met at the last named city. After remaining in session there for some time, it was removed to Fredericktown, Maryland. All the officers accused were present, and the deliberations occupied the attention of the court, until after the close of the war. The proceedings, as they transpired, were published daily, both in the United States and Mexico. They excited but one feeling throughout the country — that of regret, that the gallant men who had carried themselves so nobly through the trying scenes of a two years' war, should, at its close, be involved in such unfortunate and unsatisfactory difficulties.

After the fall of the capital, General Twiggs had been ordered to Jalapa, to organize a train, for the main army, and keep in check the neighboring guerrillas. On the 19th of November, he left that city, with a considerable force, and marched for Mexico. About the same time General Butler also entered the capital, with a train and supplies.

General Patterson, during all that part of the campaign following

Scott's march from Puebla, had been stationed at Vera Cruz, endeavoring to keep open the communication with the advancing army, as well as to chastise the guerrillas who swarmed in that vicinity. These roaming bands were organized and encouraged by the famous Padre Jarauta, an ecclesiastic, who, abandoning his sacerdotal duties, or rather combining them with those of the soldier, had thrown the whole weight of his influence against the friends of peace. Troops armed and furnished by him went forth as to a crusade, and became far more troublesome to the Americans than Santa Anna's army. The padre's followers were as daring in their efforts to cut off the American trains, as they were unscrupulous in the use of what victory threw into their hands. Frequently they approached within pistol-shot of their opponents' camp, and on several occasions, as has been previously mentioned, actually entered at night into Vera Cruz, and carried away mules or horses. During the operations before the capital, they committed frightful depredations between that city and Vera Cruz, and cut off all communication between these two portions of the army. The mails were frequently stopped and plundered by them, and such delay caused to those which escaped, that frequently more than a month transpired after the usual time of delivery. From this cause General Scott's reports of the battles of August did not reach Washington until the middle of November. To the partial success of the guerrillas may be attributed the obstinacy of the Mexicans in refusing to listen to terms of peace.

General Patterson, in the fall of 1847, left Vera Cruz with his division and a large train, and advanced by easy marches to Jalapa. The command of the former place was intrusted to Colonel Wilson. On the 25th of November, Patterson left Jalapa with 6000 men, en route for the capital. Before his departure (November 23d) he had hung two American teamsters for the murder of a Mexican boy, and on the following day shot two Mexican officers, Garcia and Alcade, for violation of parole. This proceeding caused so much excitement among the people that an open insurrection seemed for awhile inevitable; and the neighboring guerrilla bands exerted themselves to the utmost to revenge their countrymen. After suppressing these demonstrations of revolt, Patterson recommenced his journey, and reached the city of Mexico on the 6th of December.

About the middle of December, a body of Americans were attacked near Mazatlan, by some guerrillas, led by an officer named Mijares. He was killed, and his men repulsed with considerable loss. A similar engagement, farther to the north, also resulted in victory to the American arms. On the night of the 21st, an expedition was sent to Cholula, to

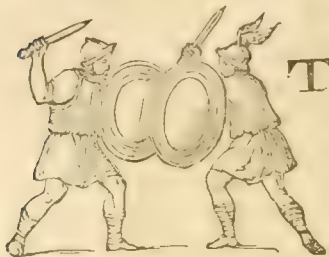
apprehend some American officers. A fight took place, in which three of the enemy were killed and three wounded.



EARLY in January, the Mexican general, Valencia, was captured by a party especially organized for the purpose. The particulars are given by a member of the army. "Colonel F. M. Wynkoop, of the 1st Pennsylvania volunteers, having learned by a Mexican friend, that Padre Jarauta and General Rea were at Tlalnepanatla, about five leagues from the city of Mexico, applied to General Scott for permission to take 20 men and capture them. Permission being granted, the colonel set off on the 1st January, with 38 Texan Rangers under command of Lieutenants Daggerts, Burkes, and Jones. Upon arriving at, and charging Tlalnepanatla, and finding no one there, they learned that Rea and Jarauta had left for Toluco, a few hours previous to our arrival. Colonel Wynkoop here learned that General Valencia and his staff were at a hacienda some six leagues distant. He immediately set off with his party, and arrived at the hacienda, which he surrounded. Admittance into the house was demanded by the party, but for a time refused, when Colonel Siba, a wounded Mexican officer on parole, opened the door and assured Colonel Wynkoop that General Valencia had departed that day for Toluco; but this not being credited, lights were demanded to search the building. Colonel Siba then proposed to deliver General Valencia the next day, if the party would leave. To this the colonel would not assent, but proposed to send an officer and eight men with him to await their return. This proposition completely disconcerted Colonel Siba, thus convincing Colonel Wynkoop that Valencia was really in the house. Search was accordingly made, but he could not be found. The colonel then declared that he would not leave the hacienda without him; that if Valencia would give himself up, he would be perfectly safe, but that he could not answer for his life should he attempt an escape. At this moment a person stepped up and said, 'I am Valencia.' He then said that it was against the usages of civilized warfare to attack a man in the peace and quiet of his family in the dead hour of night. The colonel answered that it was the only way he could be captured. Colonel Arrera was taken in the same hacienda on that night."

About a week after, another capture of officers took place, in the neighborhood of Santa Fé. About 50 guerrillas, under Colonel Zenobia, were charged and dispersed by Colonel Dominguez, after which the latter proceeded to the plains of Salva, where he received a communication from the neighboring haciendas, requesting his assistance in liberating the in-

habitants from the tyranny of General Torrejon. On the 6th, Dominguez charged the Mexican party, and after a short skirmish dispersed it, capturing Generals Torrejon, Minon, Guana, 50 cavalry, and two deserters. The Mexican general had with him 150 men, being on his way to join some forces at San Andres, and proceed thence to Orizaba. The American force was 70 men.



THESE losses only tended to render the guerrillas more daring and revengeful. About the 1st of January, a large train, composed of many wagons, and carrying a great amount of specie, set out for the interior, under the direction of Colonel Miles. The rear portion of the train was unable to leave until the morning of the

4th. In moving over the heavy sand, the train and pack mules became so scattered, that a company of mounted riflemen, under Lieutenant Walker, were thrown seven miles behind the main body of the wagon train. At nine o'clock, word was received that a guerrilla party at Santa Fé, had captured some of the packs scattered along the road. At this information, Lieutenant Walker left ten men with some wagons which had not been able to keep up, and moving towards Santa Fé, came in sight of the enemy, drawn up in order of battle. A charge was ordered, when the guerrillas scattered in different directions, and opened a heavy fire upon the lieutenant's little company. All communication with the main party was thus cut off, and Walker sent back to Vera Cruz for assistance. The enemy's fire so frightened the horses of the rifle company, that they were obliged to dismount and fight on the open prairie. Five of his men were killed and five wounded. The Mexicans captured 300 pack mules, and about \$100,000 in specie.

On the 12th of January, Colonel Hays, with 100 rangers and a few Illinois volunteers, reached Teotihuacan, twelve leagues north-east of Mexico, in pursuit of Jarauta. Here, while the party were reposing at a hacienda, with their horses unbridled and unsaddled, the padre came suddenly upon them with a party of guerrillas. With wonted presence of mind, the colonel instantly rallied his men, when a most severe battle took place, the rangers being on foot. Unfortunately for the assailants, their shot were fired too high, and consequently produced no effect. Eight of their number were killed. The padre himself is said to have been severely wounded, and one of his men made prisoner.

About this time the towns of Serma, Toluco, and Pachuca, were occupied by different portions of the American army, principally from the



Colonel Bankhead.

command of General Cadwallader. Orizaba was also taken by a detachment of 500 cavalry under General Lane.

On the 14th of January, a train of 2000 wagons, escorted by a squadron of cavalry, two companies of dragoons, a voltigeur corps with six pieces, and some battalions of infantry—the whole under Major Cadwallader, of the voltigeurs—left the city of Mexico on the 14th, en route for Vera Cruz. Great efforts were made by the guerrillas to cut off portions of this train, but without success. It arrived safely on the coast, January 27th, bringing with it a number of officers.

In the same month, Colonel Childs intercepted certain letters of a treasonous nature at Puebla. A conspiracy had been formed there by General Rea, and some of his associates, to assassinate Don Raphael Isunza, the Mexican governor, and murder such of the inhabitants as were in favor of peace with the United States. The object of this movement was to abolish the existing government, and proclaim Rea dictator. Colonel Childs immediately took efficient measures to prevent the execution of this diabolical plot, and issued a proclamation ordering all spies to leave the city, and rendering it penal for any of the inhabitants to hold communication with the guerrillas. No attempt was made to carry the plan into execution.



ON the 7th of February, two large trains left Vera Cruz, one for Orizaba, and the other for the city of Mexico. The first was escorted by 1600 men, under Colonel Bankhead, who, since the 16th of December, had been civil and military governor of Vera Cruz. Both trains arrived safely at their destination, although keenly watched by the guerrillas. A short time previous to this, (December 12, 1847,) General Scott had issued an order against the guerrillas, by which every American post established in Mexico was authorized to push daily detachments as far as practicable upon the roads, in order to protect them from the marauding parties. "No quarters," says the order, "will be given to known murderers or robbers, whether called guerrillas or rancheros, and whether serving under Mexican commissions or not. They are equally pests to unguarded Mexicans, foreigners, and small parties of Americans, and ought to be exterminated. Offenders of the above character, accidentally falling into the hands of the American troops, will be momentarily held as prisoners, that is, not put to death without due solemnity. Accordingly they will be reported to commanding officers, who will, without delay, order a council of war for the summary trial of the offenders, under the known laws of war applicable to such cases.

"A council of war may consist of any number of officers not less than three nor more than thirteen, and may, for any flagrant violation of the laws of war, condemn to death, or to lashes, not exceeding fifty, on satisfactory proof that such prisoner, at the time of capture, actually belonged to any party or gang of known robbers or murderers, or had actually committed murder or robbery upon any American officer or soldier, or follower of the American army."

This order called forth active operations from the different portions of General Scott's army, and several guerrilla parties were entirely broken up, or driven from the neighborhood. Yet such was the recklessness of these marauding bands, that the roads continued to be infested, and travellers or stragglers from the American army to be murdered. Arrests were made, and the prisoners executed, until the close of the war.

The fruitless attempts of Mr. Trist to obtain peace after the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, did not end his mission as a negotiator with the Mexican government. Efforts were made from time to time by himself and General Scott to bring about the desired result; and they

were at length crowned with success. In January, 1848, General Scott laid before the Mexican authorities the basis of a treaty, similar to the one which had been rejected. They appointed Luis G. Cuevas, Bernardo Conto and Miguel Atristain, as commissioners; Mr. Trist represented the United States. The negotiations were opened at Guadalupe Hidalgo, and after the commissioners communicated their respective powers, they arranged and signed a "treaty of peace, friendship, limits and settlement, between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic." In February, this treaty arrived in Washington, and was laid before the American Senate. After a secret session of several days, the Senate agreed to it with some amendments on the 10th of March. On the 14th, Mr. Sevier was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to present the treaty as amended, to the Mexican congress. In the latter body, the treaty was ratified after a stormy debate.* The news of peace was received by the great body of both nations with every manifestation of satisfaction.

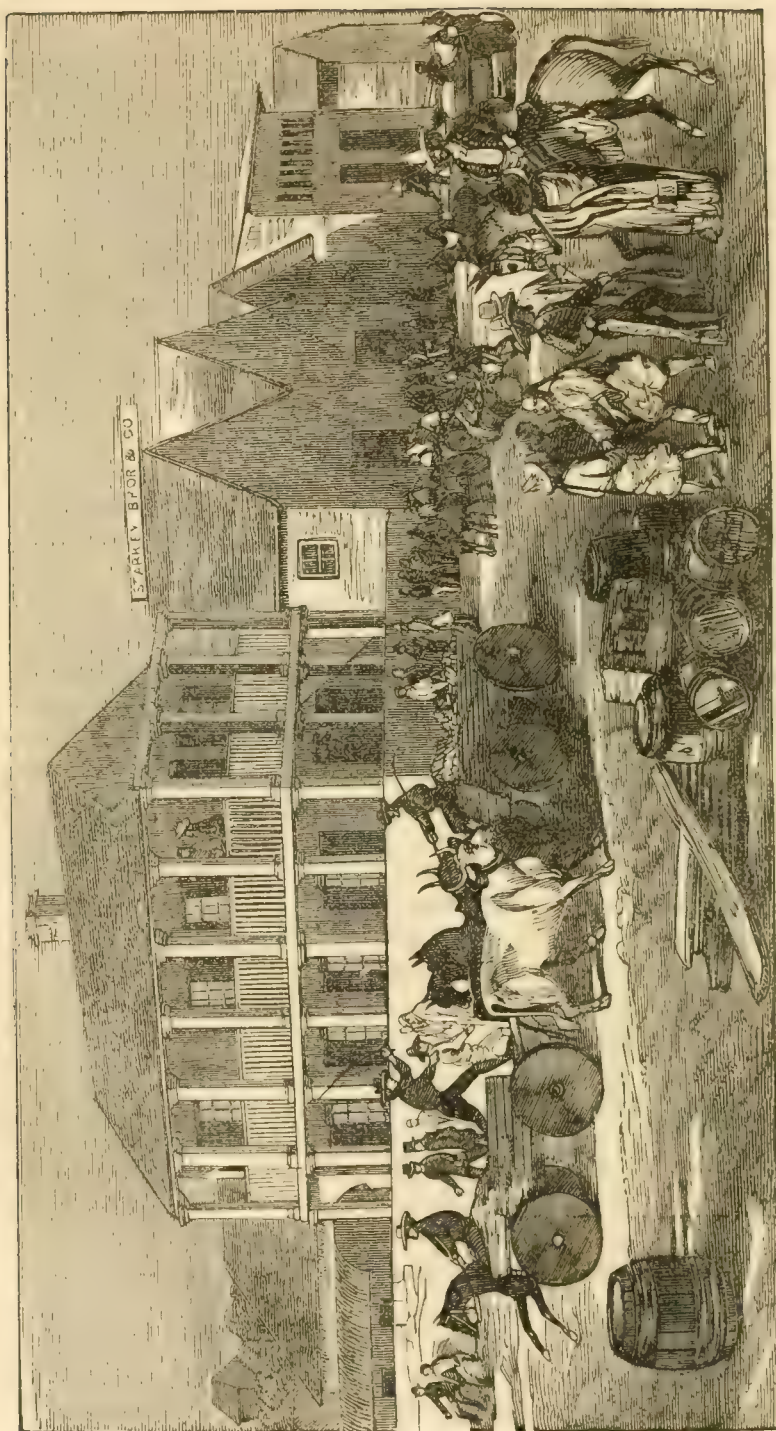


REPARATIONS were made immediately for the evacuation of Mexico by the United States' troops, in accordance with the spirit of the treaty. The duty of superintending the necessary arrangements devolved on General Butler—General Scott having left the city of Mexico soon after his suspension, and returned to the United States. The army left Vera Cruz by detachments, and the greater part arrived at

New Orleans by the middle of June, 1848.

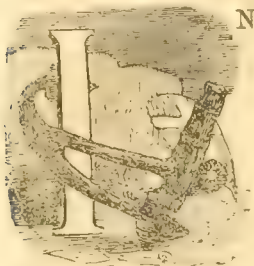
Thus closed a war in which the arms of the United States had met with an uninterrupted career of victory; a war in which the skill and science of the commanding generals were only equalled by the daring enthusiasm and unconquerable spirit of the soldiery, a large number of whom had been peaceful citizens before the blasts of war called them to aid in supporting the flag of their country. The vigorous "rough and ready" campaign of General Zachary Taylor, and the scientific, rapid and decisive campaign of General Winfield Scott, are worthy of the highest place in the military annals of their native land. By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States obtained the extensive territories of New Mexico and Alta California, and secured Texas, to the Rio Grande.

The history of the United States during Mr. Polk's administration, was very eventful, and the business of the government consequently arduous. The measures of the Democratic party were fully carried out.



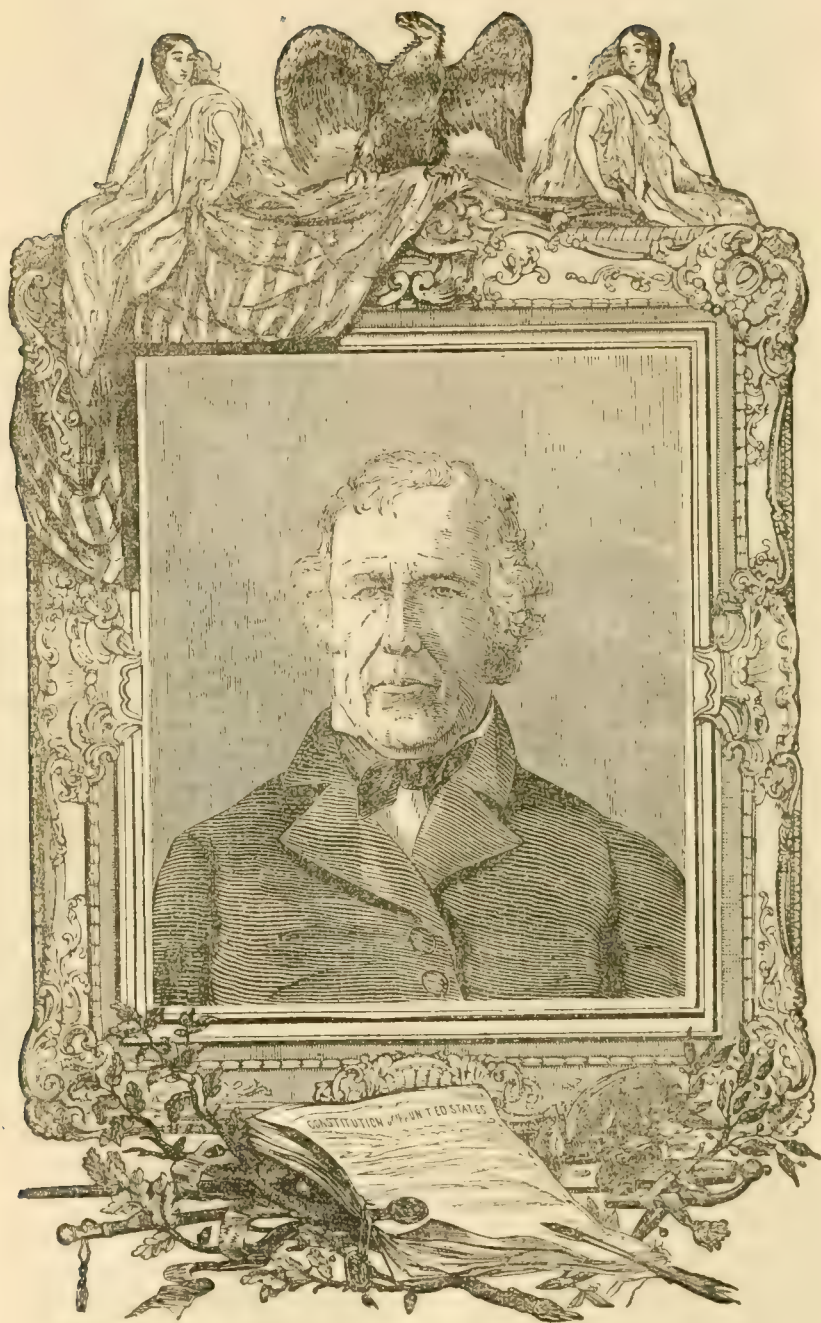
SAN FRANCISCO, (in 1849.)

The tariff was considerably reduced, which produced a great deal of violent discussion in the national councils. Among the other measures of the administration, the annexation of Texas was finally consummated, and the sub-treasury and warehousing systems established.



IN the latter part of 1848, intelligence was received at Washington, of the discovery of great quantities of gold in the territory of Upper California, which, by the treaty of peace, had been ceded to the United States. Colonel Mason, governor of the territory, in his official despatch to the government, expressed the opinion that there was more gold in the region of the Sacramento and San Joachim rivers, than would pay the cost of the Mexican War a hundred times over. The existence of the gold in the beds of the streams was discovered by Mr. Marshall, in May, 1848, while digging a mill race near Sutter's Fort, on the American fork of the Sacramento. The news spread with startling rapidity, and rumors of the discovery reached the Atlantic States before the official despatch was received; but they were not generally believed. Colonel Mason's despatch, however, resolved all doubts. A new impetus was given to all kinds of trade and business, and emigrants crowded every road to the gold region. Great quantities of merchandise were shipped to the newly found El Dorado. In a few months after the news of the discovery of the gold reached the States, San Francisco, the principal port of Alta California, became a large city, and its great harbor was filled with vessels of all nations. Cities and towns sprang up as if by magic in the vicinity of the mines. Prices of all kinds of merchandise rose to an enormous height, and there seemed to be little prospect of a diminution. Gold was the universal object, and quite as much of it was obtained by shrewd traders and speculators as by digging and washing for it. The whole territory was changed in its aspect. From a poor grazing country, it became a commercial point to which the eyes of the world were turned.

In November, 1848, the Presidential election occurred. The candidates of the Democratic party were General Lewis Cass, for President, and General William O. Butler, for Vice-President. The candidates of the Whig party were General Zachary Taylor, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for the same offices. Another party was formed in the north in favor of prohibiting the extension of slavery by congressional enactment, and other reform measures. The candidates of this party were Martin Van Buren and Charles F. Adams. General Taylor and Millard Fillmore were successful — each receiving 160 votes in the electoral college.



ZACHARY TAYLOR.



CHAPTER LVII.

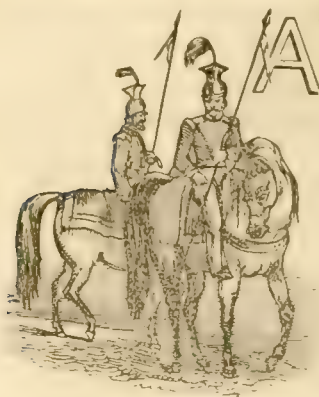
TAYLOR'S ADMINISTRATION.



ON the 4th of March, 1849, General Taylor entered upon the duties of his high office. His inaugural address was very short, but lucid and eloquent. "A Whig, but not an ultra Whig," by his own declaration, the President selected the members of his cabinet from the ranks of that party, but choice men who were not distinguished as ultra partisans. John M. Clayton, of Delaware, was appointed Secretary of State. A new department had been created during the Congressional session of 1848-9, to relieve the Secretaries of the State and Treasury departments of a portion of their arduous duties. This was called the Home Department, and Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, was selected to fill the office. William M. Meredith, of Pennsylvania, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury.

Congress met on the 1st Monday of December, 1849. There was an administration majority in the lower house, but an opposition majority in the Senate. Most of the President's appointments, however, were ratified in the latter body. The message to Congress was short, but characteristic of the chief magistrate, and sufficiently indicated the moderate course which he intended to pursue. The question of the prohibition of slavery in the territories was the cause of a great deal of exciting discussion. The subject of slavery was introduced into every

debate. The bills providing territorial governments for California and New Mexico were defeated.



AFTER the adjournment of Congress, a caucus of the southern members was held in Washington, and an address, prepared by John C. Calhoun, was issued to the people of the Southern States, complaining of various acts of aggression upon the rights of southern slaveholding people, and exhorting these people to resist while they could. The effect of this address was clearly felt in the increased excitement upon the slavery question, and threats of disunion were freely and boldly made.

Congress assembled in December, 1850.

By the preceding Congressional election, parties had become equally balanced in the House of Representatives. A few members had been elected in the Northern States as "free soil" men, or men pledged to oppose the extension of slavery; and these held the balance of power. The contest for the speakership continued six weeks. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, and Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, were the principal candidates. The former was elected to the office by a small majority.

The choice of a speaker did not end the excitement. The ultras on both sides of the slavery question introduced the subject into every debate. The people of California, feeling the necessity of a more certain and efficacious form of government than had been provided by the national authorities, met in convention and adopted a State constitution; and by the prefixed declaration of rights, slavery was forever prohibited in California. Application was made for admission into the Union, but the clause relating to slavery excited the violent opposition of the southern members of Congress. Other seeds of excitement and bitter feeling were sown. The government of Texas put forth a claim to the territory of New Mexico; the question of the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia was agitated; and it soon became clear, that no business could be done in Congress until the subject was settled by compromise.

On the 19th of April, on motion of Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, the Senate elected by ballot a select committee of thirteen, known as the Compromise Committee. Henry Clay was elected chairman. On the 6th of May, this committee reported the "Omnibus Bill" to the Senate. The aims of this bill were to restore harmony to the national councils,

and to calm the public excitement. It provided for the admission of California; giving territorial governments to New Mexico and Utah; paying Texas to relinquish her claim upon New Mexico; the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. The discussion of this great measure drew forth a display of talent and statesmanship unsurpassed in the annals of the republic. Able men were ranged on both sides of the question.



ABOUT the middle of May, an expedition which had been in preparation in the southern ports for some time, destined to attempt to revolutionize Cuba, arrived off Yucatan. About 600 men, commanded by General Lopez, were on board of the steamer *Creole*. On the 19th of May, the *Creole* reached Cardenas, Cuba, and the men were disembarked. Skirmishing ensued, and the town surrendered. The invaders held possession of the place during the day, and in the evening, after another slight skirmish, went on board the *Creole*, and left the island. The loss of the invaders was about 40 men killed or wounded. That of the Cubans was much larger. The *Creole*, after disembarking her

men at Key West, was seized by the United States revenue officers. This expedition was generally condemned by the people of the United States, and several distinguished persons, who were charged with aiding or abetting it, were arrested and tried for violating the neutral laws of their country; but discharged for want of evidence.

The discussion on the "Omnibus Bill" lasted about two months. The Senate was nearly equally divided upon the merits of the bill. Some of its provisions were generally acceptable; but their combination with other obnoxious measures was condemned. By successive amendments, the bill was reduced to the provision of a territorial government for Utah.

While the public mind was busy with the discussions on the Compromise measures, the sudden death of the President threw the nation into mourning. General Taylor died on the 9th of July, after a brief illness, and at the age of 65 years. His last words expressed the character of his life. "I have endeavored to do my duty," are words which call to mind a man of that sublime simplicity of character, which belongs only to the best of earth.



MILLARD FILLMORE



CHAPTER LVIII.

FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATION.



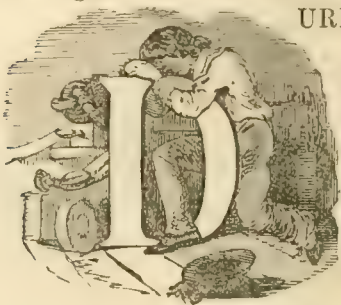
THE Vice-President, Mr. Fillmore, became President, according to the provision of the Constitution, and was inaugurated immediately after the death of General Taylor. The members of the cabinet at once tendered their resignations to the new chief magistrate, and they were accepted. A new cabinet was then organized. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, was appointed Secretary of State, and the remaining departments were placed under the super-

intendence of men from the various sections of the Union who were distinguished as Whigs and in favor of the compromise measures. These measures having been brought forward separately, were not so strenuously opposed as before, and at length passed both houses. This consummation was hailed with rejoicings by the friends of the Union, north and south.

As President Fillmore had long been identified with the Whig party, the policy of his administration could not be doubted. In his first annual message to Congress, the principles of union, compromise, domestic protection, and foreign neutrality were lucidly and forcibly recommended as necessary for the maintenance of the honor and safety of the country.

During General Taylor's administration, the foreign relations of the country had occupied a great share of the attention of the government. Difficulties had occurred with England, France, Spain and Portugal, all

of which, however, were amicably adjusted. Mr. Webster succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the British minister, by which a route across Nicaragua, in Central America, was opened to both nations.



URING the Hungarian struggle for independence, the government of the United States had sent an agent to that country, to ascertain exactly the position of affairs, so that, if it was probable the independence of Hungary could be maintained, its government might be recognised. In the month of December, 1850, a racy correspondence concerning this agency occurred between Secretary Webster, and

Chevalier Hulsemann, the Austrian minister to the United States. The reply of Mr. Webster to the letter of the minister was a noble vindication of the conduct of the government, and worthy the character of the age, and the peculiar position of America.

In the spring of 1851, another Cuban expedition was resolved upon by those who had made the former attempt to revolutionize that island. In several southern ports men and supplies were collected, and the bustle of preparation indicated to the officers of the general government what was afoot. The President issued a proclamation, announcing his determination to uphold the neutral laws, and notifying those who violated them, that they would place themselves beyond the protection of the government. Nevertheless, the steamer *Pampero*, with more than 400 men on board, under the command of General Lopez, sailed for Cuba, in August. The troops were landed at Bahia Honda; but none of the inhabitants joined them, as they had been taught to expect. A detachment under Colonel Crittenden, being left in charge of the baggage, while General Lopez, with the main body proceeded into the interior, was attacked by a greatly superior force of Spaniards, and after a desperate resistance, dispersed. Colonel Crittenden and 51 men, attempting to escape in boats, were captured, taken to Havana, and shot. In the meantime, General Lopez was attacked by the Spanish troops; he repulsed them with slaughter at first, but they were reinforced, and returning to the attack, compelled the Americans to disperse. Most of them were killed or captured. General Lopez was taken, and sent to Havana, where he was put to death by the *garotte*, a favorite instrument of execution among the Spaniards.

In June, 1852, the national convention of the Democratic party assembled at Baltimore. Resolutions, embodying the principles of the party, were adopted, and after forty-nine ballottings, Franklin Pierce, of New

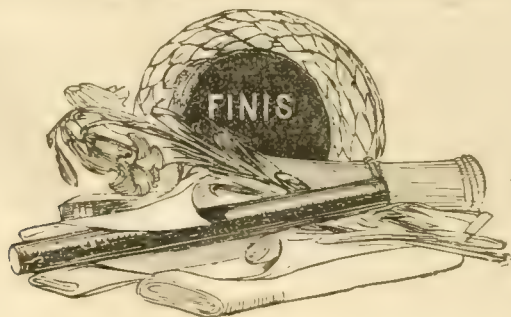


FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Hampshire, was nominated for the Presidency of the United States. William R. King, of Alabama, was placed upon the same ticket as the democratic candidate for the office of Vice-President. Soon after the adjournment of this convention, the national convention of the Whig party assembled in the same city. A "platform" of principles was adopted. On the fifty-third ballot, General Winfield Scott, of New Jersey, received the nomination of the convention for the office of President of the United States. William A. Graham, of North Carolina, was the nominee of the convention for the Vice-Presidency. Both of these national conventions sanctioned, in express terms, the "compromise measures." In August, a "free soil" convention was held at Pittsburg, and John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, were nominated for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. Other candidates were nominated in various sections of the Union.

At the election, held on the 23d of November, the candidates of the national democratic party received majorities in all but four States—Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, in which the Whig candidates obtained majorities. Franklin Pierce and William R. King were therefore elected to the offices for which they were nominated.

We have thus traced the history of the United States of America from their discovery by Cabot, to the present time. Their progress in wealth and population is almost unparalleled in the history of nations. The thirteen States which declared their independence of Great Britain now form but a small portion of the vast territory under the authority of the national government. The most valuable portions of North America prosper beneath our protecting banner, and a free, enlightened, brave and enterprising people throng the fertile soil. A glorious future opens before this progressive empire, and she will compass it, if internal shocks do not part her constituent elements. The United States, with union, harmony, and a careful observance of the eternal maxims of liberty and justice, must become one of the most powerful empires known to time; or all indications of their present prosperity are delusive.



APPENDIX.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Signed on the 4th of July, 1776, by a congress of delegates, assembled at Philadelphia, from the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all men were created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies, at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws, for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation,

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock-trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument, for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the

inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be a ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states.—That they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The members of the congress of 1776, who signed this declaration, were as follows:—

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.—John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND.—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.—Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abram Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

DELAWARE.—Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M. Kean.

MARYLAND.—Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, jun., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.—William Hooper, Joseph Hughes, John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, jun., Thomas Lynch, jun., Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

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WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

## ARTICLE I.

SEC. I.—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. II.—1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states: and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three; *Massachusetts*, eight; *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, one; *Connecticut*, five; *New York*, six; *New Jersey*, four; *Pennsylvania*, eight; *Delaware*, one; *Maryland*, six; *Virginia*, ten; *North Carolina*, five; *South Carolina*, five; *Georgia*, three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. III.—1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and



been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SEC. IV.—1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state, by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. V.—1. Each house shall be judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SEC. VI.—1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of peace, be privileged from arrest, during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house, during his continuance in office.

SEC. VII.—1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate,

shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on the journals of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless Congress by their adjournment prevent its return; in which case, it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. VIII.—The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court:

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings: And,

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. IX.—1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight: but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless, when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law: and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SEC. X.—1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imports laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

## ARTICLE II.

SEC. I.—The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which



the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

3. [Annulled. See Amendments, art. 12.]

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.”

SEC. II.—1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States: he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior offices as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. III.—1. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he may think proper; he shall receive ambassadors, and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. IV.—1. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

### ARTICLE III.

SEC. I.—1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. II.—1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state, claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, of the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizen or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. III.—1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or confessions in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

### ARTICLE IV.

SEC. I.—1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. II.—1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into

another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. III.—1. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states or parts of states, without the consent of the legislature of the states concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful laws and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SEC. IV.—1. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union, a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion: and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

#### ARTICLE V.

1. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

#### ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby; any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

#### ARTICLE VII.

1. The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.



Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

*President, and Deputy from Virginia.*

*New Hampshire.*

JOHN LANGDON.  
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

*Massachusetts.*

NATHANIEL GORMAN,  
RUFUS KING.

*Connecticut.*

WM. SAMUEL JOHNSON,  
ROGER SHERMAN.

*New York.*

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

*New Jersey.*

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,  
DAVID BREARLEY,  
WILLIAM PATTERSON,  
JONATHAN DAYTON.

*Pennsylvania.*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
THOMAS MIFFLIN,  
ROBERT MORRIS,  
GEORGE CLYMER,  
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,  
JARED INGERSOLL,  
JAMES WILSON,  
GOVERNEUR MORRIS.

*Attest,*

*Delaware.*

GEORGE REED,  
GUNNING BEDFORD, Jr.  
JOHN DICKERSON,  
RICHARD BASSETT,  
JACOB BROOM.

*Maryland.*

JAMES M'HENRY,  
DANIEL JENIFER, of St. Tho.  
DANIEL CARROLL.

*Virginia.*

JOHN BLAIR,  
JAMES MADISON, Jr.

*North Carolina.*

WILLIAM BLOUNT,  
RICH. DOBBS SPAIGHT,  
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

*South Carolina.*

JOHN RUTLEDGE,  
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,  
CHARLES PINCKNEY,  
PIERCE BUTLER.

*Georgia.*

WILLIAM FEW,  
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

## AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ART. I.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ART. II.—A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ART. III.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ART. IV.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation; and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ART. V.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ART. VI.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ART. VII.—In suits of common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ART. VIII.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ART. IX.—The enumeration, in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ART. X.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited to it by the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ART. XI.—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ART. XII.—1. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the

same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the persons voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the persons voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest number, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President.—But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ART. XIII.—If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honor, or shall, without the consent of Congress, accept or retain any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them



## WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS,

SEPTEMBER 17, 1796.

*Friends and Fellow-citizens:—*

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number out of whom the choice is to be made.

I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference to what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea. I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous task were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead — amidst appearances sometimes dubious — vicissitudes of fortunes often discouraging — in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism — the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its

beneficence — that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual — that the free constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained — that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue — that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of our hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth — as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, — it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it: accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as a paradigm of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principle. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils and joint efforts — of common dangers, sufferings and success.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The south, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand, turning partly into its own channels the stream of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The east, in like intercourse with the west, already finds, in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, and will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an inseparable community of interest as one

nation. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts; greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which composite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue of the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations — *Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western* — whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties — that with Great Britain and that with Spain — which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute: they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed — adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation — completely free in its principles — in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself provision for its own amendment, — has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the



people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitutions of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that from the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them upon geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of the public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administra-

tion of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and, in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From the natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres; avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the other, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern — some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way in which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness — these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in times of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars have occasioned — not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burdens which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas, it is rendered impossible by its vices!

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachment for others, should be excluded; and that, in the place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence frequent collisions—obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to the projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often—sometimes, perhaps, the liberty—of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justification. It leads, also, to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which are apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupt, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity—gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation to a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence, in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.



Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitude of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance — when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected — when belligerent nations will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation — when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world: so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand — neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences — consulting the natural course of things — diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the stream of commerce, but forcing nothing — establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and national opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another — that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character — that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure — which just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish — that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good — that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit; to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue; to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism — this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aids of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and

was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary, on this occasion, to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward all other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country, to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and constancy which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortune.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness, in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws, under a free government: the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

## RECENT STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES.

## RESULTS OF THE CENSUS OF 1850.

For the following summary of the results of the census of 1850, we are indebted to Harper's Magazine for March, 1852:

The seventh enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States, taken on the 1st of June, 1850, exhibits results which every citizen of the country may contemplate with gratification and pride. The Report of the Superintendent of the Census Office to the Secretary of the Interior, laid before Congress in December, 1851, gives a full abstract of the returns, from which we select the most interesting portions; adding other statements showing the progress of this country in population and resources.

Since the census of 1840, there have been added to the territory of the Republic, by annexation, conquest, and purchase, 824,969 square miles; and our title to a region covering 341,463 square miles, which before properly belonged to us, but was claimed and partially occupied by a foreign power, has been established by negotiation, and has been brought within our acknowledged boundaries. By these means the area of the United States has been extended, during the past ten years, from 2,055,163 to 3,221,595 square miles, without including the great lakes which lie upon our northern border, or the bays which indent our Atlantic and Pacific shores; all which territory has come within the scope of the seventh census.

In endeavoring to ascertain the progress of our population since 1840, it will be proper to deduct from the aggregate number of inhabitants shown by the present census, the population of Texas in 1840, and the number embraced within the limits of California and the new territories at the time of their acquisition. From the best information which has been obtained at the Census Office, it is believed that Texas contained, in 1840, 75,000 inhabitants; and that when California, New Mexico, and Oregon came into our possession, in 1846, they had a total population of 97,000. It thus appears that we have received by accessions of territory, since 1840, an addition of 172,000 to the number of our people. The increase which has taken place in those extended regions since they came under the authority of our government, should obviously be reckoned as a part of the development and progress of our population; nor is it necessary to complicate the comparison by taking into account the probable natural increase of this acquired population, because we have not the means of determining its rate of advancement, nor the law which governed its progress, while yet beyond the influence of our political system.

The total number of inhabitants in the United States, according to the returns of the census, on the 1st of June, 1850, 23,258,760. The absolute increase from the 1st of June, 1840, has been 6,189,307, and the actual increase is slightly over 36 per cent. But it has been shown that the probable amount of population acquired by additions of territory should be deducted in making a comparison between the results of the present and the last census. These reductions diminish the total population of the country, as a basis of comparison, and also the increase. The relative increase, after this allowance, is found to be 35.17 per cent.

The aggregate number of whites in 1850 was 19,631,799, exhibiting a gain upon the number of the same class in 1840, of 5,436,004, and a relative increase of 38.20 per cent.



But, excluding the 153,000 free population supposed to have been acquired by the addition of territory since 1840, the gain is 5,283,004, and the increase per cent. is 37.14.

The number of slaves, by the present census, is 3,198,324, which shows an increase of 711,111, equal to 28.58 per cent. If we deduct 19,000 for the probable slave population of Texas in 1840, the result of the comparison will be slightly different. The absolute increase will be 692,111, and the rate per cent. 27.83.

The number of free colored persons in 1850 was 428,637; in 1840, 386,345. The increase of this class has been 42,292, or 10.95 per cent.

From 1830 to 1840, the increase of the whole population was at the rate of 32.67 per cent. At the same rate of advancement, the absolute gain for the ten years last past would have been 5,578,333, or 426,515 less than it has been, without including the increase consequent upon additions of territory.

The aggregate increase of population, from all sources, shows a relative advance greater than that of any other decennial term, except that from the second to the third census, during which time the country received an accession of inhabitants, by the purchase of Louisiana, considerably greater than one per cent of the whole number.

The decennial increase of the most favored portions of Europe is less than one and a half per cent. per annum, while with the United States it is at the rate of three and a half per cent. According to our past progress, viewed in connection with that of European nations, the population of the United States in forty years will exceed that of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland, combined.

In 1845, Mr. William Darby, the geographer, who has paid much attention to the subject of population, and the progress of the country, having found that the increase of population in the United States for a series of years had exceeded three per cent. per annum, adopted that ratio as a basis for calculation for future increase. He estimated the population of 1850 at 23,138,004, which it will be observed is considerably exceeded by the actual result. The following are Mr. Darby's calculations of the probable population of the Union for each five years up to 1885:

|           |            |           |            |
|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| 1850..... | 23,138,004 | 1870..... | 40,617,768 |
| 1855..... | 26,823,385 | 1875..... | 47,087,662 |
| 1860..... | 31,095,535 | 1880..... | 54,686,795 |
| 1865..... | 35,035,231 | 1885..... | 63,291,500 |

If the ratio of increase be taken at three per cent. per annum, the population duplicates in about twenty-four years. Therefore, if no serious disturbing influence should interfere with the natural order of things, the aggregate population of the United States at the close of this century must be over one hundred millions.

The relative progress of the white and colored population in past years is shown by the following tabular statement, giving the increase per cent. of each class of inhabitants in the United States for sixty years:

| Classes.              | 1790 to 1800. | 1800 to 1810. | 1810 to 1820. | 1820 to 1830. | 1830 to 1840. | 1840 to 1850. |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Whites.....           | 35.7          | 36.2          | 34.19         | 33.95         | 33.7          | 38.28         |
| Free colored.....     | 8.22          | 72.2          | 25.25         | 36.85         | 26.96         | 40.0          |
| Slaves.....           | 27.9          | 33.4          | 29.1          | 30.61         | 27.8          | 27.8          |
| Total colored.....    | 7.22          | 37.6          | 28.58         | 33.44         | 27.4          | 26.22         |
| Total population..... | 35.91         | 36.45         | 33.12         | 33.48         | 32.6          | 36.25         |

The census had been taken, previously to 1830, on the 1st of August; the enumeration began that year on the 1st of June, two months earlier; so that the interval between the fourth and fifth censuses was two months less than ten years, which time allowed for would bring the total increase up to the rate of 34.46 per cent.

The table given below shows the increase for the sixty years, 1790 to 1850, without reference to intervening periods:

|                                 | 1790.          | 1850.           | Absolute Increase. | Inc. per ct. |
|---------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Whites .....                    | 3,172,464..... | 19,631,799..... | 16,459,335.....    | 527.07       |
| Free colored.....               | 59,466.....    | 428,637.....    | 369,171.....       | 617.44       |
| Slaves .....                    | 697,897.....   | 3,108,324.....  | 2,500,427.....     | 350.13       |
| Total free colored and slaves.. | 757,363.....   | 3,626,961.....  | 2,869,598.....     | 377.00       |
| Total population .....          | 3,929,827..... | 23,258,760..... | 19,328,883.....    | 491.52       |

Sixty years since, the proportion between the whites and blacks, bond and free, was 4.2 to 1. In 1850 it was 5.26 to 1, and the ratio in favor of the former race is increasing. Had the blacks increased as fast as the whites during these sixty years, their number, on the first of June, would have been 4,657,239; so that, in comparison with the whites, they have lost, in this period, 1,035,340.

This disparity is much more than accounted for by European emigration to the United States. Dr. Chickering, in an essay upon emigration, published at Boston in 1848—distinguished for great elaborateness of research—estimates the gain of the white population from this source at 3,922,152. No reliable record was kept of the number of immigrants into the United States until 1820, when, by the law of March, 1819, the collectors were required to make quarterly returns of foreign passengers arriving in their districts. For the first ten years, the returns under the law afford materials for only an approximation to a true state of the facts involved in this inquiry.

Dr. Chickering assumes, as a result of his investigations, that of the 6,431,088 inhabitants of the United States in 1820, 1,430,906 were foreigners, arriving subsequent to 1790, or the descendants of such. According to Dr. Seybert, an earlier writer upon statistics, the number of foreign passengers from 1790 to 1810 was, as nearly as could be ascertained, 120,000; and from the estimates of Dr. Seybert, and other evidence, Hon. George Tucker, author of a valuable work on the census of 1840, supposes the number, from 1810 to 1820, to have been 114,000. These estimates make, for the thirty years preceding 1820, 234,000.

If we reckon the increase of these emigrants at the average rate of the whole body of white population during these three decades, they and their descendants in 1820 would amount to about 360,000. From 1820 to 1830 there arrived, according to the returns of the custom-houses, 135,986 foreign passengers; and from 1830 to 1840, 579,370; making for the twenty years, 715,356. During this period, a large number of emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland came into the United States through Canada. These were estimated at 67,903 from 1820 to 1830, and from 1830 to 1840, at 199,130. From 1840 to 1850, the arrivals of foreign passengers amounted to 1,542,850, equal to an annual average of 154,285.

From the above returns and estimates, the following statement has been made up, to show the accessions to our population from immigration, from 1790 to 1850—a period of sixty years:

|                                                                       |         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Number of foreigners arriving from 1790 to 1810 .....                 | 120,000 |
| Natural increase, reckoned in periods of ten years .....              | 47,560  |
| Number of foreigners arriving from 1810 to 1820 .....                 | 114,000 |
| Increase of the above to 1820 .....                                   | 19,000  |
| Increase from 1810 to 1820 of those arriving previous to 1810.....    | 58,450  |
| Total number of immigrants and descendants of immigrants in 1820..... | 359,010 |
| Number of immigrants from 1820 to 1830.....                           | 203,979 |
| Increase of the above .....                                           | 35,728  |

|                                                                                                          |           |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Increase from 1820 to 1830 of immigrants and descendants of immigrants in the country in 1820.....       | 134,130   |
| Total number of immigrants and descendants of immigrants in the United States in 1830.....               | 732,847   |
| Number of immigrants arriving from 1830 to 1840.....                                                     | 778,500   |
| Increase of the above.....                                                                               | 135,150   |
| Increase from 1830 to 1840 of immigrants and descendants of immigrants in the United States in 1830..... | 254,145   |
| Total number of immigrants and descendants of immigrants in the United States in 1840.....               | 1,900,942 |
| Number of immigrants arriving from 1840 to 1850.....                                                     | 1,542,850 |
| Increase of the above at twelve per cent.....                                                            | 185,142   |
| Increase from 1840 to 1850 of immigrants and descendants of immigrants in the United States in 1840..... | 722,000   |
| Total number of immigrants in the United States since 1790, and their descendants in 1850.....           | 4,350,934 |

The following, we think, may be considered an approximate estimate of the population of the United States in 1850, classed according to their descent from the European colonists previous to the American Revolution, also from immigration since 1790, from the people who inhabited the territories acquired by the United States (Louisiana, Texas, &c.) and from Africans:

|                                                                                |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Descendants of the European colonists, previous to 1776.....                   | 14,280,865 |
| Descendants of people of Louisiana, Texas, and other acquired territories..... | 1,000,000  |
| Immigrants since 1790, and their descendants.....                              | 4,350,934  |
| Descendants of Africans.....                                                   | 3,626,961  |
| Total population.....                                                          | 23,258,760 |

It will be seen from the above, that the total number of immigrants arriving in the United States from 1790 to 1850, a period of 60 years, is estimated to have been 2,759,329—or an average of 45,988 annually for the whole period. It will be observed, also, that the estimated increase of these emigrants has been 1,500,405; making the total number added to the population of the United States since 1790, by foreign immigrants and their descendants, 4,350,934. Of these immigrants and their descendants, those from Ireland bear the largest proportion, probably more than one-half of the whole, or say two and a half millions. Next to these, the Germans are the most numerous. From the time that the first German settlers came to this country, in 1682, under the auspices of William Penn, there has been a steady influx of immigrants from Germany, principally to the Middle States, and of late years to the West.

The density of population is a branch of the subject which naturally attracts the attention of the inquirer. Taking the thirty-one States together, their area is 1,485,870 square miles; and the average number of their inhabitants is 15.48 to the square mile. The total area of the United States is 3,280,000 square miles, and the average density of population is 7.22 to the square mile.

From the location, climate and productions, and the habits and pursuits of their inhabitants, the States of the Union may be properly arranged into the following groups:

| Divisions.                                                | Area in sq. miles. | Population.    | Pop. to sq. mi. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| New England States (6).....                               | 63,226.....        | 2,727,597..... | 43.07           |
| Middle States, inc. Maryland, Delaware, and Ohio (6)..... | 151,760.....       | 8,653,713..... | 57.02           |

\* As the heaviest portion of this great influx of immigration took place in the latter half of the decade, it will probably be fair to estimate the natural increase during the term at twelve per cent., being about one-third of that of the white population at its commencement.



|                                                                                                   |         |           |       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-----------|-------|
| Coast Planting States, inc. South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana | 286,977 | 3,537,089 | 12.36 |
| Central Slave States: Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas           | 308,210 | 5,168,000 | 16.75 |
| North-western States: Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa (5)                        | 250,000 | 2,735,000 | 10.92 |
| Texas                                                                                             | 287,321 | 212,000   | .82   |
| California                                                                                        | 188,982 | 165,000   | .87   |

The following is a table of the area, and the number of inhabitants to the square mile in each State and Territory in the Union:

| Free States.        | Area in square miles. | Pop. in 1850.     | Inhab. to sq. mile. |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Maine               | 30,000                | 383,188           | 12.44               |
| New Hampshire       | 9,280                 | 317,964           | 34.26               |
| Vermont             | 10,212                | 314,120           | 30.07               |
| Massachusetts       | 7,800                 | 994,499           | 126.11              |
| Rhode Island        | 1,306                 | 147,344           | 108.05              |
| Connecticut         | 4,674                 | 370,791           | 79.83               |
| New York            | 46,000                | 3,097,394         | 67.66               |
| New Jersey          | 6,320                 | 489,333           | 60.04               |
| Pennsylvania        | 46,000                | 2,311,786         | 50.25               |
| Ohio                | 39,964                | 1,980,408         | 49.55               |
| Indiana             | 33,809                | 988,416           | 29.23               |
| Illinois            | 55,493                | 851,470           | 15.37               |
| Iowa                | 50,914                | 192,214           | 3.77                |
| Wisconsin           | 53,924                | 305,191           | 5.45                |
| Michigan            | 56,243                | 397,654           | 7.07                |
| California          | 188,982               | 165,000           | .87                 |
| Minnesota Territory | 84,000                | 6,077             | .07                 |
| Oregon              | 341,463               | 13,293            | .04                 |
| New Mexico          | 219,774               | 61,546            | .28                 |
| Utah                | 187,923               | 11,380            | .06                 |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>1,474,993</b>      | <b>13,419,190</b> |                     |

#### Slaveholding States.

|                      |                |                  |        |
|----------------------|----------------|------------------|--------|
| Delaware             | 2,120          | 91,525           | 43.64  |
| Maryland             | 9,356          | 583,035          | 62.31  |
| District of Columbia | 60             | 51,687           | 861.45 |
| Virginia             | 61,352         | 1,421,661        | 23.17  |
| North Carolina       | 45,000         | 868,903          | 19.30  |
| South Carolina       | 24,500         | 668,507          | 27.28  |
| Georgia              | 58,000         | 905,999          | 15.68  |
| Florida              | 59,268         | 87,401           | 1.47   |
| Alabama              | 50,723         | 771,671          | 15.21  |
| Mississippi          | 47,126         | 606,555          | 12.86  |
| Louisiana            | 46,431         | 511,974          | 11.02  |
| Texas                | 237,321        | 212,592          | .89    |
| Arkansas             | 52,198         | 200,000          | 4.01   |
| Tennessee            | 45,600         | 1,002,625        | 21.93  |
| Kentucky             | 37,680         | 982,405          | 26.07  |
| Missouri             | 67,380         | 682,043          | 10.12  |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>844,144</b> | <b>9,608,223</b> |        |

It will be observed that a large proportion of the area of the Free States and Terri-

teries is comprised in the unsettled country west of the Mississippi. The following Territories, inhabited by Indians, also lie west of the Mississippi:

|                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Nebraska Territory..... | Area 136,700 square miles. |
| Indian " .....          | 187,171 "                  |
| North-west " .....      | 387,004 "                  |

The following is a comparative table of the population of each State and Territory in 1850, and 1840:

| Free States.              | Pop. in 1850.     | Pop. in 1840.    |
|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Maine .....               | 388,188.          | 301,700          |
| New Hampshire .....       | 347,904.          | 284,74           |
| Vermont .....             | 313,611.          | 291,348          |
| Massachusetts .....       | 504,412.          | 407,000          |
| Rhode Island.....         | 147,544.          | 108,830          |
| Connecticut .....         | 370,701.          | 300,978          |
| New York .....            | 3,097,394.        | 2,428,921        |
| New Jersey.....           | 480,000.          | 370,000          |
| Pennsylvania.....         | 2,311,780.        | 1,724,000        |
| Ohio .....                | 1,800,000.        | 1,300,000        |
| Indiana.....              | 880,000.          | 680,000          |
| Illinois .....            | 851,470.          | 476,183          |
| Iowa .....                | 192,214.          | 143,112          |
| Wisconsin.....            | 300,000.          | 200,000          |
| Michigan .....            | 397,000.          | 212,000          |
| California .....          | 165,000.          | —                |
| Minnesota Territory ..... | 0,000.            | —                |
| Oregon " .....            | 13,200.           | —                |
| New Mexico " .....        | 61,500.           | —                |
| Utah " .....              | 11,380.           | —                |
| <b>Total.....</b>         | <b>13,419,190</b> | <b>9,978,922</b> |

Increase of population, 3,440,268, or, exclusive of California and Territories, 3,180,013—equal to 31·8 per cent.

| Slaveholding States.       | Pop. in 1850.    | Pop. in 1840.    |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Delaware.....              | 391,500.         | 378,000          |
| Maryland .....             | 583,035.         | 470,019          |
| District of Columbia*..... | 51,687.          | 43,712           |
| Virginia .....             | 1,421,661.       | 1,120,000        |
| North Carolina .....       | 868,903.         | 753,419          |
| South Carolina .....       | 668,000.         | 500,000          |
| Georgia .....              | 900,000.         | 600,000          |
| Florida .....              | 87,401.          | 54,477           |
| Alabama.....               | 771,671.         | 590,756          |
| Mississippi.....           | 600,000.         | 400,000          |
| Louisiana .....            | 311,974.         | 244,000          |
| Texas .....                | 212,000.         | 100,000          |
| Arkansas .....             | 200,000.         | 100,000          |
| Tennessee.....             | 1,002,625.       | 829,210          |
| Kentucky .....             | 982,405.         | 779,828          |
| Missouri .....             | 682,000.         | 500,000          |
| <b>Total.....</b>          | <b>9,608,224</b> | <b>7,400,000</b> |

Total increase of population, 2,248,793, equal to 30·3 per cent.

\* Alexandria, &c., ceded back to Virginia since 1840.

The comparative population of the United States, from 1790 to 1850, may be seen by the annexed table:

| Census of | Total.          | Whites.         | Free colored. | Slaves.   |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------|
| 1790..... | 3,929,827.....  | 3,172,464.....  | 59,446.....   | 697,897   |
| 1800..... | 5,345,925.....  | 4,304,489.....  | 108,395.....  | 893,041   |
| 1810..... | 7,239,814.....  | 5,862,004.....  | 186,446.....  | 1,191,364 |
| 1820..... | 9,654,596.....  | 7,872,711.....  | 238,197.....  | 1,543,688 |
| 1830..... | 12,866,020..... | 10,537,378..... | 319,599.....  | 2,009,043 |
| 1840..... | 17,063,355..... | 14,189,707..... | 386,295.....  | 2,487,355 |
| 1850..... | 23,238,760..... | 19,631,799..... | 428,637.....  | 3,198,324 |

The following table shows the population west of the Mississippi river:

|                          |         |                           |           |
|--------------------------|---------|---------------------------|-----------|
| Western Louisiana.....   | 207,787 | New Mexico Territory..... | 61,505    |
| Texas.....               | 212,592 | Utah.....                 | 11,293    |
| Arkansas.....            | 209,639 | Oregon.....               | 13,293    |
| Missouri.....            | 682,043 | California.....           | 165,000   |
| Iowa.....                | 192,214 |                           |           |
| Minnesota Territory..... | 6,077   | Total.....                | 1,761,530 |

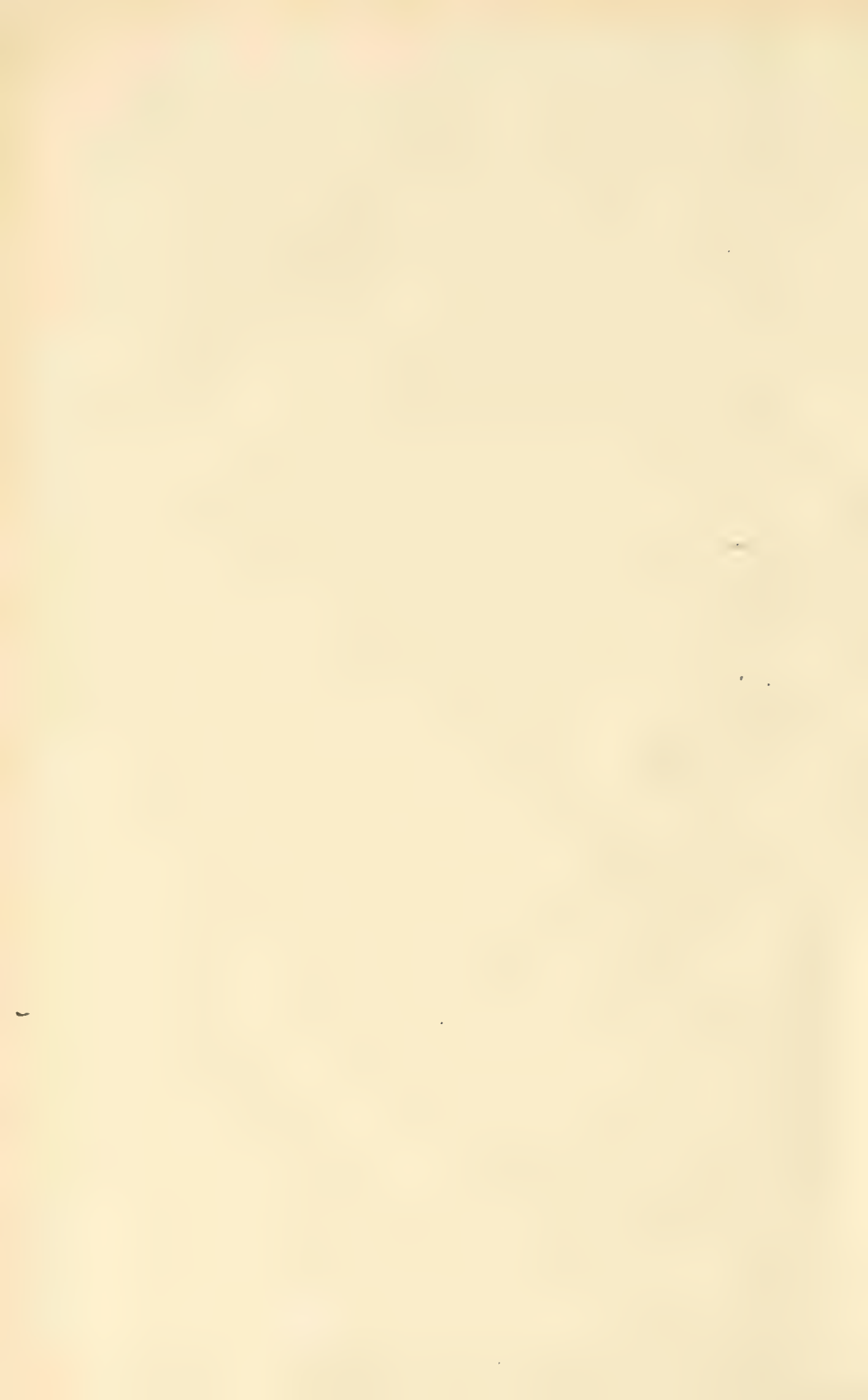
The population of the Valley of the Mississippi, comprising Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana, is 9,090,688; of whom the free population is 7,614,031, and 1,476,657 are slaves.

The ratio of representation, as determined by the recent census, and a late act of Congress, will be about 93,716, and the relative representation of the States in Congress for the next ten years will be as follows:

|                     |    |                     |     |
|---------------------|----|---------------------|-----|
| New York.....       | 33 | South Carolina..... | 5   |
| Pennsylvania.....   | 25 | Mississippi.....    | 5   |
| Ohio.....           | 21 | Connecticut.....    | 4   |
| Virginia.....       | 13 | Michigan.....       | 4   |
| Massachusetts.....  | 11 | Louisiana.....      | 4   |
| Indiana.....        | 11 | Vermont.....        | 3   |
| Tennessee.....      | 10 | New Hampshire.....  | 3   |
| Kentucky.....       | 10 | Wisconsin.....      | 3   |
| Illinois.....       | 9  | Rhode Island.....   | 2   |
| North Carolina..... | 8  | Iowa.....           | 2   |
| Georgia.....        | 8  | Arkansas.....       | 2   |
| Alabama.....        | 7  | Texas.....          | 2   |
| Missouri.....       | 7  | California.....     | 2   |
| Maine.....          | 6  | Florida.....        | 1   |
| Maryland.....       | 6  | Delaware.....       | 1   |
| New Jersey.....     | 5  | Total.....          | 233 |









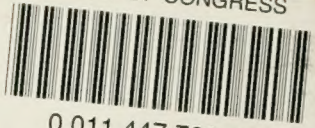








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